PGPS S1 03

Indian Political Thought

SEMESTER - I

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

Subject Experts

Professor Jayanta Krishna Sarmah, Gauhati University

Dr. Shantanu Chakravorty, Cotton University

Dr.Dhruba Pratim Sharma, Gauhati University

Course Coordinator : Dr. Bipul Das, KKHSOU

SLM Preparation Team

UNITS	CONTRIBUTORS
8	Daisy Rani Talukdar, Consultant, IGNOU, Guwahati
9	Amreen Razzaq, Ph. D. Research Scholar, NEHU, Shillong
10& 13	Ankita Chetia, Ph. D. Research Scholar, Gauhati University
11	Nilmi Konwar, Research Scholar, Gauhati University
12	Jilly Sarkar, Cotton University, Guwahati
14 & 15	Sabrina Iqbal Sircar, Cotton University

Editorial Team

Content	:	Dr. Manashi Sarma, Arya Vidyapeeth College, Guwahati.
Language	:	Dr.Bipul Das, KKHSOU
Structure, Format & Graphics	:	Dr.Bipul Das, KKHSOU

April , 2018

ISBN NO 978-93-87940-15-4

This Self Learning Material (SLM) of the Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University is made available under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-Share Alike 4.0 License (international): http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/

Printed and published by Registrar on behalf of the Krishna KantaHandiqui State Open University.

The University acknowledges with thanks the financial support provided by the **Distance Education Bureau**, **UGC** for the preparation of this study material.

Headquarter : Patgaon, Rani Gate, Guwahati - 781017

City Office :Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781006; Web : www.kkhsou.in

MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
CONTENTS

Pages

Unit 8: Ambikagiri Raichoudhury **101-116**
Literary Contribution of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury; Ambikagiri and India's Freedom Struggle; Ambikagiri and Humanism; Ambikagiri on Freedom and State; Ambikagiri on Assamese Nationalism

Unit 9: Jyotiba Phule **117-129**
Attitude towards Colonial Government; Indian Social Order- a Critique: Varna and Caste System,Equality between Men and Women; Views on Religion; Indian Economy: Solution to the Agrarian problem

Unit 10: B. R. Ambedkar **130-141**
Movement against Class Discrimination; Framer of the Constitution of India;
Other Contributions of Ambedkar: Ambedkar and Buddhism, Support to Uniform Civil Code, Economic Planning, Ambekar as a Litterateur

Unit 11: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad **142-153**
Political Ideas of Abul Kalam Azad: Azad's Views on Hindu- Muslim Unity, Views on Nationalism, Views on Non-Violence, Views on Democracy, Azad's Views on Partition of India

Unit 12 : J. P. Narayan **154-169**
Influence of Marxism; Impact of Gandhian Thoughts: A Shift from Socialism to Sarvodaya; Total Revolution

Unit 13: Acharya Vinoba Bhave **170-181**
Religious and Social work; Bhoodan Movement; Brahma Vidya Mandir; Bhave and Gandhi; Literary Career

Unit 14: Ram Manohar Lohia **182-193**
Lohia's Ideas on Socialism and Gandhism; Lohia's Concept of International Society

Unit 15: Amartya Sen **194-207**
Development as Freedom; Missing Women

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK- 2

This is the second block of the third course of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's M. A. First Semester Programme in Political Science. The third course or paper of the MA First Semester Programme in Political Science is titled as "Indian Political Thought". The second block of this course contains eight units- (Units 8- 15).

Unit eight deals with Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's ideas of humanism, freedom and state, Assamese nationalism etc. along with his contributions to the freedom struggle of India. Accordingly, the ideas of Jyotiba Phule and B. R. Ambedkar are discussed in the unit nine and tenth respectively. Both Phule and Ambedkar were social reformers who contributed a lot towards the development of the Indian political thought. They tried to eradicate the social evils like untouchability and caste restrictions, problems of women and labour etc. from our society.The eleventh unit deals with the political ideas of MaulanaAbulKalam Azadand his views on Hindu-Muslim unity, Nationalism, non-violence, Democracy and partition of India.In the unit twelve, the contributions of Joy Prakash Narayan are explained. In this unit, discussions are made on Narayan as a socialist and the impacts of Gandhian thoughts upon him and Narayan's views on Sarvodaya and Total Revolution. The thirteenth unit highlights the contributions of Acharya Vinoba Bhave. 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 thinker who advocated for decentralised socialism. The fifteenth unit deals with the concepts of Development as Freedom and Missing Women forwarded by Amartya Sen.

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 8 : AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 A Brief History of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury's Early Life

8.4 Literary Contribution of Ambikagiri Raichoudhury

8.5 Ambikagiri and India's Freedom Struggle

8.6 Ambikagiri and Humanism

8.7 Ambikagiri on Freedom and State

8.8 Ambikagiri on Assamese Nationalism

8.9 Let Us Sum Up

8.10 Further Reading

8.11 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.12 Possible Questions.

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

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

8.2 INTRODUCTION

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury is an unmatched personality in the social life of Assam. He was addressed as "Assam Kesari" (The lion of Assam) by the people as he was a great patriot who continuously ignited the spirit

of nationalism among the people of Assam. Born towards the end of 19th century, he is one of those nationalists who was ready to sacrifice in the name of the country. There is unerasable memory of Ambikagiri as a protector of 'jati- mati aaru manuh'(nation,territorial sovereignty and indigenous people). His thought and philosophy was international with unmatchable adherence to Assamese nationalism. According to him, for ultimate development of the human personality, what is necessary is 'the feeling of nationalism (*jatiatabad*), super nationalism(*mahajatiyatabad*), and global humanism (*biswamanabatabad*). In the interest of making the world a place where all can live peacefully and harmoniously free from all clashes, he requested the '*viswakarmakar*' to act as a sweeper (jharudar). Such a contribution of him was possible only because of his unmatched love for and trust in the people. (Baishya .T.2013)

8.3 A BRIEF HISTORY OF AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY'S EARLY LIFE

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

individual and was interested in keeping himself physically fit. He had the practice of regular exercise and he even went to 'Bibhovananda Byayamsala' in Panbazar.

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

- 1924 – jailed for creation of revolutionary prose 'satadhar' - , active participation in congress conferences, membership to sangeet sakha, creation of patriotic songs like ' Bande Ki Chandaere'.
- 1930 – establishment of 'Swadeshi Kinok Sangha' and Mayabini Chemicals.
- 1935 – published 'Deka Axom'.
- 1936 – transforming Axom Sangrakhini Sabha to 'Axom Jatiya Mahasabha'.
- 1939 – establishment of 'Axom Siksah Samiti'(popularizing Assamese language among non Assamese)
- 1942 – policy publication like 'Deka-Dekerir Ved' and 'Swadhin Panchayat Rastrogothonor prathomik achoni' (Primary for Scheme independent Panchayat State)
- 1946-47- Mobilising public opinion against the Grouping Plan under Cabinet Mission and establishment of 'Atmorokhya Bahini.'
- 1950 – appointed as president to Assam Sahitya Sabha (Margherita), joining 'Bharatia Sanskriti Sangam'(Delhi); establishing 'Axom Sanskriti Sangam' and pressurizing government to celebrate a 'state language day'.
- 1951 – joint director to 'Sahitya Manjari'.
- 1952 – publication of editorial in 'Chetana', 'Deka Axom', 'Ahuti', etc.
- 1954 – elected as president to Chatra Parishad in Goalpara.
- 1958 – release of the song 'Bande Ki Chandaere' and 'Sthapankar'.
- 1960 – sacrificed literary pension.
- 1964 – published 'Bedonar Ulka'(recipient of Sahitya Akademy Award)
- 1965 – publication of poetry collection ' Dekhei Bhogoban'

- On 2 January, 1967 , he breathed his last. After his death he received Sahitya Academy Award for his work 'Bedonar Ulka'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1 : How was Ambikagiri Raichoudhury famously known as?

……..

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

.....

8.4 LITERARY CONTRIBUTION OF AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY

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

He was also a journalist of repute and had been contributing to this field for over 40 years. In 1919 he published 'Chetana' a journal of national importance under the editorship of Chandranath Sarma. As a debutant

journalist, he published 'Axom Bandhab'. All of his publications carried the message of national consciousness and humanism. It helped in accelerating the pace of freedom movement in Assam in particular and India in general.

8.5 AMABIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY AND INDIA'S FREEDOM STRUGGLE

- **Ambikagiri on Spreading of National Consciousness**

Assam Kesari Ambikagiri Raichoudhury is intertwined in the social and political life of India. His contribution is on the other hand greatly influenced by his ideology. Ambikagiri was born and brought up in the back drop of India freedom struggle. As an Assamese he was deeply influenced by the Partition of Bengal during his stay in Guwahati. He was an active participant of Bongo-Bhongo Andolan. During this period only he phrased out the famous saying 'byakti premotkoi deshprem mohiyan' i.e love for the nation is immeasurable and much more important than love for the individual. Simultaneously with Bengal Partition, India's freedom struggle entered a new phase of extremism.

