BPS S6 02 (M)
Exam Code: PSM6B

Political Thinkers

SEMESTER VI

POLITICAL SCIENCE (MAJOR)

BLOCK : 2

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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October, 2019

ISBN : 978-93-89559-44-6

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

Head Office : Patgaon, Rani Gate, Guwahati-781 017;

City Office : Housefed Complex, Dispur, Guwahati-781 006; Website: www.kkhsou.in

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

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POLITICAL SCIENCE
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INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK 2

This is the second block of the second course or paper of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's B. A. Sixth Semester Programme in Political Science. The twelve course or paper of the BA Sixth Semester Programme in Political Science is titled "Political Thinkers". The second block of this course contains six units- (Units 10-15).

For a comprehensive understanding of political thought, one must also acquire knowledge about the views and ideas expressed by some eminent Indian political thinkers. Accordingly, the tenth and eleventh units of the course seek to make the learners familiar with the political thought of two great thinkers of ancient India, Manu and Kautilya, both of whom have provided vital insights into various aspects related to the state and government.

In the twelve and thirteenth chapters of the course, the learners will be able to learn about the views and opinions of some leading personalities from India in the modern period - Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, encompassing the social, political and economic spheres and whose thoughts and ideas have immensely contributed towards enriching the realm of Indian political tradition and thought. Similarly, in the unit fourteen discussions are made about the views of another leading personality from India in the modern period namely Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Finally, unit fifteen is related to the study of the views and concepts of Acharya Vinobha Bhave and J.P. Narayan. In this unit, Acharya Vinobha Bhave's views on Sarvodaya, Bhoodan and Gramdan Movement and J.P. Narayan's concept of Socialism and Total Revolution are analysed.

While going through the units of the course, you will find that each unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Again, some units carry certain activities. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. 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 asses yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. It will be better if you answer the questions put in these boxes immediately after you go through the sections of the units and then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. Furthermore, a set of sample questions has been included under the category called "MODEL QUESTIONS" to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 10: MANU

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Political Thought of Manu

- 10.3.1 Manu and Manusmriti
- 10.3.2 Manu's Views on Social Organization or Social Order
- 10.3.3 Views on King and King's Duties
- 10.3.4 Theory of Danda or Coercive Authority
- 10.3.5 Views on Administration of Justice
- 10.3.6 Theory of Government
- 10.3.7 Manu's Views on Inter-state Relations and Foreign Policy

10.4 Let Us Sum Up

10.5 Further Reading

10.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.7 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

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

10.2 INTRODUCTION

In the history of political thought, two great thinkers of ancient India, Manu and Kautilya have occupied a very important position as they provided the major contributions in developing and enriching Indian political thought. In fact, it is not only political thought but also each and every aspect of

Indian life and polity to which Manu made major contribution with lasting impact on the life of the Indian people. Manu, the great sage is often regarded as the oldest lawmaker in human civilization.

10.3 POLITICAL THOUGHT OF MANU

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

10.3.1 Manu and Manusmriti

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

10.3.2 Views on Social Organization or Social Order

Manu provided his views regarding social organisation or social order in Manusmriti. He provided a social order which was based on division of society into four different castes such as- Brahmins, Kshyatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras. Manu said that God has created these four castes of people for the smooth functioning of the society. Manu provided a type of social order in which people performed functions and duties according to their respective caste. So, in other words, Manu talked about functional specialization and division of

labour which he termed as Varnashrama Dharma. The four castes of the society represented different attributes, for example, the Brahmins represented Sattava, which means knowledge, and they were devoted to study and gather knowledge; the Kshyatriya caste, basically comprising rajas and soldiers, represented the attributes of power and physical strength and they were primarily devoted to the defence of the state, the king and the people; the Vaishyas and Sudras represented the element of Tamas, which means desire for material pleasure, and these two castes were devoted to material gains and hard work. Manu, through his views on social organization, provided superior status to the Brahmins in the society and a very low position to the Sudras.

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

Manu provided for a social order which was strictly based on division of labour. He prevented the lower caste people from performing the occupation of higher caste people. Manu believed that it is better to perform one's duty perfectly than performing other's functions imperfectly. Regarding the position of women in society,

Manu said that women were entrusted with vast responsibilities mainly concerning the household. He was not in favour of giving freedom to women in the society. However, he opined that women should be properly taken care of.

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

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

10.3.3 Views on King and King's Duties

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

Manu, are- that the king should be trained, self-disciplined and should have self-control.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The *Manusmriti* consists of ……. chapters. (Fill in the blank).

.....

Q.2: Into how many castes did Manu divide the people?

.....

Q.3: Manu believed in the divine origin of the state. (True/False).

.....

10.3.4 Theory of Danda or Coercive Authority

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

10.3.5 Views on Administration of Justice

Manu believed in total justice in the society. According to him, the king should be consistent and impartial to render justice in his kingdom. Manu said that the king should himself preside over the court of justice. Wise Brahmans and learned Mantries should assist the king in the administration of justice. The king should always respect and follow the opinion of the members of the Council of Ministers. Though the king is all in all in decision-making and fully entrusted for the execution of all decisions, he should consult his ministers. If the king is absent, a learned Brahman should act as the judge. Though the king acts as the administrator of justice, according to Manu, the king is also made liable to be fined. He

believed that the king should be fined thousand times more than the common man. According to "laws for kings", the king's power and the obligations are defined in the law-sutras. So, Manu believes that the king should be constitutional and responsible one and must always respect the decision of the mantri-parishad.

10.3.6 Theory of Government

Manu believed that ruler is the most important unit of the state administration. Manu asked the king to follow the advice of Brahmans as given in the Vedas. The king should constantly worship and acquire the knowledge of the supreme soul. He should exert every effort to conquer his senses to control his subjects. The king is the protector of the subjects and everybody must obey the king. As regards the king's officials, Manu also discussed the part played by the king's ministers and other officers in the administration of the state. In fact, Manu emphasised that the king must be assisted by the ministers, officials and army for better administration of the state. Manu distinctly pointed out the position and role of different officials such as the officers, the ambassador and the superintendents of the administrative departments. Manu showed the impossibility of one-man rule in view of the difficulty and complexity of government affairs. Therefore, he pleaded for the appointment of high officials or ministers to look after each department of government separately. Manu also mentioned about decentralisation of power while discussing the theory of government. He provided for a structure of the local government where power is given to the village headman. However, the final power of supervision and control remained with the king.

According to Manu's theory of Government, the army which has the controlling authority depends upon the ministers and the revenue and the kingdom depend upon the king, while peace and

war depend upon the ambassador. In case of local government, the ultimate unit was the village. Every village must have a headman. The higher areas of local government were formed by groups of ten, twenty, hundred and a thousand villages. Local government as a whole should be placed in charge of a minister at the headquarters.

10.3.7 Views on Inter-State Relations or Foreign Policy

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: According to Manu, who should provide assistance to the king while presiding over the court of justice?

.....

Q.5: Write any two foreign policies of the state as mentioned by Manu.

.....

.....

Q.6: Who was the inflictor of Danda?

.....

Q.7: Briefly explain Manu's views on administration of justice.

.....



