Directorate of Distance & Online Education

UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

M.A.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER III   **COURSE NO. POL-301**

MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

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POLITICAL SCIENCE COURSE NO. POL-301

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Title-Modern Indian Political Thought

Credits: 6 (Six)   **Max. Marks: 100**

Internal Assessment: 20   **Time: 3 Hours**   **Semester Exam: 80**

Objectives of Course: This course aims to educate students to ideas of Modern Indian Political Thinkers that have shaped the course of politics during the colonial and post-colonial eras. The course also explores the factors and context that shaped the political thinking of these thinkers. It also compares their ideas on the different issues of national importance for India. It intends to underline the relevance of their ideas in the globalized India.

Learning Outcomes: This course will enrich the knowledge of learners about Indian Political thinking and tradition. It will enable them to understand that the articulation of political thinking of thinkers had organic relations with their respective contexts. The context plays very vital role because every Indian political thinker is the product of particular socio, economic, political and cultural context apart from their educational background that had profoundly shaped their political thinking

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3.3 BR Ambedkar: Critique of Hinduism and Constitutionalism
3.4 Valabh Bhai Patel: National Integration and Secularism
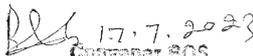
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Jammu

Unit-IV: Alternative Trends in Indian Thought

4.1   Communist Thought: MN Roy and EMS Namboodiripad

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Note for Paper Setter

- The Question Paper shall be divided into two sections. The first section will carry eight short questions of which students will be required to attempt five questions. The upper words limit for the answer of each question will be 200 words. Each question carrying 4 marks.
- The second section will comprise eight questions of which students will have to attempt four questions on the basis of "WITHIN UNIT choice. The upper words limit for the answer of each question will be 850 to 1000 words. Each question will carry 15 marks.

Suggested Readings

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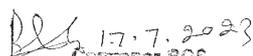
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-Nirmal Singh

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1.1.0 Objectives

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

- Know the broader trends in ancient Indian Political Thought

- Comprehend the contribution of Vedic, Sramanic, Lokayat and Dravidian.

- Understand the contribution of different text of ancient Indian political thought.

1.1 Introduction

The concept of ancient Indian political thought, encompasses the philosophical and theoretical viewpoints of governance, society, and political structure that arose inside the Indian subcontinent during antiquity. The tradition under discussion is characterized by its richness and diversity, as it embraces a broad spectrum of ideas and philosophies originating from different epochs in Indian history. The political thinking of ancient India was distinguished by a profound emphasis on ethics, morality, and the welfare of society. The development of this phenomenon occurred gradually and was shaped by a multitude of religious and philosophical ideologies, thereby enhancing the intricate fabric of India's intellectual heritage. Ethics held a pivotal position within the framework of ancient Indian political philosophy. Moral and ethical values were perceived as the influential factor in influencing the actions of both rulers and individuals within their political and social engagements. It is imperative to acknowledge that ancient Indian political thinking does not constitute a homogenous tradition, since it encompasses diverse schools of thought and geographical differentiations. These aforementioned attributes exemplify several overarching qualities of this heterogeneous and intricate tradition.

Key aspects of ancient Indian political thought include:

Dharma: Central to ancient Indian political thought is the concept of "dharma," which refers to the moral and ethical duties and responsibilities that individuals, rulers, and society as a whole must uphold. Dharma is a fundamental concept in Hindu, Buddhist, and Jain traditions and provides a basis for just and righteous governance.

Arthashastra: The "Arthashastra," attributed to the ancient Indian scholar Chanakya, is an influential treatise on statecraft, politics, and economics. It provides guidance on statecraft, governance, diplomacy, and the duties of a ruler. It emphasizes the importance of a strong and efficient state for the well-being of the people.

Buddhism: The teachings of Siddhartha Gautama, also known as the Buddha, include ideas related to governance and ethics. The Buddha's emphasis on compassion, non-violence, and the elimination of suffering had a profound impact on the political thought of the time.

Jainism: Jainism, founded by Mahavira, promotes non-violence (ahimsa) and the idea of a just and compassionate society. Jain political thought stresses the importance of ethical behavior and non-violence in both individual and collective life.

Vedic Period: The Vedas, a collection of ancient religious texts, contain references to early political and social organization in ancient India. They mention the concept of "rajas" (kings) and the importance of sacrifices and rituals to maintain order and harmony.

Concept of Kingship and Governance: Ancient Indian political thought often revolved around the concept of kingship. The king (raja or maharaja) was expected to rule with justice and uphold dharma. The "Arthashastra" and various epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharata discuss the qualities and responsibilities of a righteous king.

Sangha and Janapada: The Buddhist and Jain monastic orders (sangha) played a significant role in ancient Indian society. They had their own governance structures and rules, and their existence contributed to a broader understanding of political and social organization in ancient India.

Local Governance: Ancient India had a system of local self-governance known as "Janapada" or "Mahajanapada." These were republics or confederations of clans and tribes, each with its own political system and governance structure.

Caste System: The caste system had a significant influence on the social and political organization of ancient India. It assigned individuals to specific roles and duties within society, impacting their political and social status.

Conflict and Diplomacy: Ancient Indian history also saw periods of conflict and the development of diplomatic strategies. Treatises on warfare and diplomacy were written, and the concept of alliances and treaties was explored.

Ashrams and Social Order: The concept of varna and ashramas (social classes and stages of life) played a significant role in structuring society and its political organization. These concepts were linked to the idea of dharma and the roles individuals should play in society.

Non-violence and Ahimsa: The philosophy of non-violence (ahimsa), famously

associated with Mahatma Gandhi, has ancient roots in Indian political thought. It promotes peaceful means of conflict resolution and resistance to oppression.