During the period from 1908 to 1914, Ambikagiri evolved as a strong Assamese nationalist figure fighting the Britishers as well as asserting Assamese nationlaism through his Literary contributions. During this period he utilized his time by authoring a number of books which include 'Tumi', ''Joyodrath Bodh', Bhokto Gaurav'. He tried to develop a kind of cultural consciousness among the population. Taking that in mind he authored and directed dramas like 'Joyodrath Bodh' so as to create a kind of cultural consciousness through which the Assamese culture can be preserved. He realized that the rejuvination of Assamese culture was the urgent need of the hour in view of the fact that Bengali 'Jatra Natak' had become famous in Barpeta , the influence of which was to be curbed any how because the the people of Barpeta had started to use Bengali language not only in the dramas but also in their day-to- day lives. So, there was an urgent need to assert the distinctiveness of Assamese culture. Hence , Ambikagiri directed

two dramas to restore people's admiration for Assamese plays and to ignite their passion for staging and watching Assamese plays as a counter to the growing Bengali influence. So, he very effectively inspired the people of Assam through his contribution to Assamese literature, poetry and drama. However, while asserting the spirit of Assamese nationalism, Ambigiri Raichoudhury was full of great compassion and humanism. He was always compassionate towards all human beings. His definition of national consciousness is all encompassing and it reads as :

"All forms of society carries social problems. In order to address those problems, the inhabitants create a unified whole to address and fulfill the collective interest of the society. This collective interest is considered as a general belonging or a common property of the society. It is owned in general. So the ultimate aim of that society is preservation, protection and development of that common property. In order to do so the society stays united. This process of the unified whole for protection and preservation of the collective interest takes the form of 'concentrated national consciousness(*ghonibhuto jatio chetana*)'. This national consciousness accompanied by socio-economic factors is the creator of nationalism.

- **Ambikagiri on Nationalism**

The Swadeshi Movement and the freedom movement led by Mahatma Gandhi had had a great influence uopn Ambikagiri Rainchoudhury. . India passed through a series of events from 1908 – 1936 which increased the national consciousness to a different level. These evenets include the Morley–Minto Reforms, Partition of Bengal, Home Rule movement, the Lucknow Pact, implementation of the Rowlatt Act, Jallianwalabagh massacre, etc. Simulteneously, Assam also witnessed a series of events . Ambikagiri joined the crusaders to protect Assamese nationalism . He tried to uphold the interest of the Assamese populace by seeking the cooperation of the Assamese middle class. So he tired to build a strong socio-political structure for the preservation of Assamese culture and identity. He worked out this plan with the help of Assam Association. Changes to the demographic pofile of Assam due to migration and economic transformation was throwing up a big challenge. So the concern for preservation of Assamese national

life was of utmost importance. So, Ambikagiri's works were dedicated to the national interest. He tried to accommodate the larger national consciousness of the people as a whole with Assamese national consciousness. Such an accommodation led to formation of association like 'Axom Hangrakhini Sabha'. During 1920-1930 due to acute demographic trasition in Assam, Assam Association undertook a number of activities to generate national consciousness among the Assamese population. Ambikagiri was one of the soldiers of this brigade and the speech he delivered during the Swadeshi and Boycott movement had a mesmerizing effect on the masses in general. During this period , the Assamese middle class played a very important role. His influential thoughts were available in the form of editorial in 'Chetona' and 'Deka Axom'. His cultural contribution carried the seeds of political thinking. While writing on the general trend and process of nation building in 'Ahuti' he defined nation as,

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

He is of the opinion that one of the determinants of nationalism is language and not religion because national soul and national interest is intertwined within the idea of diverse language and culture of a society. In India also it is one of the key determinants of nationalism. He felt that Assam should be a part of India's great unified nationalist force aimed at producing a totality of national life. Ambikagiri was of the view that national culture is formed by harnessing the self power of the nation and nationality which provide the confidence, trust, sense of belonging and pride in being a part of a particular nationality. He also opines that the ultimate aim of culture is cultural consciousness. Diverse culture is also one of the determinants of national culture. There exist a close relationship in between national culture and language, and both act as protector of both. Consciousness for preservation of language leads to integration of culture. One of the prerequisites for that, however, is that political freedom is of utmost necessity. In relation to nationalism, he further talked about "self-protective

systematized unification" (*atmorokhyamulak shringkholito honggoboddho*). The preconditions for such unification are –social policy, economy, politics, agriculture,industry, commerce, science, literature, etc. Only with the support of these ingredients the highway for nationalism can be constructed. They also bear the seeds of 'right to self –determination'. In his opinion, culture and language are the founding stone for right to self determination of the small nationalities.

In order to explain Indian Nationalism, Ambikagiri Raichoudhury used the term 'mahajatiyatabad'(grand nationalism) and 'hanmilitojatiyotabad' (confederative nationalism). He used that particular term because history of India does not hold the evidence of a one language, one nation concept. India was no way united prior to the coming of the Britishers. From ancient time onwards there exist though one religion but diverse language and nationality. Patches of regional nationalities were available. Therefore, according to him , 'India is not a nation, it is a continent'. It is constituent of different states. Each and every state is unique in its language, culture, social structure, traditions and customs. Together they constitute 'bharat' .So India is called a 'continent of the grand Indian nationality' (bharatiamohajatir mohadekh). Whatever had been opined by Ambikagiri Raichoudhury, was relevant to the situation of Assam and India during that period. During that time national interest and conscience in general and regional interest and conscience in particular were integrated. Ambikagiri talked about a united India instead of one India. In political terms, he was referring towards a pure and total federal structure. He even said that if regional aspirations are not addressed parallel to Indian aspirations, India will toil under perpetual conflict resulting in a fragmented society. His contentions have been seen to be relevant in post Independent India. He was of the opinion that Greater Assamese nationality is a branch of Indian Nationalism. However, the full development of Assamese nationalism is equally necessary within the framework of Indian nationalism. Both types of nationalism are complementary to each other rather than being opposed to each other. If this integration can be continued then it will give birth to the concept of grand humanism (*mohamanobota*). In the next sub-section, we

will be discussing on Ambika's grand humanism and its contribution to Assamese society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

……

Q 4 : Explain the term 'Mohajatiyatabad'?

……

……

8.6 AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY AND HUMANISM

Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was on the path of establishing '*mohamanobota'(*grand humanism). According to him at the confluence of grand nationalism, grand humanism takes birth. In relation to the concept of grand humanism, he opined that one must understand oneself before understanding others. If it is not followed than mistake may happen in course of life. Therefore he suggested that at the first instance any activity should start from its own soil. If the feeling of patriotism starts from own soil enriched with life then it clears the path for realization of internationalism or world humanism(that which was talked about by people Gandhi and Tagore).

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

1. Akramanatmok Jatiotabad (Aggressive Nationalism) .

2. Atmorokyatmok Jatiotabad (Defensive Nationalism) .

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

8.7 AMBIKAGIRI RAICHOUDHURY ON FREEDOM AND STATE

Freedom to Ambikagiri Raichoudhury meant freedom from exploitation and liberty of the exploited masses. This freedom can be achieved if one follows the spiritual way of life. He envisioned an ideal state which will be known as 'Manabtantra' (Humanocracy).This state will be free from all bindings and it will make an effort to clear all obstacles in realization of humanism. In such a state that Swaraj can be best realized. For him ,like Mahatma Gandhi, freedom of India does not in any way mean the chasing away of the external forces but chasing away violence , selfishness, bloodshed, conflict, greediness, etc. By this way , a peaceful continent of true human beings can be established. According to him, freedom is a birth right and all of humanity is entitled to it. He was in favour of including the worker section and freedom of that section was his ultimate aim.

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

I. Independent Grand National Panchayat State Council-United India
II. Independent National Panchayat State Council-Regions India

III. Independent Sub Unit of Independent National Panchayat State Council

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

8.8 AMBIKAGIRI VIEWS ON ASSAMESE NATIONALISM

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

…….....

Q 6 : What does 'Mohamanobota' refer to?

…….....

…….....



8.9 LET US SUM UP

- Assam Kesari Ambikagiri was a multitalented personality with mastery in art ,literature, culture and Patriotism. Born in 1885, he contributed immensely towards Assamese nationalism and preservation of Assamese language and culture .
- He has to his credit literary contribution Tumi, Anubhuti, Bhokto Gourav and many more
- As an Assamese he was deeply influenced by Bengal partition during his stay in Guwahati. He was an active participant of Bongo-Bhongo Andolan. His personal life suffered to an extreme limit due to his die hard contribution to this andolan. During this period only he phrased out the famous saying 'byakti premotkoi desh prem mohiyan' i.e. love for the nation is immeasurable and much important than love for the individual.
- Ambikagiri joined the crusaders to protect Assamese nationalism . He tried to uphold the interest of the Assamese populace by securing the cooperation of the Assamese middle class.
- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury was on the path of establishing '*mohamanobota'(*grand humanism). According to him at the confluence of grand nationalism, grand humanism takes birth.
- In the context of the concept of grand humanism, he opined that one must understand oneself before understanding others. If it is not followed than mistake may happen in course of life. Therefore he suggested that at the first instance any activity should start from its own soil. If the feeling of patriotism starts from own soil enriched with life then it clears the path for realization of internationalism or world humanism(that which was talked about by people Gandhi and Tagore).
- He was in favour of establishing a purely decentralized ,independent, federal state. He produced his ideas in 'Jogotor Hex Adorkho" 'Bhabisyat Rastra ba Manabtantra' 'Swadhin Panchayat aru Rastra

Gathonir Asoni'. He named his state as 'Panchayat State' with a seven-tier system ultimately rolling down to the village level.

- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury talked of Assamese nationalism as an integrated whole.
- Ambikagiri Raichoudhury wanted to strengthen the foundation of Assam and Assamese nationalism. He was of the opinon that it was very essential that the Assamese national identity be preserved.



8.10 FURTHER READING

1) Raichoudhury, Ambikagiri, "Ambikagiri Raichoudhury Rachanavali" Publication Board, Guwahati, 2009.

8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK THE PROGRESS



Ans to Q. No. 1 : Assam Kesari.

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

Ans to Q. No. 3 : Axom Bandhob.

Ans to Q. No. 4 : In order to explain Indian Nationalism, Ambikagiri Raichoudhury used the term 'mahajatiyatabad'(grand nationalism) and 'hanmilitojatiyotabad' (confederative nationalism). He used that particular term because history of India does not hold the evidence of a one language, one nation concept. India was no way united prior to the coming of the Britishers. From ancient time onwards there exist though one religion but diverse language and nationality. Patches of regional nationalities were available. Therefore, according to him , 'India is not a nation, it is a continent'. It is constituent of different states. Each and every state is unique in its language, culture, social structure, traditions and customs. Together they constitute 'bharat' .So India is called a 'continent of the grand Indian nationality' (bharatiamohajatir mohadekh)

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

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



8.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

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

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

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

****

UNIT : 9 JYOTIBA PHULE (1827-1890)

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Attitude Towards Colonial Government

9.4 Indian Social Order- a Critique

9.4.1: Varna and Caste System

9.4.2: Equality between Man and Woman

9.5 Views on Religion

9.6 Indian Economy

9.6.1: Solution to the Agrarian Problem

9.7 Let Us Sum Up

9.8 Further Reading

9.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.10 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

9.2 INTRODUCTION

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

his wife Savitribai to teach in the school. He opened two more schools for girls in 1851. He also established a night school for the untouchables in 1852. By 1858, as a social reformer, he supported the movement for widow remarriage in 1860 and in 1863 he established a Home for the prevention of infanticide. Even today, his Satya Shodhak Samaj is associated with social issues. It was established in 1873 to organise the lower castes against the Hindu social order based on varna and caste system. Some of his major works are - Brahmanache Kasab(1869),Gulamgiri (1873), Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Pustak (1891) etc. He wrote mainly in Marathi and that too in a Marathi meant for the masses. He died on 28 November,1890. He was a 19thCentury philosopher. His main interest were: Ethics, Religion and Humanism.

9.3 ATTITUDE TOWARDS COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: When was Jyotiba Phule born?

……..

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

Q 3 : What is Satya Shodhak Samaj?

.....……..

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

.....……..……

.....……

9.4 CRITICISM ON INDIAN SOCIAL ORDER

Phule's criticism of the British government showed his concern for the welfare of the lower castes in India. According to him, the Indian society

was based on inequality and exploitation among people existed because of the Brahmins. He stated that, God who is the creator of the Universe has created all men and women free and capable of enjoying their rights. Therefore, every individual has a right to property. His thought has given all human beings the liberty of thought and expression. But the thought or opinion one is expressing should not be harmful to anybody. The creator has made all men and women capable of claiming a position in administration according to their ability. All men and women are equal before law. So, even the court of law should be impartial in their judgements.

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

9.4.1 : Varna and Caste System

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

that these lower castes and untouchables should organize against the dominance of the Brahmins and struggle for an egalitarian society. B.R.Ambedkarwas the follower of Phule.

9.4.2 : Equality between Man and Woman

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

……

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

……

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

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

……

……

9.5 VIEWS ON RELIGION

Phule was influenced by radical religious ideas of Thomas Paine. He believed in one God. He regarded God as a creator of this world and all human beings. He discarded idolatry, ritualism and the idea of incarnation. Phule never believed that any book was God ordained. Phule visualized Sarvajanik Satya Dharma (Public True Religion) as to take place of Hinduism. His true religion broke from Hindu tradition altogether. Moreover, he severely criticized the mythology and sacred books and tried to prove that the history of Hinduisms as the history of Brahmin domination and slavery of Shudras. He showed that Brahmins had deceived lower castes throughout history. He interpreted Hinduism as a relation based on Varna and caste system created by the Brahmins to betray the lower castes. In fact, he even accused the Prarthana Samaj and the Brahmo Samaj for their activities and motives. These Samajas according to him, were established by the Brahmins who were educated and the activities of these associations were intended to conceal the superstructure built by their politically motivated ancestors in the name of religion. But though he dismissed Hinduism altogether, he did not reject the very idea of religion or dharma. He tried to put in its place universal religion based on principles of liberty and equality. His Sarvajanik Satya Dharma put emphasis on truth seeking without the aid of any Guru or text. His religious ideas were definitely influenced by Christianity but he never advocated it. His universal religion was liberal and in many respects very different from traditional religions. He

thought that the government should not close its eyes to inhuman religious customs or unjust traditions and practices of Hinduism. At one place, he criticized the colonial government for its policy of continuing the practice of giving grants to temples, collected from lower castes in the form of tax. Thus, for Phule there was no place for any communalism in matters of religion.

9.6 ON INDIAN ECONOMY

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

9.6.1 : Solution of the Agrarian Problem

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

.....

Q 11: For Phule there was no place for any…….....……

in matters of religion. (Fill in the blank)

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

.....

.....

.....



9.7 LET US SUM UP

- Jyotirao Govindrao Phule was born in a Mali family of Poona in 11 April 1827.
- His main interest were: Ethics, Religion and Humanism.
- His thought has given all human beings the liberty of thought and expression.
- Jyotiba Phule, a lower caste social reformer of the 19th century Maharashtra developed a critique of Indian social order and Hinduism.
- Initially, he supported the British rule and said that it provided an opportunity for the masses to get liberated from the domination of the Brahmins. But later, he criticised the British system for its policy of supporting higher education and its tendency to rely upon Brahmin subordinates.
- For Phule, the Varna and caste system were the code of cruel and inhuman laws. They founded a system which gave the Brahmin a prominence in all rituals. The caste system was a creation of cunning Brahmins.
- Phule was influenced by radical religious ideas of Thomas Paine. He believed in one God. He regarded God as a creator of this world and all human beings. He discarded idolatry, ritualism and the idea of incarnation. For Phule, there was no place for any communalism in matters of religion.
- He also criticised the economic policy of the British rule in many respects. It was unfavourable to the poor peasants. Further he suggested a number of solutions to improve the conditions of the agriculture sector as it was facing numerous problems.
- In place of exploitative Indian social order, he wanted to establish a societybased on liberty, equality and universal religion.



9.8 FURTHER READING

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

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

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

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

9.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



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

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

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

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

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True

Ans to Q. No. 6 : Later on Phule's attitude changed towards the British Government because he realized that their activities were against the poor Indian masses and were selfish in nature.

Phule's criticism of the British government showed his concern for the welfare of the lower castes in India.

Ans to Q. No. 7 : equality.

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

(ii) Even the commonest rights of humanity were denied to them. Their touch or even their shadow was considered as pollution. Phule compared the system of slavery by the Brahmins with slavery in America and pointed out that Shudras had to suffer greater hardships and oppression than the blacks. He thought that this system of selfish superstition and was responsible for the stagnation and all the evils from which India was suffering for centuries.

Ans to Q. No. 9 : True

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

(ii) Atishudras

Ans to Q. No. 11 : Communalism

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

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

(iii) He also asked the government to reduce the burden of taxes on farmers in order to make agriculture profitable. Therefore, he while supporting the farmers and lower castes could see another type of drain of wealth i.e. from rural sector to urban sector,

from peasant economy to the Brahmin domain. He totally negated it and wanted to establish equality and justice in the society.



9.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Where Phule attained his education ?

Q 2 : When did Phule died ?

Q 3 : Mention the main interests of Phule.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

****

UNIT 10 : B. R. AMBEDKAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives.

10.2 Introduction.

10.3 Childhood and Early Life.

10.4 Education.

10.5 Political Career.

10.6 Movement against Class Discrimination.

10.7 Framer of the Constitution of India.

10.8 Other Contributions of Ambedkar.

10.9 Let Us Sum Up.

10.10 Further Reading.

10.11 Answers to Check Your Progress.

10.12 Possible Questions.

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, we will learn about:

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

10.2 INTRODUCTION

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

backward classes. Ambedkar was appointed as India's first Law Minister in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru and was also posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna which is India's highest civilian honour, in the year,1990.

Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar popularly known as Baba Saheb, was an Indian jurist, economist, politician and social reformer who inspired the Dalit Buddhist Movement and campaigned against social discrimination against Untouchables (*Dalits*), while also supporting the rights of women and labour. He was Independent India's first law minister and the principal architect of the Constitution of India.

10.3 CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

Ambedkar was born on 14 April, 1891 in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. He was the 14th and last child of Ramji Maloji Sakpal, an army officer who held the rank of Subedar, and Bhimabai Murbadkar Sakpal. His family was of Marathi background from the town of Ambavade in Ratnagiri district of modern day Maharashtra. Ambedkar was born into a poor low Mahar (dalit) caste, who were treated as untouchables and subjected to immense socio-economic discriminations.

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

10.4 EDUCATION

He pursued his higher studies from Elphinstone College and Bombay University and obtained degrees in Economics and Political Science. Being a bright student, Ambedkar got the opportunity to study abroad in US. In the

year 1916, he enrolled in the London School of Economics and started working on his doctoral thesis titled "**The problem of the rupee: Its origin and its solution**". Ambedkar was also a professor of political economy at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Arts. There he received the D.Sc. degree by the London University. After coming back from the US, Ambedkar was appointed as the Defence secretary to the King of Baroda but there also he had to face the humiliation for being an 'Untouchable'.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

10.5 POLITICAL CAREER

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

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

Ambedkar was appointed to the Defence Advisory Committee and the Viceroy's Executive Council as Minister for Labor. His reputation as a scholar led to his appointment as free India's first Law Minister, and he was also the chairman of the drafting committee, responsible for drafting the constitution for independent India. Ambedkar was also a critique of Islamic practice in South Asia. While justifying the Partition of India, he condemned child marriage and the mistreatment of women in Muslim society.

10.6 MOVEMENT AGAINST CASTE DISCRIMINATION

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

He published a fortnightly in Marathi named '**Bahishkrita Bharat'** for the untouchables. The purpose of this journal was to keep the untouchables well informed about the happenings in the land and also to make his voice heard among the open minded upper classes. He also championed the cause of the working classes.

In his testimony before the South Borough Committee in preparation of the Government of India Act in 1919, he opined that there should be a separate electoral system for the Untouchables and other marginalised communities. He supported the idea of reservations for the Dalits and other religious outcastes and tried his best to reach out to them. Ambedkar began

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

10.7 FRAMER OF THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

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

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

castes and scheduled tribes and Other Backward Class. The Constitution was finally adopted on 26 November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly.

10.8 OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS OF AMBEDKAR

- **Ambedkar and Buddhism**

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

- **Support to Uniform Civil Code**

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

- **Economic Planning**

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

In the year 1951, Ambedkar established the Finance Commission of India. He opposed the imposition of income tax for low income groups.

He contributed in Land Revenue Tax and excise duty policies to stabilise the economy and played an important role in land reform and the state economic development. According to him, the caste system divided workers and impeded economic progress. He emphasised a free economy with a stable Rupee and also advocated birth control to develop the Indian economy, and this has been adopted by Indian government as national policy for family planning. He emphasised equal rights for women for economic development.

- **As a Literateur**

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

i. Castes in India : Their Mechanism, Genesis and Development and 11 Other Essays.

ii. Ambedkar in the Bombay Legislature, with the Simon Commission and at the Round Table Conferences,1927–1939.

iii. Philosophy of Hinduism, India and the Pre-requisites of Communism, Revolution and Counter-revolution.

iv. Buddha or Karl Marx.

v. Riddles in Hinduism.

vi. Essays on Untouchables and Untouchability.

vii. The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, 1925.

viii. The Untouchables Who Were They And Why They Became Untouchables ?

ix. The Annihilation of Caste (1938).

x. Pakistan or the Partition of India, 1948.

xi. What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables, 1945.

xii. Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables, 1943

xiii. The Buddha and his Dhamma, 1957.

Some of the other writings of Dr. Ambedkar include :

Ancient Indian Commerce, Notes on laws, Waiting for a Visa; Ambedkar as the principal architect of the Constitution of India(2 parts)

Dr. Ambedkar and The Hindu Code Bill

Ambedkar as Free India's First Law Minister and Member of Opposition in Indian Parliament (1947–1956).

The Pali Grammar.

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....



10.09 LET US SUM UP

- Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was a jurist, social reformer and politician. He was also known as the **Father of Indian Constitution**. Ambedkar was appointed as India's first Law Minister in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal

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

- Ambedkar was born on 14 April, 1891 in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. He was the 14th and last child of Ramji Maloji Sakpal, an army officer who held the rank of Subedar, and Bhimabai Murbadkar Sakpal. Ambedkar was born into a poor low Mahar (dalit) caste, who were treated as untouchables and subjected to immense socio-economic discriminations.
- He pursued his higher studies from Elphinstone College and Bombay University and obtained degrees in Economics and Political Science. In the year 1916, he enrolled in the London School of Economics and started working on his doctoral thesis titled "**The problem of the rupee: Its origin and its solution**".
- In the year 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labor Party and in the ensuing 1937 elections to the Central Legislative Assembly, his party won 15 seats.
- Ambedkar was appointed to the Defence Advisory Committee and the Viceroy's ExecutiveCouncil as Minister for Labor.
- He firmly believed in the complete removal of the caste system by a permanent act of legislation, abolishing of priesthood which was confined only to the Brahmin class and the standardization of scriptures, rituals and religious practises that would remove the stigma of untouchability permanently.
- He published a fortnightly in Marathi named '**Bahishkrita Bharat'** for the untouchables.By 1927, Ambedkar launched a full-fledged movements for Dalit rights. He demanded that public drinking water sources be open for all and the right for all castes to enter temples,he openly condemned Hindu Scriptures advocating discrimination and arranged symbolic demonstrations to enter the Kalaram Temple in Nashik.
- Dr. Ambedkar was appointed as the chairman of the constitution drafting committee on August 29, 1947. He emphasized on the construction of a virtual bridge between all classes of the society

and according to him, it would be difficult to maintain the unity of the country if the differences among the classes were not met.The Constitution was finally adopted on 26 November 1949 by the Constituent Assembly.

- In the year 1950, Ambedkar travelled to Sri Lanka to attend a convention of Buddhist scholars and monks where he was very much influenced by the Buddhist culture and converted himself to Buddhism. He was the founder of the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha. His book, "The Buddha and His Dhamma" was published posthumously.
- Ambedkar was the first Indian to pursue a doctorate in economics abroad. He stressed investment in agriculture as the primary industry of India. He also advocated national economic and social development, stressing education, public hygiene, community health, residential facilities as the basic amenities.
- In the year 1951, Ambedkar established the Finance Commission of India. He opposed the imposition of income tax for low income groups. According to him, the caste system divided workers and impeded economic progress. He emphasised a free economy with a stable Rupee and also advocated birth control to develop the Indian economy, and this has been adopted by Indian government as national policy for family planning. He emphasised equal rights for women for economic development.
- The Education Department, Government of Maharashtra (Mumbai) published the collection of Ambedkar's writings and speeches in different volumes.



10.10 FURTHER READING

1) DR. BR Ambedkar, His life and work by M.L Shahare(NCERT)

2) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches Vol. 1 (First Edition by Education Department, Govt. of Maharashtra : 14 April, 1979)

3) Omvedt, G. (2008). Ambedkar: towards an enlightened India. New Delhi; New York: Penguin.

10.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. To Q. No. 1 : Ambedkar was born on 14 April, 1891 in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. He was the 14th and last child of Ramji Maloji Sakpal, an army officer who held the rank of Subedar, and Bhimabai Murbadkar Sakpal. His family was of Marathi background from the town of Ambavade in Ratnagiri district of modern day Maharashtra.

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

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

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

Being suffered and experienced the ill treatment made by others for being a lower caste, Ambedkar was strictly against the practice of this social evil and championed for the causes of the untouchables all through his life. He firmly believed in the complete removal of the caste system by a permanent act of legislation, abolishing of priesthood which was confined only to the Brahmin class and the standardization of scriptures, rituals and religious practises that remove the stigma of untouchability permanently. He also published a fortnightly in Marathi named '**Bahishkrita Bharat'** for the untouchables. The purpose of this journal was to

keep the untouchables well informed about the happenings in the land and also to make his voice heard among the open minded upper classes. He also championed the cause of the working classes.

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

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



10.12 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Why did Ambedkar convert himself to Buddhism?

Q 2 : Name two literary works of Ambedkar.

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

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

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

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

****

UNIT 11 : MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 The Koranic Foundation of Political Ideas

11.4 Political Ideas of Abul Kalam Azad

- 11.4.1 Azad's Views on Hindu Muslim Unity
- 11.4.2 Views on Nationalism
- 11.4.3 Views on Non-Violence
- 11.4.4 Views on Democracy
- 11.4.5 Azad's Views on Partition of India

11.5 Let Us Sum Up

11.6 Further Reading

11.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.8 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to:

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

11.2 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

11.3 THE KORANIC FOUNDATION OF POLITICAL IDEAS

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1 : When was Abul Kalam Azad born?