10.4 LET US SUM UP

- Manu was an important philosopher who marked the beginning of ancient Indian political thought. He is considered, mythologically, to be the father of human race and the first lawgiver.
- The most important and unique work of Manu is *Manusmriti*. The *Manusmriti*, consisting of 12 chapters which deal with the creation of mankind, society, religion, economy and state-craft of ancient India.
- Regarding social organisation or social order, Manu provided a social order which was based on the division of society into four different castes, such as- Brahmins, Kshyatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras.
- Manu carved out a lifespan of one hundred years for each individual and divided the life span of each individual into four respective stages or Ashramas, such as Brahmacharya, Garhastha, Vanaprastha and Sanyasa.
- According to Manu, the institution of king is created by God. The King was created by Lord Brahma to help and protect people from the prevailing disharmony, distrust and conflict.

- Manu emphasised on noble qualities of the king and knowledge of the king about the Vedas. Some of the important qualities which the king should possess, according to Manu are- that the king should be trained, self-disciplined and should have self-control.
- According to Manu, the king should regulate the social, political and economic life of the subjects whom he should protect from any external aggression. Besides maintaining law and order within the state, the king should perform his duty as protector and punisher.
- Manu propounded the theory of Danda or coercive authority to justify the supreme authority of the King. Danda is necessary for ensuring individual security as well as maintaining social order. The king should exercise Danda in accordance with factors like reason, wisdom, truthfulness etc.
- Manu believed in total justice in the society. The king should be very consistent and impartial in rendering justice in his kingdom. The king should always respect the decision of the mantri-parishad.
- Regarding the government of the state, Manu believed that the ruler is the most important unit of the state administration. The king must be assisted by the ministers, officials and army for better administration of the state.
- Manu also mentioned about decentralisation of power while discussing the theory of government. He provided for structure of local government where power is given to the village headman. However, the final power of supervision and control remained with the king.
- While discussing the inter-state relation or foreign policy, Manu said that full security of the state should be the goal of foreign policy of any state.
- Regarding inter- state relation or foreign policy, Manu indicated the principle of application of six types of foreign policy. Regarding the policy of inter-state relations, Manu made use of the old *Arthasastra* doctrine of conciliation, bribery, discussion and force.



10.5 FURTHER READING

1. Arora, P. and Grover, B. (n. d.). *Selected western and indian political thinkers*. Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2. Bhagavan, V. (1999). *Indian political thinkers*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons Publications.
3. Gupta, R.C. (1970). *Great political thinkers: East and west*. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal.
4. Mohanty, D.K. (2007). *Indian political tradition: From Manu to Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

10.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: 12

Ans. to Q. No. 2: 4

Ans. to Q. No. 3: True.

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

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 6: The king.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Manu believed in total justice in the society. According to him, the king should be consistent and impartial to render justice in his kingdom. Manu said that the king should himself preside over the court of justice. Wise Brahmans and learned Mantries should assist the king in the administration of justice. The king should always respect and follow the opinion of the members of the Council of Ministers. Though the king is all in all in decision-making and fully entrusted for the execution of all decisions, he should consult his ministers. Though the king acts as the administrator of justice,

according to Manu, the king is also made liable to be fined. He believed that the king should be fined thousand times more than the common man. According to "laws for kings", the king's power and the obligations are defined in the law-sutras. So, Manu believes that the king should be constitutional and responsible one and must always respect the decision of the mantri-parishad.



10.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*** ***** ***

UNIT 11: KAUTILYA

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Political Thought of Kautilya

- 11.3.1 Kautilya and Arthasastra
- 11.3.2 Theory of Statecraft
- 11.3.3 Views on Government
- 11.3.4 Views on Principles of State Policy
- 11.3.5 Views on Inter-state Relation: Foreign Policy

11.4 Let Us Sum Up

11.5 Further Reading

11.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.7 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

11.2 INTRODUCTION

As we have discussed in the previous unit, in the history of political thought, the two great thinkers of ancient India Manu and Kautilya have occupied a very important position as they provided the major contributions in developing and enriching Indian political thought. In fact, it is not only political thought but also each and every aspect of Indian life and polity to which Manu made major contribution with lasting impact on the life of the Indian people which are discussed in the previous unit. Another great political thinker, Kautilya is considered as one of the most able politicians

and ministers in Indian history. He was a great philosopher who authored the ancient Indian political treatise called *Arthasastra*. Kautilya has been considered the pioneer in the field of study of economics and political science. In the western world, he is referred to as the Indian Machiavelli. In this unit, we will discuss Kautilya's views regarding state, government, foreign policy etc.

11.3 POLITICAL THOUGHT OF KAUTILYA

Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, was another important philosopher who provided the foundation of ancient Indian political thought. Regarding the time and place of birth of Kautilya, it is generally held that Kautilya lived between the period of 400 to 320 BC and he was born in Taxila (now in Pakistan). The most important and valuable work of Kautilya was his famous book '*The Arthasastra*'. The book throws light on various aspects of central and local administration, home and foreign policy, civil and criminal law and the art of warfare.

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

11.3.1 Kautilya and Arthasastra

Kautilya's famous book *Arthasastra* is on the subject of acquisition and maintenance of dominion over earth (Prithvi). Although there were already three Arthasastra schools, those of Manu, Brihaspati and Usanas, yet Kautilya's *Arthasastra* is the only complete work of this kind that has come down to us. The *Arthasastra* comprises 15 books. Kautilya, in framing the rules and principles in

Arthasastra, in general, applied the method of observation, analysis and deduction in respect of the phenomena of political life. The *Arthasastra* is an ancient Indian treatise on statecraft, economic policy and military strategy. In fact, the *Arthasastra* is a practical manual of state administration.

11.3.2 Theory of Statecraft

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

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

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

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

- *Mitra* also constitutes a very important element of the state. *Mitra* means ally. To increase power and defense of the state, friendship with other states is very important. Kautilya mentioned about two types of allies- Sahaja and Kritrima. Sahaja mitra referred to those allies which were derived from the time of ancestors and were situated close to the territory of the immediately neighbouring enemy. Kritrima mitra referred to the ally which is acquired and is needed for the protection of wealth and life.

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: By what name is Kautilya known?

.....

Q.2: Who is the author of the *Arthasastra*?

.....

Q.3: By the element Janapada Kautilya referred to …… and …… (Fill in the blanks)

Q.4: What are the four types of forts mentioned by Kautilya?

.....

.....

11.3.3 Views on Government

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

The king is the head of the government and administration of the state. Kautilya favoured dynastic rule which, he believed, ensured better administration and greater loyalty. Kautilya emphasised that the king should be more concerned about the welfare of the people.

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

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

Kautilya, while discussing the theory of government also mentioned about the mechanism of administration. Kautilya laid stress on civil, financial, judicial and military administration, each one being of vital importance for a state. The civil administration should follow a number of principles, such as the king should keep the revenue under his supervision, and the *Amatyas* should be selected on the basis of merit. Regarding financial administration, Kautilya said that the treasury is the most important element of the state. Kautilya stated that the king should properly supervise the treasury by keeping proper account of taxes and should also notice

that the money is spent wisely. He also advised the state regulation over industry and commerce. Regarding judicial administration, Kautilya was in favour of giving a separate status to the judiciary and decentralisation of judiciary. He believed that for the protection of the state and the subjects, the existence of the law court was very important and for him nobody was above the law. Regarding military administration, Kautilya said that the king should keep the army under his control and there should be four wings of army, such as- the elephants, the cavalry, the chariots and the infantry and these four wings should be headed by four different officers so that they do not fall prey to the enemy's plans due to fear of each other.