Confucianism and Legalism: Ancient India, like many other civilizations, had its own variations of Confucian and Legalist thought. Confucian ideas emphasized moral leadership and the importance of cultivating virtuous leaders. Legalist thought focused on the role of laws and strict governance to maintain order and stability.

Tolerance and Pluralism: Ancient Indian political thought often promoted religious tolerance and coexistence of various belief systems. The idea of "Sarva Dharma Sama Bhava" suggests that all religions should be treated with equal respect.

Philosophical Schools: Different philosophical schools, such as Nyaya, Vaisheshika, Samkhya, and Yoga, also contributed to political thought by addressing issues like epistemology, metaphysics, and ethics, which had implications for governance and society.

Epics and Scriptures: Ancient Indian epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharata, as well as sacred texts like the Vedas, Upanishads, and the Manusmriti, contain narratives and principles that influence political thought and governance in India.

1.1.2   Vedic Ancient Indian Political thought

Vedic Indian political thought holds substantial importance within the wider framework of the Indian philosophical and intellectual heritage. The foundation of this practice may be traced back to the ancient manuscripts referred to as the Vedas, which hold a significant position as one of the first sacred scriptures within the Hindu religion. The Vedas predominantly center around religious and ritualistic aspects, although they also incorporate allusions to social and political structure, thereby mirroring the values and principles of ancient Indian civilization. Vedic Indian political thinking is commonly linked to the historical period known as the Vedic era, estimated to have spanned from approximately 1500 BCE to 500 BCE. The Vedic period is distinguished by the creation of the Vedas, which are the earliest sacred scriptures of Hinduism. These scriptures consist of the Rigveda, Samaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda. These works offer valuable perspectives on the societal, religious, and political dimensions of ancient Indian civilization. During the initial

phase of the Vedic period, spanning from around 1500 to 1200 BCE, the Rigveda emerged as a significant literary composition. Within its verses, one may discern hymns that provide insights into the prevailing social and political framework of that era. During this particular era, the prevailing political structure was characterized by tribal organization, wherein chiefdoms or clans, referred to as "Janas" or "Vish," were governed by a tribal chief or monarch, commonly known as a "Rajan." The societal structure revolved around pastoralism, with a primary focus on the rearing and management of cattle.

During the course of the Vedic era, a transition occurred from the Rigvedic phase to the subsequent Vedic period, which spanned from around 1200 to 500 BCE. During this historical era, there was a notable rise in intricate political systems, characterized by the founding of monarchies and the advancement of early state formations. The political environment underwent a transformation, transitioning from a tribal and pastoral culture to a more stable and agrarian one.

It is noteworthy to mention that the Vedas do not function as explicit political treatises per se. Instead, they offer insights into the socio-political milieu of their era by means of hymns, ceremonies, and laudations dedicated to deities. The subsequent Vedic books, namely the Brahmanas and Upanishads, additionally assist to the comprehension of the social and philosophical advancements that occurred in this era.

The progression from the Vedic era to subsequent periods, such as the Epic and Classical periods, denoted notable advancements in political ideology and administration within ancient India. The epics, such as the Ramayana and Mahabharata, offer valuable insights into the progressive development of political and ethical concepts, so establishing a solid foundation for later philosophical and political ideologies in India. Here are some key elements of Vedic Indian political thought:

Dharma: Dharma is a central concept in Vedic thought, referring to the moral and ethical order that governs individual and societal behavior. It encompasses the duties and responsibilities of individuals within the social hierarchy. Kings and rulers were expected to uphold dharma by ensuring justice and the welfare of their subjects.

Raja Dharma: Raja Dharma specifically deals with the duties and responsibilities of kings or rulers. It emphasizes the idea that a king's primary duty is to maintain order

and protect the well-being of his subjects. The king is expected to be just, virtuous, and follow the principles of dharma.

Social Hierarchy: Vedic society was organized into a hierarchical structure known as the varna system. This system categorized individuals into four main varnas or social classes: Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (merchants and farmers), and Shudras (laborers and servants). The varna system influenced political organization and roles in society.

Importance of Rituals and Sacrifices: Vedic society placed a strong emphasis on rituals and sacrifices, which were believed to maintain cosmic order and ensure the well-being of the community. These rituals were often performed by Brahmins, and they played a role in the moral and spiritual fabric of society.

Concept of Punishment and Justice: The Vedic texts also discussed the concept of punishment for wrongdoers and the need for justice. Justice was often seen as an essential aspect of dharma, and rulers were expected to maintain order and resolve disputes in a just and fair manner.

Role of Religion and Philosophy: Vedic thought was deeply intertwined with religious and philosophical ideas, particularly the concept of karma (the law of cause and effect) and reincarnation. These beliefs influenced notions of individual conduct and the consequences of one's actions in this life and the afterlife.

Limited Interference in Personal Lives: Vedic political thought generally upheld the idea of limited state interference in the personal lives of individuals. The focus was more on maintaining social order and ensuring the adherence to dharma rather than regulating every aspect of individual life.

Sabha and Samiti: Vedic political assemblies known as "sabha" and "samiti" played an important role in decision-making and governance. The sabha was an assembly of elders and respected individuals, while the samiti was a more inclusive gathering. These assemblies discussed important matters, made decisions, and advised the king.

Ideal King: The Vedic texts describe the qualities of an ideal king, emphasizing attributes like wisdom, courage, righteousness, and a commitment to dharma. The king was expected to protect his kingdom and uphold the well-being of his subjects.

Several ancient texts, such as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, provide insights into the characteristics of an ideal ruler.

The Arthashastra: While not strictly Vedic, the Arthashastra, attributed to the ancient Indian scholar Kautilya (Chanakya), is an important text in Indian political thought. It provides detailed guidance on statecraft, governance, and the role of the king. It covers a wide range of topics, including diplomacy, economics, and espionage.