.....

.....

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

....

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

.....

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

.....

.....

11.4 POLITICAL IDEAS OF AZAD

Abul Kalam Azad, through his Al-Hilal (the crescent), challenged the political philosophy of Syed Ahmed khan and the Aligarh School. First, he wanted to infuse in the Musalmans the ardent desire for rebellion against British Rule. Secondly, he wanted them to play their own part in the political movement. A political regime always tries to justify its subjugation of subjects. But liberty is the primary right of a man and it is nobody's personal privilege to limit or destroy it. There can be no justification for any political domination over another nation. It is an individual's duty to fight against such inequity. Islam prescribes that only the sovereignty of God is justifiable. Islam constitutes a system of freedom and democracy. Only God can deny the freedom of a man. All man are equal and have equal rights. Islam and Mohammad have been champions of a conception of democratic quality and this can be correctly practiced when the whole nation asserts its free will and unity and practices the techniques of suffrage and election. Khilafat

means representation, and the authority of the Khalifa was a kind of representative authority. If even an Islamic government does not recognize the freedom and the will of the nation, then it forfeits its moral justification. Thus Abul kalam Azad used the Islamic conception of sovereignty of God and equality of man to substantiate the struggle for the grant of political rights which was being carried on through the non-cooperation movement. Abul Kalam confessed that it was his duty to proclaim the inequity of the British tyranny. He declared that his political mission was that rights and liberty of the community must be firmly demanded. He stated that his paper *Al-Hilal* was committed to this kind of political philosophy. Although the British imperial system was fully armed with all the engines and techniques of repression, still Azad pronounced his faith on God and the power of sacrifice.

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

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

11.4.1 Azad's Views on Hindu-Muslim Unity

While addressing the Congress in1923 Azad spoke: "if Swaraj is delayed, it will be a loss for India but if Hindu-Muslim unity is lost, it will be a loss for the whole of mankind." Again in 1940, he proclaimed: "I am a Muslim and proud of the fact; Islam's splendid tradition of 1300 years are my inheritance, I am part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. Everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavor. Our language was different but we grew to use a common language (Hindustani); our manners and customs were different, dissimilar

but they produced a new synthesis. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity."

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

11.4.2 Azad's Views on Nationalism

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

11.4.3 Azad's Views on Non-Violence

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

11.4.4 Azad's Views on Democracy

As regards his views on the political system, he did not take inspiration from Islam alone but also from the West. He said: "Ours is essentially a democratic age and the spirit of equality, fraternity and liberty is sweeping over all the people of the world." In his broad spirit of synthesis Azad could even reconcile the seemingly opposed concepts of aristocracy and democracy. According to Azad, "Aristocracy develops a width of vision and a far reaching imagination and thus enriches democracy."

11.4.5 Azad's Views on Partition of India

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

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

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

Maulana Azad was an apostle of national unity and communal harmony. He was a symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity and "composite culture". He was opposed to the partition of India until the end. He stood like a rock for a united India. The best epitaph for Azad was written by himself: "I am proud of being an Indian; I am part of the indivisible unity that is Indian Nationality and without me this splendid

structure of India is incomplete."Azad was an outstanding Muslim intellectual of modern India. The range of his mind was encyclopaedic. He was a great literary artists. Azad had a many-sided personality. He was a literally giant and possessed excellent taste and rare aesthetic sensibility. He was an embodiment of synthesis of the East and the West. According to Jawaharlal Nehru, "He was a strange mixture of medieval scholasticism, eighteen century rationalism and modern outlook.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

……

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

……

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

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

.....……

.....……

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

.....…….....……

.....……



11.5 LET US SUM UP

- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was born on November 11, 1888 in Mecca.
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's real name was Abul Kalam Ghulam Muhiyuddin.
- He was popularly known as Maulana Azad.

- His mother was an Arabian and his father, Maulana Khairuddin, was a Bengali Muslim of Afghan origins.
- He was a multi-linguist, and was well versed in numerous languages such as Urdu, Hindi, Bengali, Persian, English and Arabic.
- He received education in philosophy, world history, Hanbali fiqh, shariat, mathematics and science. As a meritorious student, he was blessed with a strong aptitude for knowledge that helped him stay ahead of his contemporaries.
- Azad at a young age, brought out several journals, served as an editor of the weekly Al-Misbah. He even reinterpreted the holy Quran, the Hadith and the principles of Fiqh and Kalam.
- Azad was a keen intellectual, orator, writer and a remarkable politician.
- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was one of the foremost leaders of Indian freedom struggle and was also a renowned scholar, and poet.
- He was one of the important political leaders of Gandhian era. Azad's early political ideas are contained in his urdu journal Al-hilal and Lisanus sidah and writings like Tazkira and Ghobar khatir.
- He was an intensely religious man.
- Abul Kalam favoured a reformist and rational approach to the Koran.
- According to Abul Kalam, the Koran declares that religion is one and all people constitute a single humanistic fraternity under the protection and true guidance, (Hidayat) of God.
- Abul Kalam Azad, through his Al-Hilal (the crescent), challenged the political philosophy of Syed Ahmed khan and the Aligarh School.
- Khilafat means representation, and the authority of the Khalifa was a kind of representative authority
- Abul Kalam confessed that it was his duty to proclaim the inequity of the British tyranny.

- Abul kalam was a champion of unity between the Hindus and the Musalmans. He wanted the Muslims to imbibe a reformist attitude.
- He was opposed to the separatism and sectarian nationalism which was preached by the Muslim League.
- According to Azad, "Aristocracy develops a width of vision and a far reaching imagination and thus enriches democracy."



11.6 FURTHER READING

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

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



11.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

Ans to Q. No. 3 : False

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

Ans to Q. No. 5 : True.

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

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

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

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

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

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

11.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Where was Maulana Abul Kalam Azad born?

Q 2 : What was Azad's full name?

Q 3 : What does Khilafat mean?

Q 4 : What is AlHilal?

Q 5 : Discuss Azad's political ideas.

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

******



UNIT : 12 JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction: Early Life

12.3 Influence of Marxism on J. P. Narayan

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

12.5 Total Revolution

12.6 Critical Appreciation

12.7 Let Us Sum Up

12.8 Further Reading

12.9 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to :

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

12.2 INTRODUCTION

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

Born on 11 October 1902, in a middle class family of Sitabdaria village (now part of Balia, Uttar Pradesh), Jayaprakash Narayan was the

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

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

12.3 INFLUENCE OF MARXISM ON J.P. NARAYAN

As already mentioned Jayaprakash Narayan was introduced to Marxism during his 7 years stay in USA. In the company of students from

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

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

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

sometimes contradictory to Marxism. For instance, as against the Marxist belief that the state is an instrument in the hands of the capitalist to exploit the working class, Jayaprakash Narayan held that the state performed welfare functions which are beneficial to the poor and these activities of the state are funded out of the taxes paid mostly by the rich. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan could not completely support Marxist doctrine of the state as an evil institution.

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

It is noteworthy that Jayaprakash Narayan's 'alienation' with the Communists did not lead him to abandon socialism or to join the Congress party which was the pioneer of the freedom struggle. For Joyprakash Narayan, freedom implied a 'socialist India' and swaraj meant 'rule of the poor and the downtrodden'. Since for him, the policy of the Congress seemed

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

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

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

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

to the Asian socialists to start 'thinking, experimenting, innovating' in order to find a way to achieve socialism.

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

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

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

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

rich, and famous. These would be the motivations which would drive people into action.

Disappointed with Marxism and upset with the defeat of his party, The Congress Socialist Party in the general elections of 1952, Jayaprakash Narayan decided to give up politics and devote his life towards Sarvodaya and Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Movement (distribution of land to the landless). Joyprakash Narayan referred this move of his as '*Jeevandan'.* He had realized that politics would not be able to deliver the goals which he initially associated with socialism, viz., freedom, equality, peace and fraternity. And the only alternative to politics available was Gandhi's Sarvodaya, which he had ignored earlier. He justified his decision to quit politics thus: 'I decided to withdraw from party-and-power politics not because of disgust or sense of any personal frustration, but because it became clear to me that politics could not deliver the goods, the goods being the same old goals of equality, freedom, brotherhood, peace'(Das, 2005, p.19)

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

power of love and a change of heart of the exploiters and perpetrators of inequality.

Since equality of all is one of the cardinal principles of Sarvodaya, it doesn't value majority opinion as more important than that of a minority. In other words, majoritarianism is rejected by Sarvodaya. Here Jayaprakash Narayan comes very close to JS Mill who also talks about the importance of minority opinion. Also, rather than conflictual relationship between different categories or classes of people Jayaprakash Narayan was of the opinion that consensus should be the mode of solving problems. If truth is the ultimate goal and if every member of society is equally important, then the society has to negotiate on the basis of consensus of all, rather than deciding on the basis of views of only the majority. Therefore, one should rely on the logic of dialectics of argument and counter-argument, which would finally lead to a good acceptable to all.