11.3.4 Views on Principles of State Policy

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

11.3.5 Views on Inter-State Relation: Foreign Policy

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

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

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



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Kautilya provided for decentralisation of judiciary. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: According to Kautilya, who acted as the spokesman of the king?

.....

Q.7: Write any two functions of the king as mentioned by Kautilya.

.....

.....

Q.8: Write a short note on Kautilya's views on foreign policy.

…….

…….

Q.9: Write the methods given by Kautilya for acquisition and security of dominion.

.....



11.4 LET US SUM UP

- Kautilya was one of the most important philosophers who marked the beginning of ancient Indian political thought.
- Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, provided the foundation of ancient Indian political thought. The most important and valuable work of Kautilya was his famous book *The Arthasastra*. The *Arthasastra* comprises of 15 books.
- Kautilya in *Arthasastra* provided a detailed theory that described the entire rules and regulations for the administration of the state and this theory of Kautilya is also known as Saptanga theory.
- According to Kautilya there are seven elements of the state which are very important for the efficient and proper administration of the state. These elements are- Swamin, Amatya, Janapad, Durga, Kosa, Bala and Mitra.

- Kautilya's discussed his views on Government under three heads: the king, the officials and the mechanism of the administration. The king is the head of the government and administration of the state.
- Kautilya favoured dynastic rule, which, he believed, would ensure better administration and greater loyalty. Kautilya emphasised that the king should be more concerned about the welfare of the people.
- According to Kautilya the officials or the *Amatyas* are a very important part of the government. Kautilya believes that only with the proper council of ministers and their cooperation, it is possible for a king to run the administration properly.
- Kautilya, while discussing theory of government, has also mentioned the mechanism of administration and laid stress on civil, financial, judicial and military administrations.
- While discussing foreign policy of the state Kautilya mentioned that the main objective of foreign policy was to create a strong state.
- Kautilya provided for a foreign policy based on expediency, diplomacy and war. For maintaining relation with other states, the king should appoint ambassadors *(Duta)*.



11.5 FURTHER READING

1. Arora, P. and Grover, B. (n. d.). *Selected western and indian political thinkers*. Cosmos Bookhive Pvt. Ltd.
2. Bhagavan, V. (1999). *Indian political thinkers*. Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons Publications.
3. Gupta, R.C. (1970). *Great political thinkers: East and west*. Lakshmi Narain Agarwal.
4. Mohanty, D.K. (2007). *Indian political tradition: From Manu to Ambedkar*. New Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt. Ltd.

11.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: Chanakya

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Kautilya

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Territory and population

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

Ans. to Q. No. 5: True

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Duta or Ambassador

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

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

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



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



11.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

Q. 2: The Arthasastra consists of how many chapters?

Q. 3: What are the two types of *Mitras* as mentioned by Kautilya?

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. 2: Explain Kautilya's theory of statecraft.

Q. 3: Describe Kautilya's views on government.

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UNIT 12: MAHATMA GANDHI

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Mahatma Gandhi

- 12.3.1 Views on Non-Violence
- 12.3.2 Views on Satyagraha
- 12.3.3 Views on Swadeshi
- 12.3.4 Views on State
- 12.3.5 Views on Economy
- 12.3.6 Views on Religion and Politics

12.4 Let Us Sum Up

12.5 Further Reading

12.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.7 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

12.2 INTRODUCTION

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

12.3 MAHATMA GANDHI

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

12.3.1 Views on Non-violence

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

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

- **Requisites of Ahimsa or Non-Violence**
  - **Truth:** It is the basic factor of non-violence. Gandhi did not confine himself to the belief that "God is Truth". His belief was that "Truth is God". A believer in non- violence will not shy away from telling the truth whatever the reaction of those around him may be.
  - **Inner purity:** A true believer in Ahimsa is expected to observe inner purity as well. A believer of non-violence

should prepare himself for it through self-discipline, civility and inner purity.

- **Fasting:** It is an agent of self-purification. Gandhi believed that a genuine fast cleans the body, mind and soul. Thus, a complete fast may be considered as a complete denial of the self. It is a potential weapon of a non-violent follower. Gandhi frequently observed fasting to bring the ***erring*** countrymen to the right path. Even the colonial rulers were forced to ***succumb*** to his demands in the face of his rigid fasting.

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

- **Fearlessness:** It is another important requisite of Ahimsa. Non-violence is the virtue of the brave. Gandhi pleaded for the heroic non-violent action of the brave and never stood for the violent resistance. He wanted a non-violent follower to develop moral courage and strength. Ahimsa means absolute fearlessness. It is the strongest and subtlest force. It is the demonstration of the resolute strength of the heroic soul which declines to injure anybody. Cowardice is to be shunned by non-violent followers.

- **Non-possession:** A follower of non-violence is expected to develop an attitude of non-attachment or a detached interest in the material things of life. Non-possession is a principle applicable to thoughts as well as material things. Thoughts, which turn us away from God, constitute impediments in our path to development.

- **Perseverance:** It is seen that violence yields results very fast compared to non-violence. Hence, a person who believes in non-violence and Ahimsa should cultivate both patience and perseverance. He should realise the fact that quick results through violence are neither stable nor lasting. A non-violent person knows no defeat as he has infinite faith on God. The practice of patience and perseverance does not imply ***lethargy*** or ***fatalism***. Gandhi's Quit India Movement is an example of such perseverance and non-violence.

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

12.3.2 Views on Satyagraha

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

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

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

- **Methods of Satyagraha:** Non-cooperation and Civil Disobedience are the two chief methods of offering satyagraha.
  - **Non-cooperation:** Gandhi was of the view that a government can perpetuate injustice only when the people of a country cooperate with injustice. Non-cooperation of the people is bound to paralyse the government. Non-

cooperation may be resorted to in the form of the techniques of hartal, social ostracism or picketing.

(a) **Hartal:** The word hartal means bringing daily business to a standstill as a mark of protest. Its main objective is to stir the consciousness of the citizens and the government or the policy makers. Hartal may be voluntary and non-violent in its protest but resorting to hartal frequently may not be necessary.

(b) **Social Ostracism:** Social Ostracism (exclusion from a society or group) is equivalent to social ***boycott*** of those who defy public opinion. However, this should be used in a very limited form.

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

(c) **Picketing:** Technically, picketing means an action where a group of people standing outside a workplace trying to persuade others not to enter during a strike. Picketing may also be undertaken to draw public attention to a cause. The object of picketing is not to block the path of a person who wants to do a particular thing rather, it is to rely on the force of public opinion and to warn oppressors. Picketing should avoid coercion, intimidation, discourtesy, burning of ***effigies*** and hunger strike.

Effigy: A dummy of a real person.