Decentralized Governance: In the Vedic period, governance was relatively decentralized. Society was organized into self-sustaining communities called "Jana" or "Vish," and the governance was often carried out by councils of elders and local leaders. There was no centralized political authority like a monarchy or a strong central government.

The political thinking of ancient Vedic India established the fundamental principles upon which succeeding political and ethical philosophies in India were built, exerting a significant influence on following books and thinkers. The principles of dharma and the role of rulers in ancient Indian culture have enduring relevance in contemporary discussions about ethics and governance in India.

The subject of Vedic Indian political thinking is intricate and diverse, predominantly documented in the ancient sacred scriptures of India, which encompass the Vedas, Upanishads, and notable epics like the Ramayana and Mahabharata. Although the aforementioned writings do not conform to the conventional structure of contemporary political treatises, they do encompass aspects pertaining to political ideology, governance, and ethical considerations. Here are some key ideas and texts that are relevant to Vedic Indian political thought:

The Vedas: The Vedas are among the oldest sacred texts of India and contain hymns and rituals that touch upon various aspects of life, including governance. They emphasize concepts such as dharma (duty/righteousness) and rita (cosmic order) as essential for maintaining societal harmony. Rigveda, in particular, contains references to kingship and the role of the king.

Upanishads: The Upanishads are philosophical texts that explore the nature of reality, the self (Atman), and the ultimate reality (Brahman). While not explicitly political, they contribute to the development of ethical and moral principles that can

guide rulers and citizens.

Arthashastra: While not a Vedic text, the Arthashastra is an ancient Indian treatise on statecraft, economic policy, and military strategy attributed to Kautilya (also known as Chanakya). It provides practical advice for rulers and administrators, emphasizing the importance of a strong and efficient state.

Ramayana and Mahabharata: These epic narratives contain stories of leadership, governance, and conflict resolution. They also discuss the qualities of an ideal ruler and the challenges they face. The characters of Lord Rama in the Ramayana and Lord Krishna in the Mahabharata exemplify different aspects of leadership.

Dharmashastras: These texts, including Manusmriti and Yajnavalkya Smriti, provide codes of conduct and laws that encompass social, ethical, and political aspects. They prescribe guidelines for kings, judges, and citizens, emphasizing the importance of dharma and justice.

Puranas: The Puranas are a genre of texts that include historical accounts and mythological stories. They often feature discussions on governance, kingship, and the duties of rulers.

The Concept of Dharma: Dharma is a central concept in Vedic Indian political thought. It refers to the moral and ethical duties and responsibilities of individuals and rulers. It is seen as the foundation for a just and orderly society.

Caste System: The caste system, as described in ancient texts, had significant implications for the social and political structure of Vedic India. It determined one's occupation, status, and role in society.

1.1.3 Sarmanic Ancient Indian Political Thought

Sarmanic thought pertains to a prominent school of political philosophy in ancient India, which held sway during the Vedic era within the Indian subcontinent. The etymology of the term "Sarmanic" can be traced back to its Sanskrit root "sarman," denoting an individual who assumes the role of a householder or actively engages in worldly pursuits. Sarmanic ideology predominantly centered on the obligations and responsibilities of individuals within the household, the notion of dharma (moral duty and righteousness), and the structuring of societal arrangements. Sarmanic

political theory, alternatively referred to as "Shramanic" political thought, pertains to the political concepts and philosophies that emerged within the ancient Indian context, specifically among the Shramanic traditions characterized by asceticism and itinerancy. The aforementioned cultural practices encompassed Jainism and Buddhism, among various ascetic and philosophical movements. It is imperative to acknowledge that Sarmanic thinking constituted one of the intellectual and political traditions prevalent in ancient India. Over the course of history, additional philosophical and religious ideologies, such as Buddhism and Jainism, surfaced, presenting alternative perspectives and adaptations to prevailing social frameworks and political ideologies. The enduring impact of Sarmanic ideology remains discernible in select facets of present-day Indian society, particularly in relation to the significance attributed to dharma and the Varna system. However, it is important to note that these concepts have undergone evolution and diverse interpretations over the course of history. Key points of Sarmanic political thought include:

Dharma: Dharma was a central concept in Sarmanic thought. It represented the moral and ethical duties that individuals needed to fulfill in their respective roles and social positions. Dharma varied based on a person's age, caste, gender, and occupation.

Varna System: The Sarmanic philosophy was closely associated with the Varna system, which categorized society into four main varnas (castes): Brahmins (priests and scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors and rulers), Vaishyas (merchants and farmers), and Shudras (laborers and servants). Each varna had its specific duties and responsibilities.

Social Order: Sarmanic thought emphasized the importance of maintaining social order and stability. It believed that each individual's adherence to their dharma would contribute to the overall well-being of society.

Governance: The Sarmanic political thought did not provide an elaborate system of governance but emphasized the duties of rulers (Kshatriyas) in upholding justice and protecting the welfare of their subjects. The king's role was seen as crucial in ensuring the smooth functioning of society.

Dharmashastras: The Sarmanic philosophy found expression in the Dharmashastras, a genre of ancient Indian texts that provided guidelines on dharma, ethics, and social duties. Prominent among these texts are the Manusmriti and the Yajnavalkya Smriti.

Rituals and Religion: Sarmanic thought was closely linked to religious practices and rituals. It stressed the importance of religious ceremonies and offerings to maintain harmony and order in society.

Non-violence (Ahimsa): Both Jainism and Buddhism emphasized the principle of non-violence (ahimsa) as a fundamental ethical and political principle. This non-violent approach extended to politics, advocating for peaceful conflict resolution and minimal harm to all living beings.

Minimalism and Simplicity: Sarmanic political thought often advocated for simple living and minimalistic governance. Leaders and rulers were encouraged to avoid excessive materialism and to promote an austere lifestyle.