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

Similarly, Jayaprakash Narayan supported other manifestations of Sarvodaya, such as Gramadan (equitable sharing of land by villagers), Sampattidan (conversion of all property into trusteeship), Sadhandan (to give away as a gift such means of production which would enable Bhoodan recipients to till their lands, viz bullocks), and Buddhidan.These are the ways in which Jayaprakash Narayan thought an equitable social order could be created in a peaceful and morally correct order. It is noteworthy that like Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan thought that only a morally correct means could lead to a moral end. He was particularly influenced by the ends-means

binary, articulated by Gandhi. For Gandhi, the means to achieve an end is as important as the end itself. Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan argued that, 'the means must be morally consistent with the ends' (Das, 2005, p.14). This is one of the major reasons why Marxist theory failed to achieve socialism: because it sought to achieve a morally correct socialist society with the help of an amoral means, viz., violence. He had no doubts about socialism being a morally and ethically correct vision about an equal, peaceful and free society, what he detested was the means to achieve such a social order. Thus, he argued that till socialism is transformed into Sarvodaya such inconsistency in ends and means cannot be breached, and hence an ideal society cannot be established. Sarvodaya was for him a superior form of socialism.

12.5 JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN'S TOTAL REVOLUTION

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

Inspired by the Gujarat movement in 1973 where the students' agitation led to the resignation of the Gujarat government, he supported the students' movement in Bihar. Infact, relenting to the students' requests on the condition that the movement would be peaceful, Jayaprakash Narayan took on the leadership of the Bihar movement. Upset with such

developments in Bihar, the Indira Gandhi government sought to suppress the movement by imprisoning Jayaprakash Narayan and imposing emergency in the country. All this was in vain, because in the general elections that followed, the Janata Party led by Jayaprakash Narayan won massive votes of the people and formed the government at the centre. It is interesting to note here, that having denounced politics, Jayaprakash Narayan did not lead the government and stayed away from power politics.

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

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

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

through people's participation. Thus, democracy based on decentralization is another characteristic feature of Total Revolution.

Through this, Jayaprakash Narayan wanted to execute the Gandhian vision of an ideal society, characterised by economic equality, true democracy, and a moral social order. For this ideal society to materialize, Jayaprakash Narayan calls for spiritual purification as well as structural changes at the economic, social, cultural and educational arena. Spiritual purification entails in inculcation of a value system based on moral and ethical principles. Jayaprakash Narayan, like Gandhi gives a lot of importance to this aspect of an individual life. For both of them, without changes in the inner values, the external changes would be useless and unreal.

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

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

All the above listed goals would become a reality, only when there are agents to carry forward the movement of Total Revolution. And one of the most important roles in this movement, is that of a leader. And the role the leader has to play is that of guiding the movement. Jayaprakash Narayan held the opinion that leaders do not create revolutions; because revolutions

are the result of historical conditions. The leader merely controls and directs the revolution in a certain path. Bereft of a leader, any movement would loose direction and become chaotic, resulting in even a dictatorial regime.

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

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

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

'Total' revolution, constructive work becomes essential to give birth to a new social order.

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

12.6 CRITICAL APPRECIATION

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

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

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

depending on the different realities he encountered in life. And thus his philosophy is very much consistent.

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



12.7 LET US SUM UP

- Overall we have seen that Jayaprakash Narayan was inspired both by socialism as well as Gandhism at different points of time. His turning away from Marxist socialism was more because of its support for use of violence to achieve its goal as well as its inapplicability in the Indian scenario, than inconsistency in Jayaprakash Narayan's thought as argued by his critics.
- So far as his proximity to Gandhian values and adoption of Sarvodaya are concerned, he was always inspired by the moral values which Gandhi espoused.
- Jayaprakash Narayan was particularly influenced by Gandhi's technique of non-cooperation and satyagraha which were non-violent methods of protests.
- Applying Gandhian technique to create an ideal society, Jayaprakash Narayan suggested Total Revolution which would bring about complete transformation in the structure of Indian society. It was the way in which Sarvodaya could be realised.

- This movement would start at the village level and move upwards to the urban areas, ensuring complete participation of the masses. Jayaprakash Narayan intended to create a party-less ideal democratic society which would value each individual. His main goal was to create a society characterised by morality, freedom and equality.



12.8 FURTHER READING

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

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

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



12.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

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

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

Q 4 : Analyse the impact of Gandhi on Narayan.

****

Unit 13 : ACHARYA VINOBA BHAVE

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Childhood and Early Life

13.4 Religious and Social Work

13.5 Bhoodan Movement

13.6 Brahma Vidya Mandir

13.7 Bhave and Gandhi

13.8 Literary Career

13.9 Criticism

13.10 Let Us Sum Up

13.11 Further Reading

13.12 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.13 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, we will learn about:

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

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Acharya Vinoba Bhave is one of the greatest thinkers of Indian political thought. He is known as the father of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement, a freedom fighter and spiritual leader. He was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11,1895. Named Vinayak

Narahari Bhave at birth, he was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya.'

13.3 CHILDHOOD AND EARLY LIFE

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

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

sent by Gandhi to Vaikom, Kerala to supervise the entry of the Harijans to the temple.

13.4 RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL WORK

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

13.5 BHOODAN MOVEMENT

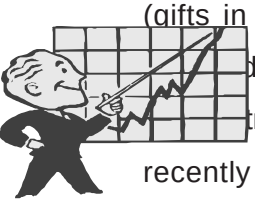
He started the Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement as a voluntary land reform movement in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. He was inspired to start this after talking to 40 poor harijan families. The mission of this movement was to persuade wealthy landowners to voluntarily give a percentage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

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

By this process, Vinoba Bhave aimed at changing mindsets to make possible a peaceful transference of ownership of land to the landless and

thus, prevent a bloody revolution. He had once declared that his aim was to bring about a three-fold revolution of a change in people's hearts; a change in their lives; and thirdly, change in the social structure. He thus believed that the Bhoodan movement to be primarily a moral movement for the regeneration of people and the reorientation of the social and economic values of life. As such Bhave walked from village to village and encouraged people to follow Sarvodaya and Bhoodan. He believed that the future peace and prosperity of India depended upon the peaceful solution of the land problem and development of the agricultural sector. Although the BhoodanYajna by itself could not be a conclusive answer to India's immense agricultural problem, it nonetheless awakened a new consciousness and roused new hope in the hearts of millions.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

13.6 BRAHMA VIDYA MANDIR

The Brahma Vidya Mandir is one of the ashrams that Bhave created for women in order to make them self-sufficient and independent. This community uses Gandhi's beliefs about food production, which includes sustainability and social justice. This community was greatly influenced by the Bhagavad Gita and performed prayers every day, reciting from the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gita.

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

13.7 BHAVE AND GANDHI

Bhave was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings. He followed his philosophies of nonviolence, sarvodaya and self service. It is believed that Vinoba took the decision of leaving his higher studies after reading a newspaper article by Mahatma Gandhi. Eventually, a series of letters exchanged between them and Gandhi advised Vinoba to come for a personal meeting at Kochrab Ashram in Ahmedabad . Vinoba met Gandhi

on 7 June 1916 and subsequently abandoned his studies. He participated with keen interest in the activities at Gandhi's ashram, like teaching, studying, spinning and improving the life of the community. Over the years, the bond between Vinoba and Gandhi grew stronger and his involvement in constructive programs related to Khadi, village industries, new education, sanitation and hygiene kept on increasing. In 1925, he was sent by Gandhi to Vaikom, Kerala to supervise regarding the entry of the Harijans to the temple. However, Bhave was severely criticised because of his blind loyalty towards Gandhi.

13.8 LITERARY CAREER

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

Some of his works are:

The essence of Quran

The essence of Christian teaching

Thoughts on education

Swarajya Sastra

13.9 CRITICISM

V.S. Naipaul has severely criticised Bhave in his work citing his lack of connection with rationality and excessive imitation of Gandhi. Even some of his admirers find fault with the extent of his devotion to Gandhi. His blind following of the Congress party was also severely critised. Bhave hugely supported the emergency imposed by the then prime minister, Indira Gandhi

calling it Anushasana Parva (Time for Discipline). By this he meant everyone to follow the rule including the rulers of that time. During Anushasana Parva – the king has to take the permission of the great men of his time – by that he meant to put the government under the guidance of the learned. Congress party opponents at that time had coined the derogatory term "Sarkari Sant (Government Saint)" to describe him. Noted Marathi writer Purushottam Laxman Deshpande publicly criticised him and mocked him by writing an article titled as "Vanaroba" which is disambiguation of name "Vinoba" and literally means monkey.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....

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

.....

.....



13.10 LET US SUM UP

- Vinoba Bhave was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11, 1895. He is known as the father of the Bhoodan (Land Gift) Movement.
- Bhave was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya.'