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

The Non-cooperation programme includes the following activities: (i) Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation from nominated seats in the local bodies (ii) Refusal to attend official and non-official functions hold by government officials or in their honour (iii) Gradual withdrawal of children from schools and colleges owned, aided or controlled by government (iv) Gradual boycott of British Courts by lawyers and litigants and the establishment of private disputes (v) Withdrawal of candidature for election to the

reformed councils by the candidates and refusal of the voters to vote for any candidate (vi) Boycott of foreign goods (vii) Laying down of arms and the suspension of taxes.

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

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

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

12.3.3 Views on Swadeshi

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

12.3.4 Views on State

Gandhi wanted to establish a stateless society. But unlike the Marxists, he did not want to bring a revolutionary end to the state. Through non-violence and Ahimsa, he wanted to establish a new pattern of society where the state will have little role to play. In his view, the state was neither a natural nor a necessary institution. He rejected the existence of the state on the following grounds that: (a) the state is rooted in violence. It represents violence in concentrated and organised form. The state is a soulless machine which can hardly be weaned away from violence to which it owes its very existence, (b) the state's coercive authority is destructive towards freedom and personality of individuals and (c) the state is not essential in a non-violent society.

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

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

12.3.5 Views on Economy

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

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

12.3.6 Views on Religion and Politics

Unflinching: Not afraid or hesitant.
Creed: A system of religious belief or faith.

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

Gandhi's approach to politics was in tune with the doctrine of enlightened secularism. He equated all religions of the world and identified them with Truth or God. Thus, he believed that one may have faith in any religion but one should not use religion as an

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What are the requisites of ahimsa?

.....

Q.2: Voluntarily cooperation and decentralisation will be the two essential marks of Gandhi's non-violent society. (True/ False)

.....

Q.3: Mention any two activities of non-cooperation.

.....

.....



Explain Gandhi's views on Swadeshi.

.....

.....

Q.5: 'Gandhi was in favour of cottage and other indigenous industries.' Explain.

.....

.....



12.4 LET US SUM UP

- Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born on 2nd October, 1869 in Porbandar in Gujrat. Rabindranath Tagore addressed Gandhiji as "Mahatma" for the first time due to his noble and peaceful thoughts and activities.
- One of the distinctive contributions of Mahatma Gandhi is that he provided a comprehensive definition of the principle of ahimsa (non-

violence). Instead of regarding it as a principle of personal motivation he considered it as a successful means of direct mass action.

- The requisites of Ahimsa or Non-Violence as per Mahatma Gandhi are (a)Truth, (b) Inner purity (c) Fasting (d) Fearlessness (e) Non possession and (f) Perseverance.
- Mahatma Gandhi devised the technique of Satyagraha in order to successfully implement the philosophy of non-violence. Satyagraha implies moral pressure for the sake of truth.
- Gandhi prefered the term 'satyagraha' to passive resistance as the proper term for his instrument of political transformation.
- The methods of Satyagraha include (a) non-cooperation (b) civil disobedience (c) fasting (d) peaceful picketing (e) strike, etc.
- Swadesh literally means 'of one's own country' and politically, for Gandhi the term meant "nationalism".
- In the economic sphere it was a plea for the protection of home industries with the promising potentiality of growth. Gandhi considered Khadi as the most important part of the principle of swadeshi.
- In Gandhi's ideal vision of the stateless society there would be a number of self- contained and self-regulated village communities. Every village would have a panchayat with full powers of administration and capable of meeting all its essential needs to the extent of defending itself.
- Gandhi was in favour of cottage industries and other indigenous industries. He was against centralisation of the production system.
- Gandhi's approach to politics was in tune with the doctrine of enlightened secularism. He considered all religions of the world equal and identified with "Truth" or "God".



12.5 FURTHER READING

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

12.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

Ans. to Q. No. 2: True

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Gandhi was in favour of cottage and other indigenous industries. He was against centralisation of the production system and he was in favour of establishing a trust system whereby the industrialists and zamindars would transfer their surplus land and wealth to trusts. These trusts would be managed collectively by the

industrialists, zamindars and labourers for the welfare of the people in general. In order to solve the unemployment problem, Gandhi wanted that Khadi, cottage and indigenous industries should be expanded and be highly equipped and modernised to produce maximum goods. Also, Gandhi was of the opinion that goods required for home consumption should not be exported.



11.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

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

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

Q. 3: What type of economy did Gandhi envisage?

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

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

Q. 1: Explain Gandhi's views on state.

Q. 2: Explain Gandhi's views on economy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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UNIT 13: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Jawaharlal Nehru

- 13.3.1 Views on Nationalism
- 13.3.2 Views on Welfare State and Mixed Economy
- 13.3.3 Views on Secularism
- 13.3.4 Views on Democracy
- 13.3.5 Views on Internationalism

13.4 Let Us Sum Up

13.5 Further Reading

13.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.7 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

13.2 INTRODUCTION

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

help of this unit, we will discuss about some of the important views and ideas of Jawaharlal Nehru, encompassing the social, political and economic spheres.

13.3 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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

Nehru's notable contributions to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought were– *Glimpses of World History*, *Autobiography* and *The Discovery of India*. He played a key role in building modern India. Nehru, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi spearheaded India's freedom movement. After India's independence, he became the first Prime Minister of India.

13.3.1 Views on Nationalism

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

Nationalism is an issue that has been widely debated and discussed in political philosophy. In India too, the issue of nationalism was discussed at length by the political thinkers and the presence of a religious approach to nationalism could be clearly found. But unlike those who interpreted nationalism in narrow terms, Nehru was

instrumental in developing a secular approach to nationalism and politics. His secularism developed from his liberal cultural upbringing. He was a strong advocate of the unity amongst various religious groups and strongly condemned the Hindu Mahasava for promoting a communal interpretation of nationalism. Nehru was of the view that there was utmost necessity of harmony amongst all religions and particularly between the Hindus and Muslims. He felt that in the light of the anti-imperialist movement in India, only a secular and nationalist approach could be able to challenge the authority of imperialism by promoting the concept of secular nationalism. Nehru demonstrated his nationalist and modernist orientation to life.

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

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

13.3.2 Views on Welfare State and Mixed Economy

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

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

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

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

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

13.3.3 Views on Secularism

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

state in India. Nehru believed in four aspects of secularism. These are as follows:

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



Detrimental: Anything that is harmful or dangerous.

13.3.4 Views on Democracy

Nehru was greatly influenced by western thinkers like Mill, Rousseau and Montesquieu while developing his concept of

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

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

13.3.5 Views on Internationalism

An emphasis on internationalism is very much visible in the political thought of Nehru. He synthesised the concepts of nationalism and internationalism. According to him, nationalism

was not an end in itself, but a step towards the goal of internationalism. Nehru was in favour of promoting a democratic outlook in his concept of nationalism. Through such a democratic outlook of nationalism, he promoted the concept of internationalism, which believed in equality among all nations. He was of the view that no nation could be judged independently of international events.

Nehru firmly advocated internationalism which ultimately would help in the growth of good mutual relationships among nations. As an advocate of internationalism, Nehru emphasised on a world federation and world government in which every nation would have an equal status and the power to enjoy or exercise equal right in participating towards resolving conflicts and establishing peace. He was also a firm supporter of the UN principles and believed that the UN represented the world community. With its effective role in establishing peace, the UN would pave the way for internationalism.