Rejecting the Caste System: The Sarmanic traditions challenged the rigid caste system prevalent in ancient India. They promoted the idea that all individuals had the potential for spiritual enlightenment, regardless of their social or caste background.

Equality and Social Justice: Both Jainism and Buddhism emphasized the importance of social justice and the welfare of all living beings. They encouraged compassion, kindness, and equal treatment of all individuals.

Self-Governance: Sarmanic thought often promoted the idea of self-governance and individual moral responsibility. It encouraged people to govern their own actions and make ethical choices, rather than relying solely on external authorities.

Opposition to War and Aggression: The Sarmanic traditions were generally pacifist and opposed wars and aggressive military campaigns. They advocated for peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution through dialogue and diplomacy.

Separation of Church and State: Sarmanic political thought typically advocated for a separation of religious and political authority. They believed that political leaders should not interfere in religious matters, and religious leaders should not hold political power.

Democracy and Consensus: Some Sarmanic thinkers promoted the idea of a democratic form of governance where decisions were made collectively through consensus, rather than through autocratic rule.

Environmental Stewardship: Sarmanic thought often emphasized the importance

of environmental protection and harmony with nature. They encouraged responsible and sustainable use of natural resources.

Karma and Ethics: The concept of karma, the belief that one's actions have consequences, played a significant role in Sarmanic political thought. They stressed the importance of ethical behavior and the accumulation of positive karma.

It is noteworthy that Sarmanic political thinking exerted a considerable influence on the ethical and moral underpinnings of Indian society, hence playing a pivotal role in establishing the trajectory of political thought in the region. Although not a prevailing political ideology, its principles persistently shape modern Indian thought and values.

The Sarmanic school of ancient Indian political thinking, which is generally linked to the Sarmanas, a community of ascetics and philosophers in ancient India, lacks comprehensive documentation and widespread recognition compared to other prominent schools of Indian political thought such as the Arthashastra, Nyaya, or Manusmriti. Nevertheless, there are several intellectuals and literary works that are commonly linked to Sarmanic political ideology:

Brihaspati: Brihaspati is believed to be one of the earliest proponents of Sarmanic thought. His ideas are found in texts like the Brihaspati Sutra, which discuss governance, justice, and the duties of rulers.

Auddalaki Aruni: Auddalaki Aruni was a sage mentioned in the Chandogya Upanishad, who contributed to the development of ethical and moral principles in ancient Indian thought. His teachings have influenced Sarmanic political thought.

Lokāyata or Charvaka: While not strictly a part of Sarmanic thought, the Charvaka or Lokayata school of philosophy held materialistic and atheistic views, which had implications for the political and ethical dimensions of life in ancient India. They rejected the authority of the Vedas and were skeptical of religious and moral norms.

Jains: The Jains, followers of Lord Mahavira, have also contributed to Sarmanic thought. Their emphasis on non-violence (ahimsa), truthfulness (satya), and self-discipline influenced ideas related to political ethics and governance.

Sramanas: The Sramana tradition, to which the Sarmanas belonged, encompassed various ascetic and philosophical groups. While not all Sramana thinkers focused

explicitly on political thought, their ideas about the nature of reality, ethics, and individual liberation had indirect implications for political philosophy.

1.1.4 Lokayat Ancient Indian Political Thought

Lokayat, alternatively spelled as Lokayata, represents an ancient school of Indian philosophy and political thought that can be traced back to approximately the 6th century BCE. The etymology of the name "Lokayat" may be traced back to its Sanskrit roots, where "loka" signifies the world and "ayat" denotes attainment. This linguistic composition allows for a broad interpretation, encompassing the pursuit of worldly pleasure or the ideology of materialism. Lokayata, alternatively referred to as Charvaka, represents a heterodox tradition within Indian philosophy, characterized by its central emphasis on materialism, skepticism, and atheism. The primary focus of this study revolved around the physical realm and dismissed any answers rooted in the supernatural. Although Lokayata primarily constituted a philosophical tradition, it held significant ramifications for political philosophy, particularly in its explicit rejection of religious authority. The Lokayat school of Indian philosophy is considered to be a very modest and sometimes ignored tradition, mostly due to its major deviations from the prevailing religious and philosophical systems in India, including Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. Over the course of its historical development, the Charvaka tradition experienced a gradual fall in its level of influence, ultimately resulting in its transformation into a minority perspective within the wider framework of Indian philosophical discourse. However, this viewpoint continues to be intriguing and distinctive within the context of Indian philosophy's historical development.

The Lokayata tradition is thought to have emerged during the 6th century BCE within the historical context of ancient India. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that the date of Lokayata is a subject of scholarly discussion, and the actual timeframe of its origin and evolution remains uncertain. The aforementioned philosophical tradition is often regarded as one of the ancient schools of thought within Indian philosophy.

The Lokayata philosophers expressed a critical stance towards religious rites, sacrificial practices, and the authoritative status of the Vedas. The proponents advocated for the utilization of empirical observation and sensory experience as the fundamental sources of knowledge, while also refuting the notion of an afterlife and

the existence of deities. Lokayata, as a philosophical school, primarily engaged with metaphysical and epistemological inquiries. However, its materialistic and skeptical perspective would likely have influenced the followers' perspectives on political and social structures, typically pushing for an emphasis on the observable and concrete facets of human existence.

It is important to consider that the available historical documentation pertaining to heterodox schools such as Lokayata is constrained, and a significant portion of the existing knowledge is derived from allusions found in the writings of other philosophical traditions. The impact and significance of Lokayata may have exhibited fluctuations throughout diverse geographical areas and temporal epochs within ancient India. Key principles and beliefs of Lokayat:

Materialism: Lokayat philosophy is fundamentally materialistic and atheistic. It denies the existence of a soul or the afterlife and focuses on the here and now. It asserts that only material substances are real, and everything can be explained through the interaction of matter and energy. As materialists, Lokayata thinkers believed that the pursuit of happiness and well-being in this life should be the primary goal. This could have implications for their view on political systems that prioritize the welfare of the people.