- Vinoba Bhave's religious outlook was very broad and it synthesized the truths of many religions. This is very much evident in one of his hymns "Om Tat" which contains symbols of many religions. Bhave was of the view to think one for a whole.
- He started the Bhoodan Movement or Land Gift Movement as a voluntary land reform movement in 1951 at Pochampally village in Telangana. He believed that the Bhoodan movement to be primarily a moral movement for the regeneration of people and the reorientation of the social and economic values of life.
- The Brahma VidyaMandir is one of the ashrams that Bhave created for women in order to make them self-sufficient and independent. This community used Gandhi's beliefs.
- Bhave was an ardent follower of Mahatma Gandhi and his teachings. He followed his philosophies of nonviolence, sarvodaya and self service. However, Bhave was severely criticised because of his blind loyalty towards Gandhi.
- Vinoba Bhave was an eminent scholar, thinker, and writer who produced numerous books. He translated the Bhagavad Gita into Marathi.
- V.S. Naipaul has severely criticised Bhave in his work citing his lack of connection with rationality and excessive imitation of Gandhi.Even some of his admirers find fault with the extent of his devotion to Gandhi. His blind following of the Congress party was also severely critised.



13.11 FURTHER READING

1) Indian Political Thought, Urmila Sharma, S.K Sharma; 2001.

2) Indian Political Thought - Prof. Mahendra P. Singh; Pearson ;2001

13.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans To Q. No. 1 : Vinoba Bhave was born at Gagode in Kolaba district, Maharashtra on September 11,1895. Named Vinayak Narahari Bhave at birth, he was an ardent advocate of nonviolence and human rights and was conferred with the title of 'Acharya'. Vinayaka was the eldest son of Narahari Shambhu Rao and Rukmini Devi. The couple had five children – four sons and one daughter, named Vinayaka (affectionately called Vinya), Balakrishna, Shivaji and Dattatreya. His two brothers, Balkoba Bhave and Shivaji Bhave, remained bachelors devoted to social work. His father, Narahari Shambhu Rao was a trained weaver with a rationalist modern outlook, and worked in Baroda. Vinayaka was brought up by his grandfather, Shamburao Bhave and was greatly influenced by his mother Rukmini Devi.

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

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

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

Ans To Q. No. 5 : V.S. Naipaul has severely criticised Bhave in his work citing his lack of connection with rationality and excessive imitation of Gandhi. Even some of his admirers find fault with the extent of his devotion to Gandhi. His blind following to the Congress party was also severely unpopular among others. Bhave hugely supported the emergency imposed by the then prime minister,

Indira Gandhi calling it Anushasana Parva(Time for Discipline). By this he meant everyone to follow the rule including the rulers of that time. Congress party opponents at that time had coined the derogatory term "Sarkari Sant (Government Saint)" to describe him. Noted Marathi writer Purushottam Laxman Deshpande publicly criticised him and mocked him by writing an article titled as "Vanaroba" which is disambiguation of name "Vinoba" and literally means monkey.

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

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



13.13 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

Q 1 : Name one literary work of Bhave.

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

Q 3 : When was the Bhoodan movement being started?

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

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

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

Q 7 : Write a note on the Bhoodan movement.

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

****

UNIT 14 : RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Lohia's Ideas on Socialism and Gandhism

14.4 Lohia's Concept of International Society

14.5 Let Us Sum Up

14.6 Further Reading

14.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.8 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to:

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

14.2 INTRODUCTION

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

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was born at Akbarpur in Uttar Pradesh on the 23rd of March, 1910 and he passed away on the 12th of October, 1967. He completed his higher education from Banaras Hindu University and Calcutta University and then went on to obtain his Doctorate from the University of Berlin.

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

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

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

14.3 LOHIA'S IDEAS ON SOCIALISM AND GANDHISM

Lohia was a staunch advocate of decentralized socialism also known as 'New Socialism'. He stated in his work, Marx, Gandhi and Socialism, that the socialist doctrine needs to be reoriented in the backdrop of the simple truth that all men are equal not only within the nation but also among nations. He opined that, if this could be achieved, people would be able to maintain a basic minimum standard of living not only within their national

territories, but as whole, all across countries and continents, in the whole world.[1]

According to Lohia, socialism in India was inherently associated with Gandhi's ideas. He had stated that, socialism in India was initiated by Gandhi's ideas and actions. He was greatly impacted by Gandhi's principles, ethics and methods. He believed that the ideas of "Satyagraha" and "non-co-operation" were unique innovations of Gandhi and he wanted socialism to be combined with Gandhismin order to enrich it. Inspired by Gandhian thought, Lohia went on to propagate that, socialism did not only have physical aims and goals, but it also meant, the alleviation of poverty and inequality from society and the strengthening of individual character. But again, he clarified that spiritualism is only an aspect of socialism and socialism as a doctrine or philosophy was a combination of spiritualism and materialism. In other words, it is about both individual and social reform.

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

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

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

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

(i) Civil disobedience against violent revolutions

(ii) Economic equality

(iii) Abolition of castes

(iv) Emancipation of women

(v) National independence

(vi) An end to colour discrimination

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

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

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

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

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

Lohia was however against communism and regarded it as a perverse ideology based on centralization, violence and restriction of human freedom. Though he favoured Marxism, but he felt that communism would not be conducive to the Indian situation. Lohia was very particularistic and specific about the model of socialism which he favoured for India. He did not approve of the idea of socialism as propagated by Nehru.

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

14.4 LOHIA'S CONCEPT OF INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY

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

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

Lohia stated that, the international society is essentially composed of two parts or segments, these are- (a) the nation states and (b) mankind.

Thus, he envisions that in the future, all the nation-states would come together and form one federal state and entire mankind would eventually become one political group. In this idea of Lohia, we find strong inclinations to Kant's idea of the same.[5]

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

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

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

We can assess from the ideas and principles stated above that Ram Manohar Lohia was not only a great leader, politician, intellectual and an activist, but he was a visionary. He was a man who saw much ahead of his times. He did not only highlight problems and provide solutions, but he tried to address the problems at their roots and undo them. His ideas for India and its development still hold ground and are still instrumental in taking ahead on the path of development. The incorporation of the themes of equality, development, socialism and world society, were and are still vital to make India a greater nation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....

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

.....



14.5 LET US SUM UP

- Ram Manohar Lohia has been one of the most original and ingenious modern Indian thinkers. He can be described as an intellectual, an activist as well as a prominent figure in the politics of his times. He played instrumental roles in the politics of the country both before and after independence.

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

- He was strongly influenced by the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi and Karl Marx. Lohia was not only an intellectual but he was a very proactive political activist as well. He had formed the Association of European Indians.

- He had joined the Indian National Congress and had established the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. He was also elected as the Secretary of the All India Congress Committee in 1936.

- He was highly involved in the Indian national freedom struggle and had been imprisoned about twenty times, for his various efforts and initiatives.

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

- Lohia was a staunch advocate of decentralized socialism also known as 'New Socialism'. He opined that, if this could be achieved, people would be able to maintain a basic minimum standard of living not only within their national territories, but as whole, all across countries and continents, in the whole world.

- According to Lohia, socialism in India was inherently associated with Gandhi's ideas. He was greatly impacted by Gandhi's principles, ethics and methods. He believed that the ideas of "Satyagraha" and "non-co-operation" were unique innovations of Gandhi and he wanted socialism to be combined with Gandhism in order to enrich it.

- Lohia believed that, socialism was a newer doctrine than capitalism or communism. He is also credited with the evolution of the concept of *SaptaKranti* or seven revolutions.Lohia had repeatedly asserted

the importance of these seven revolutions in order to achieve what he had termed as 'New Socialism'.

- He has also differentiated socialism from the concept of Sarvodaya. He had rejected the idea of Sarvodaya because it did not accommodate the idea of social change.
- Lohia was against communism and regarded it as a perverse ideology based on centralization, violence and restriction of human freedom. Though he favoured Marxism, but he felt that communism would not be conducive to the Indian situation. He did not approve of the idea of socialism as propagated by Nehru.
- Lohia was an idealist and a humanist. His ideas on socialism were like already stated, a combination of spiritualism and materialism.
- Lohia stated that, the international society is essentially composed of two parts or segments, these are- (a) the nation states and (b) mankind. Thus, he envisions that in the future, all the nation-states would come together and form one federal state and entire mankind would eventually become one political group.
- He strongly favoured the end of the Cold War and had declared that peaceful coexistence could never come if the two camps of the two super powers were not dismantled.
- Lohia rejected the idea of the nonexistence of a political process at international level which was and still is vital in order to address the global problems. He had asserted that some political processes should be initiated at the global level and that this initiative should be taken by both the developed countries of the West and the developing countries of the Third World. Lohia had suggested these ideas so as to create a global society for mankind.
- Ram Manohar Lohia was not only a great leader, politician, intellectual and an activist, but he was a visionary. The incorporation of the

themes of equality, development, socialism and world society, were and are still vital to make India a greater nation.



14.6 FURTHER READING

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

2) Pantham, ed. Indian Political Thought.