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

Panchasheel: The concept of panchasheel was a pact signed between India and China in the year 1954 which included five principles.

Nehru viewed internationalism as the foundation of international peace and well-being of all nations. Throughout his life, he laid great

stress on mutual cooperation, goodwill, liberty, equality and fraternity. Through his concept of internationalism, Nehru wanted to promote peace and security across the globe.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: When was Nehru born?

.....

Q.2: Name the notable contributions of Nehru to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought.

.....

Q.3: Nehru firmly believed in the theory of parliamentary democracy. (True /False).

.....

Q.4: Non-interference in each other's …….affairs. (fill in the blank).

.....

Q.5: "Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism have been nurtured on three foundations." What are they? (Within 50 words).

.....

.....

Q.6: Nehru's concept of co-existence of two sectors implied what type of economy?

.....

Q.7: What are the four aspects of secularism that Nehru believed?

.....

.....

Q.8: Briefly explain two aspects of secularism believed by Nehru.

.....

.....

Q.9: Write down the five principles of *Panchasheel*.

.....

.....



13.4 LET US SUM UP

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

an equal status and the power to enjoy or exercise equal right in participating towards resolving conflicts and establishing peace.

- In order to strengthen world peace, Nehru put forward the concept of *Panchasheel* which mainly included five principles.
- The five tenets of *Panchasheel* are-

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



13.5 FURTHER READING

1. Asirvatham, E. & Mishra, K.K (1990). *Political theory*. New Delhi: S.Chand & Company Ltd.
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5. Rathod, P.B. & Rathod, V. (2006). *Indian political thinkers*. New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers.

13.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 3: True

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

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

Ans. to Q. No. 6: A mixed economic system.

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

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

- **Religious freedom:** It means according equal status to all religions in India. No religion should be granted any form of special privilege. Nor should any community be deprived of its legitimate rights on the basis of religion.
- **Neutrality of the state in religious matters:** A secular state implies a state that does not possess any religion of its own. Nehru was of the view that the state should follow the policy of "co-existence of religions". The state should not interfere with the religious freedom of the people.

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

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



13.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Name two books of Nehru.

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

Q. 3: What type of economy did Nehru envisage?

Q. 4: Write two principles of *Panchasheel*.

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

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

Q. 2: Explain Nehru's views on Internationalism.

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

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

Q. 1: Discuss the political ideas of Nehru.

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

Q. 3: Discuss Nehru's views on democracy.

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

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

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UNIT 14: B. R. AMBEDKAR

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 B. R. Ambedkar

14.3.1 Opposition to the Evils of Caste System and Untouchability

14.3.2 Ambedkar as a Champion of Women's Rights

14.3.3 Ambedkar's Views on Religion

14.3.4 Ambedkar as a Champion of Social Justice

14.3.5 Ambedkar as a Champion of Human Rights

14.3.6 Ambedkar as a Nationalist

14.3.7 Views on Democracy

14.4 Let Us Sum Up

14.5 Further Reading

14.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.7 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

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

14.2 INTRODUCTION

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



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

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

14.3 B. R. AMBEDKAR

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

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

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

14.3.1 Opposition to the Evils of Caste System and Untouchability

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

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

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

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

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

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

(iv) Representing the grievances of the depressed classes.

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

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

14.3.2 Ambedkar as a Champion of Women's Rights

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

(i) Abolition of the doctrine of rights by birth

(ii) Absolute right over property to women

(iii) A share of family property to the daughter

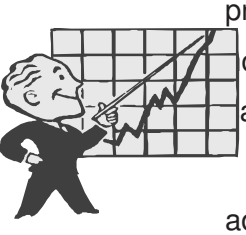
(iv) Provision for marital divorce.

There was no anti-religious or anti-social element in these provisions. As the existing Hindu law was not uniform for all Hindus

and was inconsistent with the Constitution, Ambedkar suggested codification of Hindu society.

14.3.3 Ambedkar's Views on Religion

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



ot sanctify poverty or ignorance. Religion should be based on the apacities of human nature and human intelligence.

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

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who was the father of Ambedkar?

.....

Q.2: Who published a fortnightly in Marathi named *Bahishkrita Bharat* for the so-called "*untouchables*"?

.....

Q.3: When was the *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha* established?

.....

Q.4: Mention any two characteristics of religion identified by Ambedkar?

.....

14.3.4 Ambedkar as a Champion of Social Justice

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

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

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

14.3.5 Ambedkar as a Champion of Human Rights

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

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

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

14.3.6 Ambedkar as a Nationalist

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

As a nationalist, Ambedkar wanted to extend the social base of nationalism. He wanted to unite the people without any discrimination which was his ultimate goal. Even, in order to unite the heterogeneous people, he urged for taking a common decision to lead us to unity. Ambedkar was against the Brahmanical imperialism

which oppressed the lower caste people for hundreds of years. It was his efforts and challenge that compelled the Congress to heed to the problems of caste and adopt measures to extend the social base of Indian nationalism which was a largely Upper class phenomenon in the beginning.

14.3.7 Views on Democracy

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

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

Thus, the main points of Ambedkar's concept of democracy were- liberty, equality, fraternity, natural rights and justice. To him, these are essential for all-round development of personality and capacities of the individuals. To him, political democracy should be followed by establishing social democracy and economic equality.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: According to Dr. Ambedkar, the root cause of social injustice is the …… system in the Hindu society. (Fill in the blank).

.....

Q.6: Briefly explain Ambedkar's views on nationalism.

.....

.....

Q.7: Write a note on Ambedkar's views on democracy.

.....

.....



14.4 LET US SUM UP

- Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14 April, 1891 in the town and military cantonment of Mhow in Madhya Pradesh. Ambedkar, popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was a jurist, social reformer and politician.
- Ambedkar is known as the champion of the rights of the depressed classes. He published a fortnightly in Marathi named '*Bahishkrita Bharat*' for the so-called "*untouchables*". He also established so-called *Bahiskrit Hitakarini Sabha* on 20th July, 1924 in Bombay.
- Ambedkar opposed the hierarchical structure of the society based on the caste system. In order to do away with the caste system, he encouraged inter-caste marriage.
- Ambedkar was an ardent supporter of women's rights and wanted to protect the nation's women-folk from perpetual domination. He stood for religion but did not advocate hypocrisy in the name of religion.
- He tried to achieve social justice and social democracy in terms of one man-one value. He treated social justice as a true basis for patriotism and nationalism.

- As a nationalist, Ambedkar wanted to extend the social base of nationalism. He wanted to unite the people without any discrimination which was his ultimate goal.
- Ambedkar was a supporter of democracy. To him, in a democratic system, there must have universal adult franchise.
- In his conception of democracy, Ambedkar does not focus any class structure in society. To him, political democracy should be followed by establishing social democracy and economic equality.



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1. Asirvatham, E. & Mishra, K.K (1990). *Political theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
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9. Ambedkar's thought on democracy and distributive justice: A rational approach to the fulfillment of Ambedkar's vision of India. sodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in, pp. 267-269.
10. Indian National Movement (Ambedkar on Nationalism), pp.4-5 www.academia.edu

14.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



14.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: Why did Ambedkar convert himself to Buddhism?