Rejection of Supernatural Beliefs: Lokayat rejects all forms of supernatural beliefs, including the idea of God or gods, the concept of karma and rebirth, and the authority of scriptures. This skepticism extends to the rejection of rituals, sacrifices, and religious practices.

Sensory Perception as the Basis of Knowledge: Lokayat philosophers emphasize that knowledge is based on direct sensory perception (pratyaksha) and reject any form of inference or scripture-based knowledge. They believe that only what can be perceived through the senses is real.

Pleasure as the Ultimate Goal: Lokayat holds that the pursuit of pleasure (sukha) and the avoidance of pain (duhkha) should be the primary goals of human life. This hedonistic approach focuses on maximizing personal happiness and minimizing suffering.

Moral Relativism: Lokayat is often criticized for its moral relativism, as it does not

prescribe a set of moral or ethical principles. Instead, it suggests that people should act according to their own self-interest and desires.

Political Thought: Lokayat's political thought is closely tied to its materialistic and pleasure-oriented philosophy. It advocates for a form of governance that focuses on the welfare and happiness of the people. The rulers are expected to work for the well-being of their subjects and ensure social order and security.

Secularism: Lokayata was critical of religious authority and opposed the interference of religious beliefs and rituals in the political and social sphere. It advocated for a secular approach to governance and society.

Rejection of the afterlife: Lokayata rejected the idea of an afterlife, focusing instead on the present life. This could influence their perspective on the role of government in ensuring social and economic well-being during individuals' lifetimes.

Atheism: Lokayata denies the existence of gods and the supernatural. This stance can have implications for a secular approach to politics and governance, advocating for a separation of religion from the state.

Hedonism: Lokayata is often associated with hedonism, which emphasizes the pursuit of pleasure and the avoidance of pain as the highest good. In a political context, this could lead to a focus on policies that maximize the well-being and happiness of citizens.

Minimalist Government: Given its materialistic and skeptical nature, Lokayata may advocate for a minimalist role of the government in people's lives, with an emphasis on personal freedom and self-reliance.

Difference between Vedic and Sarmanic Ancient Indian Political Thought

Vedic and Sramanic are two distinct traditions of ancient Indian political thought that developed in the Indian subcontinent over thousands of years. While there are common elements in their philosophies, there are also significant differences between the two. Here are some of the key differences:

Origin and Philosophy:

Vedic: Vedic political thought is rooted in the Vedic texts, particularly the Rigveda,

one of the oldest sacred texts in Hinduism. Vedic political thought emphasizes the importance of a hierarchical social order and the role of kings (rajas) and priests (Brahmins) in maintaining social harmony and performing rituals.

Sramanic: Sramanic thought, on the other hand, is associated with ascetic and renunciant traditions that emerged around the same time as the Vedas. Sramanic thinkers like Mahavira (founder of Jainism) and Siddhartha Gautama (Buddha, the founder of Buddhism) rejected the authority of the Vedas and sought individual spiritual enlightenment through self-discipline and renunciation. Their political thought often emphasized non-violence and the rejection of worldly attachments.

Social Hierarchy:

Vedic: Vedic thought supports the caste system, with a rigid social hierarchy that places Brahmins (priests) at the top and assigns specific roles and duties to individuals based on their caste. Kings were expected to uphold this social order and protect it.

Sramanic: Sramanic thought often rejected the caste system and advocated for a more egalitarian society. Both Jainism and Buddhism rejected caste distinctions and promoted a path to salvation that was open to people from all walks of life.

Role of the State:

Vedic: Vedic political thought sees the state, particularly the king, as an essential institution responsible for maintaining order, performing rituals, and protecting the dharma (duty) of the people. The king derives his authority from divine mandate.

Sramanic: Sramanic thought is less focused on the state and political power. It emphasizes individual spiritual liberation and self-realization, often in contrast to the power and wealth associated with rulers.

Ethics and Morality:

Vedic: Vedic thought is closely tied to religious rituals and ceremonies. It places significant emphasis on the performance of dharma (duty) and the importance of adhering to rituals as a means of maintaining social and cosmic harmony.

Sramanic: Sramanic thought prioritizes moral and ethical conduct, often emphasizing principles like ahimsa (non-violence) and the importance of self-control and

compassion. These principles are central to Jainism and Buddhism.

While these differences exist, it's important to note that both Vedic and Sramanic traditions have contributed to the rich tapestry of Indian philosophy and have influenced the development of Indian society and politics over the centuries. Additionally, the interactions and syncretism of these traditions have led to a complex and diverse political and philosophical landscape in ancient India.

1.1.5 Difference between Vedic and Lokayat Ancient Indian Political Thought

Vedic and Lokayata are two distinct schools of thought in ancient Indian philosophy and political theory. They have significant differences in their fundamental principles and approaches to politics and governance. Here's an overview of the key differences between Vedic and Lokayata political thought:

Philosophical Basis:

Vedic: Vedic political thought is deeply rooted in the Vedas, which are a collection of ancient Indian scriptures that include hymns, rituals, and philosophical teachings. Vedic thought often emphasizes the importance of dharma (righteousness), karma (action and its consequences), and the cosmic order (rita).

Lokayata: Lokayata, also known as Charvaka, is a materialistic and atheistic school of thought. It rejects the authority of the Vedas and is primarily concerned with empirical, worldly matters. It denies the existence of gods and focuses on the pursuit of sensory pleasure.

Ethics and Morality:

Vedic: Vedic thought places a strong emphasis on ethical and moral principles, including the concept of dharma, which guides one's actions and duties in society. The Vedic texts provide guidelines for ethical behavior and a just social order.