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

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

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

14.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

Ans to Q. No. 2 : Lohia was a staunch advocate of decentralized socialism also known as 'New Socialism'. He stated in his work, Marx, Gandhi and Socialism that the socialist doctrine needs to be reoriented in the backdrop of the simple truth that all men are equal not only within the nation but also among nations. He opined that, if this could be achieved, people would be able to maintain a basic minimum standard of living not only within their national territories, but as whole, all across countries and continents, in the whole world.

According to Lohia, socialism in India was inherently associated with Gandhi's ideas. He had stated that, socialism in India was initiated by Gandhi's ideas and actions. He was greatly impacted by Gandhi's principles, ethics and methods.

He believed that the ideas of "Satyagraha" and "non-co-operation" were unique innovations of Gandhi and he wanted socialism to be combined with Gandhism in order to enrich it. Inspired by Gandhian thought, Lohia went on to propagate that, socialism did not only have physical aims and goals, but it also meant, the alleviation of poverty and inequality from society and the strengthening of individual character. But again, he clarified that spiritualism is only an aspect of socialism and socialism as a doctrine or philosophy was a combination of spiritualism and materialism. In other words, it is about both individual and social reform.

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

(i) Civil disobedience against violent revolutions

(ii) Economic equality

(iii) Abolition of castes

(iv) Emancipation of women

(v) National independence

(vi) An end to colour discrimination

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

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

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



14. 8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

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

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

End Notes

1. Jain, A.K. Gupta P, "Economic Ideas of Lohia, Some Aspects", Mainstream Weekly Mainstream, VOL L, No. 14 march 24, 2012
   https : // www.mainstreamweekly.net/article3346.html
   retrieved 30.5.17
2. Kapoor, Manvi, Politics and Ideas of Ram Manohar Lohia, Context, Discourse and Vision of Lohia's Socialism,
   https://www.academia.edu/6926483/POLITICS_AND_IDEAS_OF_RAMMANOHAR_LOHIA_Context_Discourse_and_Vision_of_Lohias_Socialism
   retrieved, 30.5.17.
3. Jain, A. K. Gupta P., Economic Ideas of Lohia, Some Aspects, Mainstream Weekly Mainstream, VOL L, No. 14, march 24, 2012
   htts ; // www.mainstreamweekly.net/article3346.html
   retrieved 30.5-17
4. http://shodhganga.infibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/72172/9/09chapter%205pdf retrieved 30.5.17
5. Ibid
6. Ibid
7. Ibid
8. Ibid

UNIT - 15 AMARTYA SEN

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Development as Freedom

15.4 Missing Women

15.5 Let Us Sum Up

15.6 Further Reading

15.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.8 Possible Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit we will be able to:

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

15.2 INTRODUCTION

A celebrated academician, Amartya Sen has made immensely significant contributions to the discourses of the social sciences and economics. Born on the 3rd of November, 1933, in Manikganj, (presently in Bangladesh) of undivided India, Sen went on to become one of the most prominent economists and philosophers of international repute. He has written extensively on issues like welfare economics, social choice

theory, economic and social justice, economic theories of famines, and indexes of the measure of well-being of citizens of developing countries. It is also worth mentioning here that Sen is the first Asian to be awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 1998.

Sen has been a recipient of national and international awards for his works. He was presented the Bharat Ratna in 1999 for his work in welfare economics. He was also awarded the inaugural Charleston-EFG John Maynard Keynes Prize for his work on welfare economics in February 2015 in a reception at the Royal Academy in the UK. He was also the first non-American in history[10] to be awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Barack Obama in 2012.

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

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

15.3 DEVELOPMENT AS FREEDOM

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

For Sen, development is actually freedom, which is envisaged as emancipation from all kinds and dimensions of 'unfreedoms'. He talks about, freeing people and society from 'unfreedoms' like poverty, tyranny, poor economic opportunities, systematic economic deprivations, neglect of public facilities, and even of the notions like intolerance and or the overarching influence of repressive states. Sen basically comes up with such an understanding of freedom, because he states that, even in this apparent stage of development, masses of people are denied or refused their basic elementary freedoms or liberties; and when people do not have access to their basic freedoms or liberties, what is the entire point of development?

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

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

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

(i) The Evaluative Reason

(ii) The Effectiveness Reason

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

that it contributes to the strengthening of other agencies, because there is a vital connection between individual freedom and the achievement of social development.

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

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

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

So basically and essentially Sen's idea of development as freedom is to envisage development as an inclusive concept, that incorporates and integrates social, economic and political considerations. Such an approach to development is a broad one that interlinks many different institutions like markets, market-related organizations, government, local authorities, political

parties, civic organizations, educational institutions and ways and means of open expression and debate as well as discussion for the people. Such an integrated model of development will help the people and society to concede social values and norms that impact the freedoms that people enjoy and cherish. Sen emphasises can be vital in influencing gender equity, child care, family size, fertility patterns, treatment of the environment, corruption, and even the ideas of trust in economic, social and political relationships.

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

(a) Political freedoms

(b) Economic facilities

(c) Social opportunities

(d) Transparency guarantees

(e) Protective security

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

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

15.4 MISSING WOMEN

In December, 1990 Amartya Sen, wrote an article in the *New York Review of Books*, entitled *"More than 100 Million Women are Missing*"

which raised an extremely significant issue of women missing, especially from the Asian countries. The idea of this article was to highlight the worsening sex ratio of the women especially in the developing countries. The idea as Sen talks about, to be put simply was rooted in the gross neglect and negligence towards the women. He had estimated that about a hundred million women were missing primarily due to gender discrimination.

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

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

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

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

The idea was to make a comparison of situations of the women in the European countries and the developing world. The above paragraph describing the women in the European countries tells us that, the situation there is quite different from the situation of the women in Asia and North Africa. Here women become victims to lack of proper health care and medical facilities, lack of food and nutritional values and the like, thus, taking their death rates higher than the men of these regions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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

.....

Q 3 : Mention a few works of Sen.

.....



15.5 LET US SUM UP

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

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



15.6 FURTHER READING

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



15.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

(a) Political freedoms

(b) Economic facilities

(c) Social opportunities

(d) Transparency guarantees

(e) Protective security

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

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



15.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

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

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

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

****



REFERENCES

1) Ambikagiri Raichoudhury Rachanavali, Publication Board Assam, Guwahati, 2009.

2) Bharati, K.S., (1995). Thoughts of Mahatma.Vol.1, Nagpur: Dattsons.

3) Brian, K. Smith. (1991). The Laws of Manu. Penguin Classics.

4) Chandra, Prakash.(1998). Modern Indian Political Thought, Vikas Publishing House,New Delhi.

5) Dandavate, Madhu,(2002). Jayaprakash Narayan: Struggle with Values-A Centenary Tribute. Allied Publishers: New Delhi

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

7) Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches. Vol. 1 (First Edition by Education Department, Govt. of Maharashtra : 14 April, 1979)

8) Fleet, J.F. & Shamasastri, R. Kautiliya's Arthasastra.

9) Gandhi, Mohandas K., (1957). Non-Violence in Peace and War. Vol. II, Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House.

10) Gandhi, Mohandas K., (1938). Indian Home Rule and Hind Swaraj. Ahmedabad : Navajivan Publishing House.

11) Gandhi, Mohandas K.,(1932). From Yeravda Mandir. Ahmedabad: Jitendra T. Desai Navajivan Mudranalaya.

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

13) George, Buhler (1970). The Laws of Manu : Library of Alexandria.

14) Ghosal, U.N.(2004) Manusmriti .New Delhi, Sage Publication

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

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

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

18) Karriem, Razack(2010). Peace, its Indices and Implications for Swaraj. Los Angeles : Sage Publication.

19) Kautiliya's Arthasastra (2008) : Publication Board Assam, Guwahati

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

21) Kochhar, Sangeeta,(2007) : My Life, My Words: Remembering Mahatma Gandhi. New Delhi : Natraj Publishers.

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

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

24) M.L Shahare. Dr. BR Ambedkar, His life and work. NCERT.

25) Maini, S.K., Vishwanath Pandey, and Chandramouli, K. (2012). Visionary of Modern India : Madan Mohan Malaviya. Showcase/Roli Books: New Delhi.

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

27) 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

28) Nair, Neeti (2015). "Heroes of Hindu Nationalism". India Today, January 3.

29) 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.

30) Narayanasamy,S., (2003). The Sarvodaya Movement: Gandhian Approach to Peace and Non-violence. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

31) Nehru, Jawaharlal (2004). Discovery of India. Penguin Books.

32) Parekh, Bhikhu,(1997). Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

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

34) Raghavan N. Iye, (1973). The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

35) Sen, Amartya (2009). The Idea of Justice. Harvard University Press.

36) Sen, Amartya and Dreze, Jean (1989). Hunger and Public Action. Oxford University Press.

37) Sharma, Urmila and Sharma, S.K. (2001). Indian Political Thought. Atlantic.

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

39) Singh, Mahendra Prasad and Roy, Himanshu (2001). Indian Political Thought. Pearson.

40) Speeches and Writings of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. G A Ganesan & Co.: Madras, available https://archive.org/details/speecheswritings00malaiala., accessed 23 July 2017.

41) 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 on 21th July 2017.

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

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