Q. 2: Name two literary works of Ambedkar.

Q. 3: What type of democracy did Ambedkar envisage?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Q. 3: Discuss Ambedkar's views on democracy.

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

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

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

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UNIT 15: ACHARYA VINOBHA BHAVE AND J. P. NARAYAN

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Acharya Vinobha Bhave

- 15.3.1 Views on Sarvodaya
- 15.3.2 Bhoodan Movement
- 15.3.3 Gramdan Movement

15.4 J. P. Narayan

- 15.4.1 Concept of Socialism
- 15.4.2 Total Revolution

15.5 Let Us Sum Up

15.6 Further Reading

15.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

15.8 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- analyse the views of Acharya Vinobha Bhave on Sarvodaya
- describe the Bhoodan movement of Vinobha Bhave
- explain the Gramdan movement of Vinobha Bhave
- know about the concept of socialism of J. P. Narayan
- describe the concept of total revolution of J. P. Narayan

15.2 INTRODUCTION

Acharya Vinobha Bhave and J.P. Narayan are the two prominent figures amongst the modern Indian political thinkers. Unfortunately, Gandhiji could not live long to implement his philosophy with the result that the burden of implementation has now fallen on his able disciples who are carrying on the burden most willingly. Both the worthy sons of India hope to achieve what Gandhiji could not accomplish due to his untimely death.

15.3 ACHARYA VINOBHA BHAVE

Acharya Vinobha Bhave was one of the true and most able disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. Actually, Bhave extended the efforts of Gandhiji and further, applied his philosophy in the practical sense. In fact, Vinobhaji based his whole philosophy on the Gandhian principle of non-violence and accordingly gave practical solutions to the nation's problems.

15.3.1 Views on Sarvodaya

Explaining the concept of Sarvodaya, it is stated that it is opposed to the western concept of majoritarianism. As the very name suggests, 'sarva' means 'all' and 'udaya' means 'elevation', it clearly states that everyone that is all living beings would be developed in the polity and even the last one in the last branch would be taken care of.

Gandhiji wanted to have an ideal society of his imagination in which he wanted to have complete decentralisation of authority, Panchayati Raj, all love and no hatred and in which all would be loved and persuaded to give their surplus to the needy. Hardly, a few months after India had attained independence, a fanatic Hindu shot him dead and thus his dream of an ideal society or Sarvodaya remained incomplete. However, after his death one of his true and most able disciples, Acharya Vinobha Bhave has taken this task upon himself which he has completed through his Bhoodan movement. He is very much assisted by another able son of India, J. P. Narayan.

After the death of Gandhiji, his ardent followers met at Sewagram and decided to put his ideas into practice. A Sarvodaya Economic Conference was held in December, 1949, which aimed at establishing a Sarvodaya society. The new society found its leadership in Acharya Vinobha Bhave and decided to put all programmes into action. The new society aimed at social and economic equality, freedom for the development of personality, desired to promote the system of mutual co-operation, raised moral standard of the people and pleaded for the decentralisation of authority. It will also try to promote cottage

industry, reduce the authority of the state to the barest minimum and shall eliminate distinction between the ruler and the ruled. All shall be given humane treatment and there will be small rural and urban communities which will manage the society. In the society, there will be no coercion and hatred which will be replaced by love and affection. All socially useful labour will be properly honoured.

The society of such an imagination has found its expression in the philosophy of *Bhoodan* movement. Acharya Vinobha Bhave, the chief exponent of this philosophy says that in India there is improper distribution of land with the result that the nation is not getting the maximum yield. This is also one of the main causes of Indian poverty. The sole idea of this movement is to have equitable distribution of land and to get land from the landlords and to distribute it among the landless not with force but with consent.

Another aspect of his Sarvodaya philosophy was *Sampatti Dan* which implies donation in cash. Although initially he was very much reluctant to accept cash donations, but as the time passed on, he began to realize that the landless not only requires land but also needs money for constructing and digging wells, purchasing bulls and constructing huts for their living in the area. It was with this end in view that he approached the conscience of rich requesting them to donate some money for the landless. He, however, made it very clear that this should in no way be treated as charity but considered as discharging of duties which they owed to the nation.

From *Bhoodan*, Vinobhaji proceeded a step further, i.e. *Gramdan*. Under the scheme, it is provided that the people of a village will donate the whole village and will be cultivated by the whole village community and its products will be equally distributed among those who live in that village. Under this arrangement, cottage industries will be encouraged. Affairs of the village will be managed by General Village Council which will have heads of all families as its members. There will be collective ownership of property and no need and necessity of political parties.

Thus, according to Bhave, Sarvodaya is keen to ensure social transformation mainly through the technique of non-violence. The fundamental theme of Sarvodaya is the realization of happiness and elevation of all. In the words of Vinobha Bhave, "But the idea of Sarvodaya as preached by the Gita is to merge oneself in the good of all. This, of course, demands on our part an absolute faith in truth and non-violence. Never should we resort to untruth in our private and public life."



LET US KNOW

Regarding the origin of the Sarvodaya philosophy, it can be stated that Ruskin's "Unto the Last" had a great influence upon Gandhiji. It was from this book that Gandhiji got the philosophy of Sarvodaya. He himself says, "Of all these books the one that brought about an instantaneous and practical transformation in my life was 'Unto the Last'. I translated it later into Gujrati entitling it Sarvodaya (The Welfare of All). I believe that I discovered some of my deepest convictions reflected in this great book of Ruskin and that is why it so captivated me and made me transform my life."

15.3.2 Bhoodan Movement

Bhoodan movement is the voluntary land reform movement initiated by Acharya Vinobha Bhave, who is regarded as one of the successors of Mahatma Gandhi. The movement started in April, 1951 when at a Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Shiva Rampali, where some landless untouchables approached Vinobha Bhave for land and Bhave appealed to the landlords of the area to donate him some land. Sri Ram Chandra Reddy of the area responded to the appeal and donated a hundred acres of land to Vinobhaji and thus the movement got a start. The movement gradually spread to other parts of the country but its most real impact was felt in Telangana where the relations between the owners and the cultivators were

strained due to the refusal of the landowners to distribute their land to the landless tillers. This philosophy created a sort of revolution in the minds of the people of that area.

The term '*Bhoodan*' consists of two words - *Bhoo* and *Dan*. In Sanskrit, *Bhoo* means *land* and *Dan* means *gift*. Thus, *Bhoodan* literally means *land gift*. Main argument of Bhave regarding *Bhoodan* is that land belongs to the nation as a whole. Just like air and water, land is also a gift of nature and it belongs to all. Therefore, few have no right to possess it and to deny this natural gift to others who most badly need it.

- **Aims and Objectives of the Movement**

  The basic aim behind the *Bhoodan* movement was to provide land to the landless peasants of India from the part of the local landlords. Bhave saw the breakdown of India's agricultural economy as well as the deplorable condition of the landless peasants during the late forties and the early fifties. He well understood that Indian economy could not be revived unless the millions of landless peasants did not have the land security. Thinking in this regard that the landlords' voluntary gift of land is the only novel solution of landlessness in India, Bhave came out with the *Bhoodan* movement. Through this movement, he wanted to distribute the economic holdings and powers in a balanced manner on the basis of decentralisation and to establish a society based on equality of opportunities.