Lokayata: Lokayata philosophy is often associated with hedonism, as it advocates the pursuit of pleasure as the highest good. It rejects traditional moral and ethical norms, and its focus is primarily on material well-being and individual desires.

Political Authority:

Vedic: Vedic political thought generally supports the idea of a hierarchical and stratified society, where authority is vested in rulers (kings) who are expected to govern in accordance with dharma. The role of the king is seen as upholding moral and social order.

Lokayata: Lokayata thought does not concern itself with divine or moral authority. It may advocate a more secular and pragmatic view of political authority, with an emphasis on individual self-interest and the pursuit of power and wealth.

Views on Religion:

Vedic: Vedic thought is inherently religious and often associated with the Brahmanical tradition. It includes rituals, sacrifices, and a belief in the existence of gods and the supernatural, which can influence political structures and decisions.

Lokayata: Lokayata philosophy rejects the idea of gods and the supernatural. It is fundamentally atheistic and materialistic, focusing on the here and now rather than on religious or spiritual matters.

Influence:

Vedic: Vedic thought has had a significant and enduring influence on Indian culture, including its political and ethical systems. It played a foundational role in shaping the moral and social fabric of ancient Indian society.

Lokayata: Lokayata philosophy, while historically significant, did not have as broad and lasting an impact on Indian society as Vedic thought. It remained a minority and often marginalized school of thought.

1.1.6 Difference between Lokayat and Sarmanic Ancient Indian Political Thought

Sarmanic and Lokayata are two distinct schools of thought in ancient Indian philosophy, particularly in the context of political and ethical philosophy. Here are the key differences between these two traditions:

Ethical Foundations:

Sarmanic: The Sarmanic school of thought is associated with the idea of dharma, which emphasizes ethical and moral principles as the foundation of a just and harmonious society. Dharma, in the context of Sarmanic thought, refers to the moral duties and obligations that individuals must adhere to in order to maintain social order and righteousness.

Lokayata: Lokayata, on the other hand, is often considered a materialistic and atheistic school of thought. It rejects the notion of dharma and does not rely on metaphysical or moral principles to guide human behavior and society. Lokayata philosophy is primarily concerned with empirical observations and materialism.

Concept of God:

Sarmanic: Sarmanic thought often involves a belief in the existence of gods or a divine order that governs the universe. These deities are seen as upholders of dharma and play a significant role in the moral and ethical framework of society.

Lokayata: Lokayata is generally atheistic or agnostic in its approach and does not rely on the existence of gods or divine principles to explain the world. It is rooted in empirical and rational thinking, focusing on the physical world and human experiences.

Political Implications:

Sarmanic: Sarmanic thought has had a significant influence on the development of political philosophy and governance in ancient India. It provided the moral and ethical foundations for political rulers and leaders to govern justly and maintain social order. Concepts such as the duties of kings (rajadharma) are associated with Sarmanic thought.

Lokayata: Lokayata's materialistic and empirical approach to philosophy did not have a direct impact on political governance. Its rejection of dharma and metaphysical principles often made it less relevant to the establishment of political systems or ethical guidelines for rulers.

Social Influence:

Sarmanic: Sarmanic thought had a more significant impact on the social and moral

fabric of ancient Indian society. It played a role in shaping the moral values and conduct of individuals and communities.

Lokayata: Lokayata's influence was more limited and was often considered heterodox and outside the mainstream philosophical and religious traditions of ancient India.

1.1.7 Let us sum up

Vedic political thought is deeply rooted in religious and moral principles, emphasizing dharma and the cosmic order, while Lokayata is a materialistic, atheistic philosophy that focuses on worldly pleasures and rejects traditional religious and moral norms. These differences have shaped the way these two schools of thought approach politics and governance in ancient India. Sarmanic and Lokayata represent two contrasting philosophical traditions in ancient India. Sarmanic thought emphasized moral and ethical principles, while Lokayata rejected the reliance on metaphysical and divine concepts, focusing on materialism and empirical observations. These differences also extended to their implications for politics and governance.

1.2 Medieval: Islamic and Bhakti Tradition

-Nirmal Singh

Structure

1.2.0   Objective

1.2.1   Introduction

1.2.2   Islamic Medieval Indian Political Thought

1.2.3   Bhakti Medieval Indian Political Thought

1.2.4   Difference between Islamic and Bhakti Tradition of Medieval Indian Thought

1.2.5   Let us sum up

1.2.0 Objectives

After going through this lesson, you will be able to know

• Identify broader contour of Medieval Indian Political Thought with reference to Islamic and Bhakti tradition

1.2.1 Introduction

The intricate interplay of diverse philosophical, religious, and political concepts that arose over the period roughly extending from the sixth to the eighteenth century. Different dynasties, empires, and cultural influences coexisted during this time period, which was one of its defining characteristics. The interconnections of many religious, cultural, and political factors in medieval India resulted in the formation of a political ideology that was both diverse and dynamic. During this time period, a

number of different traditions coexisted, each of which contributed another thread to the intricately woven fabric that is India's political and intellectual history. Here are some key features and influences on medieval Indian political thought:

Dharmashastra Tradition: Building on the earlier Dharmic political thought, medieval India continued to see the influence of texts like the Manusmriti and various other Dharmashastra texts. These texts provided guidelines for governance, social order, and the duties of rulers and subjects based on the concept of dharma.

Islamic Political Thought: With the advent of Islam in the Indian subcontinent, Islamic political thought played a significant role. Islamic rulers and scholars introduced ideas related to Sharia law, governance based on Islamic principles, and the integration of political and religious authority.

Sufi Influence: Sufi mystics, while not explicitly political, had an impact on the socio-cultural landscape. They often emphasized love, tolerance, and spiritual unity, influencing the cultural and ethical fabric of society.

Bhakti Movement: The Bhakti movement, which gained momentum from the 7th century onwards, emphasized devotion to a personal god. While primarily religious, it had implications for social and political life by challenging caste hierarchies and promoting a more inclusive society.

Vijayanagara and Bahmani Kingdoms: The Vijayanagara and Bahmani kingdoms in the Deccan region contributed to the political thought of the time. The Vijayanagara Empire, for example, was known for its administrative efficiency and patronage of the arts.

Mughal Political Thought: The Mughal Empire, which reached its zenith in the medieval period, had a significant impact on political thought. Akbar, in particular, is known for his efforts to integrate various religious and cultural traditions and his policy of Sulh-i-Kul (peace with all).

Rajput Traditions: The Rajput kingdoms in North India had their own political traditions, marked by valor, chivalry, and a code of conduct known as Rajput Dharma.

Regional Variations: Different regions of India had their own political traditions and governance systems. For example, the Chola dynasty in South India had a well-organized administrative system.

Synthesis of Traditions: In some cases, there was a synthesis of indigenous Indian political thought with Islamic and Persian influences, leading to a unique blend of ideas in the political arena.

1.2.2 Islamic Medieval Indian Political Thought

The term "Islamic medieval Indian Political Thought" pertains to the political concepts and theories that arose in the Indian subcontinent during the medieval era, influenced by Islamic thinking and administration. The historical era under consideration, approximately spanning from the 12th to the 18th century, witnessed the consolidation of Islamic governance in several regions of India, notably with the emergence of the Delhi Sultanate and subsequently the Mughal Empire. The political thinking of medieval India in the Islamic period had a rich diversity, underwent continuous evolution, and was significantly influenced by the interplay of numerous cultural, religious, and regional factors. The ideals established during this era exerted an enduring influence on the political terrain of the Indian subcontinent. Islamic medieval Indian Political Thought was distinguished by the amalgamation of Islamic political concepts with the multifaceted cultural and political environment of the Indian subcontinent. The political thought of medieval India within the Islamic tradition exhibited a dynamic nature and demonstrated an ability to adapt to the various political and cultural circumstances prevalent in the subcontinent. The aforementioned event had a profound and enduring influence on the political, social, and cultural progression of the area.

Key features and elements of Islamic Medieval Indian Political Thought include:

Sharia Law: Islamic political thought emphasizes the application of Sharia, or Islamic law, as the basis for governance. This includes legal, ethical, and moral principles derived from the Quran and the Hadith (sayings and actions of Prophet Muhammad). Rulers were expected to govern in accordance with Islamic jurisprudence, ensuring justice and fairness based on Quranic principles.

Caliphate and Sultanate: The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate marked the beginning of Islamic rule in northern India. The establishment of the Delhi Sultanate in the late 12th century marked the beginning of Islamic rule in India. Subsequent dynasties, including the Khaljis, Tughlaqs, Sayyids, and Lodis, followed

the principles of Islamic governance. The concept of the caliphate, representing the political and religious leadership of the Islamic community, was significant. Subsequent dynasties, such as the Mughals, continued this tradition. Governance was characterized by a combination of centralized authority and delegation of power to regional administrators.

Integration of Religious and Political Authority: Islamic medieval Indian political thought emphasized the integration of religious and political authority. Rulers were often expected to uphold and propagate Islamic principles in their governance.

Jizya and Dhimmi Status: Non-Muslims living under Islamic rule were required to pay a tax called jizya. However, they were granted protection (dhimmi status) and allowed to practice their religions with certain restrictions.

Mughal Political Thought: The Mughal Empire, founded by Babur in 1526, embraced a syncretic form of Islamic political thought. Akbar, in particular, is known for his policy of Sulh-i-Kul (peace with all) and efforts to integrate different religious and cultural traditions.

Ijma and Qiyas: The principles of ijma (consensus) and qiyas (analogical reasoning) were important in Islamic legal and political thought. Scholars and jurists would use these methods to derive rulings on issues not explicitly addressed in the Quran or Hadith.

Majlis-i-Shura and Consultative Governance: The concept of Majlis-i-Shura, a consultative council, was often employed to advise rulers on matters of governance. This reflected the idea of collective decision-making in Islamic political thought.

Islamic Mysticism (Sufism): While not explicitly political, Sufi mystics influenced the cultural and ethical aspects of society, promoting values such as love, tolerance, and spiritual unity.

Integration of Islamic and Local Traditions: Islamic rulers sought to integrate Islamic principles with local customs and traditions, creating a unique synthesis. This integration was particularly notable in areas such as administration, art, architecture, and language.

Religious Tolerance and Interaction: Some Islamic rulers, notably Akbar, adopted

policies of religious tolerance and sought to foster interactions between different religious and cultural communities. Akbar's Din-i-Ilahi, an attempt to synthesize elements of various religions, reflects this pluralistic approach.

Concept of Kingship: The Islamic concept of kingship emphasized the ruler's responsibility to uphold justice and ensure the welfare of the people. Rulers were seen as vice-regents of God on Earth, accountable for their actions in the afterlife.

Trade and Economic Policies: Islamic rulers were often patrons of trade and commerce, contributing to the economic prosperity of their realms. Policies related to taxation and economic governance were influenced by Islamic economic principles.

Educational and Cultural Patronage: Islamic rulers played a significant role in the patronage of education, leading to the establishment of madrasas and centers of learning. The Mughal courts, in particular, were centers of cultural exchange and artistic development.

Military Strategies and Administration: Islamic rulers implemented military strategies rooted in Islamic traditions, often relying on the advice of military scholars. Administrative systems were organized to ensure effective governance and the implementation of Islamic legal principles.

Concept of Jihad: The concept of Jihad, often understood as a struggle for justice and righteousness, played a role in Islamic medieval Indian Political Thought. However, interpretations of Jihad varied, and its application was not always limited to military endeavors.