- **Methods adopted by the Movement**

  A complete non-violent tactic was adopted during this whole agrarian revolution. Vinobha and his company walked on foot from one village to another and arranged meetings amongst the villagers. In these meetings, he gave lessons of love, kinship taking example of rich images drawn from Hindu scriptures. Moreover, in these meetings, he distributed literature amongst the villagers. There were no holidays in this mission.

➢ **Limitations of the Bhoodan Movement**

- **Uneven development:** The movement did not spread equally in all the states. Except Bihar, UP, MP and Rajasthan, the development of the movement was not up to mark. Moreover, record of distributed land was very poor.
- **Donation of waste and disputed land:** In many cases, the landlords gave only such lands which were unfit for cultivation or did not have any legal documents. It defeated the real purpose of the movement.
- **Problem related to bribe:** In the process of allotting land, the landless peasants had to face the problem of bribe many times in the hands of the village authorities. Many undeserving villagers abled to receive land by giving money.
- **Lack of support:** Although the landless peasants were allotted land for cultivation, but still they suffer from the lack of other inputs like seeds, fertilisers etc. Therefore, the land became liability rather than asset.
- **Slow progress:** The movement lost its enthusiasm after 1956. Although the available land for donation was about 4.5 million acres, however, till 1957, only 6.5 lakh acres were actually distributed among 200000 families.

However, in spite of such limitations, it must be admitted that the *Bhoodan* movement successfully received about 4.5 million acres of land as donation till 1957. It was an effort to reduce the gap between the haves and have-nots in rural areas. Another positive point of the movement was that it was a voluntary movement. There was no compulsion upon the landlords for donation of land. The greatest achievement of the movement lies in the fact that when the country was witnessing armed insurrection over land issue, it was Vinobha Bhave who was a lesser known disciple of Gandhi came out with a peaceful solution of land reform programme in India through Gandhian way of non-violence. It was only the *Bhoodan* movement which brought Bhave into the limelight and made him a national hero.

15.3.3 Gramdan Movement

Gramdan movement was another non-violent revolution led by Acharya Vinobha Bhave to implement land reforms in India. *Gramdan* was contemporary to *Bhoodan*. In fact, *Bhoodan* paved the way for the *Gramdan* which began in the year 1952. The basic objective behind the *Bhoodan* movement was that there would be no landless peasants in India. It automatically gave birth to the idea that there would be no landlords in India. Instead, all land should belong to the community. In this way, *Gramdan* can be referred to as an extension of *Bhoodan*. The term '*Gramdan*' basically refers to donation of the entire village.

- **Objective of the *Gramdan***

  The *Gramdan* movement basically aimed at reforming the land programmes in India through abolishing the system of land lordism. Under the *Gramdan*, the landlords in each village would donate all of their land in the name of the village association. Through the establishment of *Gramdan*, Bhave wanted to replace the concept of private property. Moreover, *Gramdan* put emphasis upon joint cultivation and egalitarian redistribution.

- **Requirements for *Gramdan***

  Under the *Gramdan*, private ownership of land was to be abolished and the entire land was to be donated in the name of the village community as formed in the village assembly or *Gram Sabha*. The *Gram Sabha* managed all the affairs of the village and was responsible for the welfare of all. In order to declare a village as *Gramdan*, at least 75% of its residents with 51% of land had to signify their approval in writing for *Gramdan*.

- **Ideology behind the Movement**

  Gramdan was based on the Gandhian ideology of non-violence and collective village living. It was truly inspired from the original idea of Gandhi, "It is far better for a hundred families in a village to cultivate their land collectively and divide the land anyhow into a hundred portions."

Accordingly, at the initiative of Vinobha Bhave, *Gramdan* movement abled to convince the village land owners to renounce their land rights voluntarily. By 1969, the movement reached its height. Keeping in conformity with *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan*, several state governments passed laws. The first *Gramdan* village of India was Mongroth of UP which received the title in 1952. During its peak time, it was shifted from a purely voluntary movement to a government supported programme which very much harmed its popularity. In the meantime, Bhave withdrew from the scene which reduced its mass base. In the later years, donation of disputed land and land unfit for cultivation by the landowners defeated the real purpose of the movement.

Nevertheless, the positive aspect of *Gramdan* lies in the fact that this movement stood for abolition of land lordism in India through Gandhian way of Non-violence. Along with this, *Gramdan* inspired for co-operative village living. In other words, *Gramdan* can be referred to as a concrete example of the principle, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In totality, *Gramdan* ensured for Sarvodaya of the entire village.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention any two practical aspects of Vinobha Bhave's concept of Sarvodaya.

.....

Q.2: What is the literal meaning of *Bhoodan*?

.....

Q.3: Mention any one limitation of *Bhoodan* movement.

.....

Q.4: What the term '*Gramdan*' means?

.....

15.4 J. P. NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan (J. P. Narayan), another disciple of Gandhiji, built his philosophy on the Gandhian doctrine and accordingly tried them into practice. Observing the deep rooted evils of the Indian society, J.P. urged for total revolution through ethical means.

15.4.1 Concept of Socialism

J. P. Narayan can be analysed as one of the most famous personalities in the sphere of Indian socialism. Credit goes to him as one of the pioneers of Indian Socialist Party (1934), i.e. Congress Socialist Party. In the previous years of his life, he was influenced by the Gandhian philosophy of non-cooperation. But while in USA, he felt attracted towards the revolutionary philosophy of Marx, Engels and Lenin and thought Marxian Socialism more suitable rather than Gandhian Socialism for the solution of Indian problems of freedom and socio-economic development. He became more confident with the Marxist philosophy after the overthrow of Czar and establishment of communism in Russia. He recommended Marxism as the perfect theory for establishing socialism in India.

He has put forwarded his own conception of socialism in his article "Ideological Problems of Socialism". According to him, the basic principles of socialism from the economic aspect can be referred to as the socialisation of the means of production and abolition of capitalism as well as private property. Moreover, his socialism strongly supports collective farming carried on by gaon panchayats.

He has put forward his own arguments in favor of adopting socialism in case of India in his work "Why Socialism?". He deeply analysed the then socio-economic conditions of India and found inequality in all spheres as the central problem of Indian society. Moreover, unequal distribution of wealth added a new dimension

to the already paralysed socio-economic structure of India. Along with these, concentration of wealth in few hands and exploitation of the toiling masses made the condition of the poor more deplorable.

Although, Narayan initially recommended Marxism as the best option for establishing socialism in India; he, however, after analysing the soviet model of socialism and the Indian socio-economic conditions realised that violent revolution would not be suitable for establishing socialism in India. He understood well that socialism cannot be established in India without democracy. Such democratic socialism will emphasise upon decentralisation of economic and political power through peaceful means. Thus, in the later phase, he stood for democratic socialism through Gandhian doctrine, i.e. social reconstruction on ethical means. He regarded Sarvodaya as the higher form of socialism.

Accordingly, J. P. Narayan's concept of socialism can be analysed into three phases–

a) Marxist Socialist phase

b) Democratic Socialist phase, and

c) Gandhian Socialist phase.

Nevertheless, his socialism not merely aimed at nationalisation of some industries but also emancipation of the exploited and poverty-ridden masses, providing equal opportunities for everyone, and ensuring full development of material and moral resources of society. Appreciating the work of J. P. in the socialist movement of India, Mahatma Gandhi rightly regarded him as the greatest Indian authority on socialism.

15.4.2 Total Revolution

Total revolution is the unique concept of J. P. Narayan which started on 5th June, 1974. Observing the then Indian scenario, J. P. Narayan found that various evils such as chronic poverty,

unemployment, illiteracy, ignorance, corruption, huge gap between the rich and poor, population explosion, inflation, centralised character of Indian Democracy, single party dominance, decline of moral values as well as politicisation of the entire national life etc. had paralysed the whole Indian system. He understood well that all these evils were very much inter-connected and going to solve only one problem in an isolated way was never possible. Keeping in mind this fact, he emphasised upon the concept of total revolution for eliminating all these deep rooted evils.

J. P. discarded both the Capitalist as well as the Marxist way for transforming the Indian society, as the nature of Indian society was totally different from the western societies. Rather, he opted for Gandhian peaceful revolution, i.e. Sarvodaya.

According to Narayan, total revolution happens in seven spheres -

- **Social revolution:** Social revolution basically refers to total reconstruction of the social structure. It includes eradication of the social and economic inequalities, eradication of social evils such as caste system and dowry system etc. He opted for rural civilization rather than urbanisation. He wanted the existence of old and new social values but in a synthesised way. All these social reconstructions, he wanted to make through Sarvodaya.
- **Educational revolution:** Regarding the educational sphere, Narayan wanted to make literate each and every one. He gave special emphasis upon the literacy of rural population. The new education system, according to Narayan, should not be confined within the four walls of the school. Rather, it should be correlated with the practical life. The teachings of such education system should have the capacity to make a man self-reliant.
- **Political revolution:** J. P. Narayan was strongly against the prevalent democratic system of western type as such democracy could not ensure the great human values of liberty, equality, justice, peace and brotherhood in the true sense. He

also totally discarded the party politics. Therefore, he wanted a peaceful political revolution. The new political setup would establish a participating and party less democracy on the basis of Panchayati Raj system.

- **Economic revolution:** Narayan was very much critical about the modern economic system of western type as it is based on large scale industrialisation which ultimately leads to centralisation of power. For this, he wanted the restructuring of economic setup through a peaceful economic revolution. This new economic setup will be a communitarian society which will ensure economic decentralisation.
- **Cultural Revolution:** Narayan believed that the external restructuring of society has no value unless human beings have a change in the heart and mind. Therefore, he recommended five vows, i.e. truth, non-violence, brahmacharya or continence, non-stealing and non-possession to follow for changing the habits, way of thinking and action and perspective of a common man towards life and his fellow beings.
- **Intellectual Revolution:** Narayan understood that total restructuring of society is not enough. Rather, more important is to make the individuals capable enough so that they can accept the new human values, adjust to the new social setup and extract the proper utility from it. For this, Narayan wanted to have an intellectual revolution.
- **Moral-spiritual Revolution:** According to Narayan, material sources are very much necessary for human existence. But, people should not be mad after those material sources as selfishness and lustfulness can hamper in establishing the communitarian society. For this purpose, he definitely urged for a moral-spiritual revolution.

Accordingly, taking the youth and the people as the central power, J. P. Narayan urged for total revolution to establish an ideal society.



ACTIVITY 15.1

Make a comparison between the philosophy of Sarvodaya and Socialism.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What are the phases of J. P. Narayan's concept of socialism?

.....

Q.6: What kind of method J. P. opted for transforming the Indian society?

.....

Q.7: Who supported the concept of 'party less democracy'?

.....



15.5 LET US SUM UP

- Acharya Vinobha Bhave was one of the true and most able disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. Vinobhaji believed that the technique of Sarvodaya is closely associated with the concept of *Bhoodan*.
- The two aspects of his Sarvodaya philosophy are *Sampatti Dan* and *Gramdan*. According to Bhave Sarvodaya is keen to ensure social transformation mainly through the technique of non-violence. The fundamental theme of Sarvodaya is the realisation of happiness and elevation of all.
- *Bhoodan* movement is the voluntary land reform movement initiated by Acharya Vinobha Bhave. The basic aim behind the *Bhoodan* movement was to provide land to the landless peasants of India from the part of the local landlords.
- Through this movement, Bhave wanted to distribute the economic holdings and powers in a balanced manner on the basis of

decentralisation and to establish a society based on equality of opportunities. A complete non-violent tactic was adopted during this whole agrarian revolution.

- *Gramdan* movement was another non-violent revolution led by Acharya Vinobha Bhave to implement land reforms in India. The *Gramdan* movement basically aimed at reforming the land programmes in India through abolishing the system of land lordism.
- Through the establishment of *Gramdan*, Bhave wanted to replace the concept of private property. Moreover, *Gramdan* put emphasis upon joint cultivation and egalitarian redistribution.
- J. P. Narayan's concept of socialism can be analysed into three phases, i.e. Marxist Socialist phase, Democratic Socialist phase and Gandhian Socialist phase.
- J.P. emphasised upon the concept of total revolution for eliminating all the deep rooted evils of Indian society.
- J. P. discarded both the Capitalist as well as the Marxist way for transforming the Indian society, as the nature of Indian society was totally different from the western societies. Rather, he opted for Gandhian peaceful revolution, i.e. Sarvodaya.
- According to Narayan, total revolution happens in seven spheres - social, educational, political, economic, cultural, intellectual, moral-spiritual.



15.6 FURTHER READING

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15.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans. to Q. No. 1: *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan*

Ans. to Q. No. 2: Land gift

Ans. to Q. No. 3: Donation of waste and disputed land by the landlords

Ans. to Q. No. 4: Donation of the entire village

Ans. to Q. No. 5: Marxist Socialist phase, Democratic Socialist phase and Gandhian Socialist phase

Ans. to Q. No. 6: Gandhian peaceful revolution, i.e. Sarvodaya.

Ans. to Q. No. 7: Jay Prakash Narayan

15.8 MODEL QUESTIONS



A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1: What is the literal meaning of Sarvodaya?

Q. 2: What are the requirements to declare a village as gramdan?

Q. 3: Why J. P. Narayan stressed on total revolution in the Indian context?

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

Q. 1: Point out the basic aims and objectives of the *Bhoodan* movement.

Q. 2: Make a note on the *Gramdan* movement.

Q. 3: Point out any four aspects of total revolution.

Q. 4: Why J. P. Narayan suggested adopting socialism in case of India?

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

Q. 1: Discuss the views of Vinobha Bhave on Sarvodaya.

Q. 2: Critically analyse the *Bhoodan* movement of Vinobha Bhave.

Q. 3: Examine the concept of total revolution.

Q. 4: Analyse the concept of socialism of J. P. Narayan.

*** ***** ***



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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

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1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
II)	The units of the SLM could satisfy my academic needs and expectations					
III)	The Unit writers have excellent knowledge about the course contents					
IV)	Language and contents of the units were presented at a level which I could readily understand					
V)	Ample opportunity for participation in the activities provided in the units					
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VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

.....

.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

.....

.....

Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.