Legacy of Architectural and Artistic Achievements: Islamic rulers left a lasting legacy in terms of architectural marvels, including mosques, forts, and palaces. Artistic achievements, such as miniature paintings, reflected a synthesis of Islamic and indigenous artistic traditions.

The development of political thinking in medieval India under Islamic influence was influenced by a diverse range of intellectual, religious, and political factors. The development of political thinking within the Islamic environment in medieval India was influenced by a number of significant works. The aforementioned books, authored by prominent intellectuals and administrators throughout various historical

periods, serve as a testament to the multifaceted and dynamic character of political philosophy in medieval India under the Islamic influence. The subjects encompassed by these discussions encompass a wide array of themes, including as governance, administration, ethics, and the intricate interplay between political authority and Islamic ideals.

Some of these texts include:

Futuh al-Buldan (Conquests of the Lands) by Al-Baladhuri (9th century): While not specific to India, this Arabic work chronicles the early Muslim conquests and provides insights into the political and administrative systems implemented in newly conquered territories, including parts of the Indian subcontinent.

Futuh al-Haramain (Conquests of the Two Holy Cities) by Al-Biruni (11th century): Al-Biruni, a polymath, wrote extensively on various subjects, including political theory. "Futuh al-Haramain" explores the political and cultural conditions of the Islamic world, and although not exclusively focused on India, it provides valuable insights into medieval Islamic political thought.

Taqwiyat al-Iman (Strengthening of the Faith) by Shah Waliullah al-Dihlawi (18th century): Shah Waliullah was an important Islamic scholar in 18th-century India. "Taqwiyat al-Iman" addresses issues related to religious and social reform, emphasizing the importance of political authority adhering to Islamic principles.

Asar-us-Sanadid (Remnants of Ancient Heroes) by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (19th century): Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, a prominent figure in 19th-century India, contributed to the discourse on political thought. While "Asar-us-Sanadid" is primarily an architectural survey, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan also expressed his thoughts on the socio-political conditions of his time.

Ain-i-Akbari (The Institutes of Akbar) by Abu'l-Fazl ibn Mubarak (16th century): Abu'l-Fazl, a courtier and historian in Akbar's court, wrote this work as part of the Akbarnama. "Ain-i-Akbari" details the administrative and political structure of the Mughal Empire under Akbar, providing insights into the ruler's approach to governance and his attempts at religious inclusivity.

Siyaq-i-Mulk (Administration of the State) by Nizam al-Mulk (11th century):

Although Nizam al-Mulk was a Persian vizier, his work "Siyaq-i-Mulk" discusses principles of governance, administration, and political ethics, which were influential beyond the borders of Persia.

Dastur al-Muluk (Manual for Kings) by Al-Ghazali (11th century): Al-Ghazali, a renowned Islamic philosopher and theologian, wrote "Dastur al-Muluk" as a guide for rulers. While not specific to India, his ethical and moral advice influenced rulers and thinkers in various parts of the Islamic world.

1.2.3   Bhakti Medieval Indian Political Thought

In the realm of medieval Indian political thought, the term "Bhakti" predominantly pertains to the Bhakti movement, which denotes a socio-religious movement that originated in India during the period spanning from the 7th century CE onwards. The Bhakti movement, although primarily rooted in religious and cultural aspects, exerted substantial influence on the political environment of medieval India. Although Bhakti did not explicitly function as a political doctrine, its emphasis on social reform, inclusion, and cultural integration had significant ramifications for the political and social structure of medieval India. The aforementioned movement played a significant role in fostering a culture that embraces diversity and promotes tolerance, by questioning established hierarchies and advocating for a more equal and fair value system. The emergence of a movement in medieval India may be primarily attributed to its religious and cultural significance, with a notable emphasis on the practice of devotion towards a personal deity. Nevertheless, the movement's impact on the socio-political milieu of that era was substantial. Although Bhakti medieval Indian political ideology did not explicitly engage with traditional political institutions, its focus on principles such as equality, inclusion, and social justice had an indirect impact on the socio-political landscape of that era. The movement cultivated a collective consciousness and cohesiveness that surpassed conventional societal divisions.

Here are some features of Bhakti medieval Indian political thought:

Devotion and Social Equality: The Bhakti movement emphasized personal devotion (bhakti) to a chosen deity, often in the form of a personal god or goddess. Bhakti saints and poets challenged the existing social hierarchies, emphasizing that devotion was the key to spiritual realization, and it transcended caste, class, and gender

distinctions. Bhakti saints often advocated for social equality and rejected caste-based discrimination. They emphasized that devotion to God transcends social distinctions, and all individuals, regardless of their caste or social status, are equal in the eyes of the divine.

Social Reform: Many Bhakti saints criticized ritualistic practices, caste-based discrimination, and the rigid social structure of medieval India. The movement advocated for social equality, arguing that devotion and love for the divine were open to all, regardless of one's social status.

Unity in Diversity: The Bhakti movement cut across traditional religious and cultural boundaries. It had followers from various linguistic, regional, and religious backgrounds. This inclusivity promoted a sense of unity in diversity, fostering a more integrated and harmonious society.

Challenge to Priestly Authority: Bhakti saints often challenged the authority of the priestly class and the elaborate rituals associated with orthodox religious practices. By emphasizing a direct and personal connection with the divine, Bhakti undermined the intermediary role of priests. Bhakti saints challenged the authority of priests and religious hierarchies. They argued for a more direct and unmediated relationship with God, diminishing the role of intermediaries.

Cultural Synthesis: The Bhakti movement contributed to a cultural synthesis by incorporating local cultural elements into religious practices. Bhakti poetry, composed in vernacular languages, played a role in popularizing spiritual and ethical values among the common people. Bhakti poets and saints expressed their ideas through poetry and prose, making their teachings accessible to a wider audience. Their devotional compositions, often in the form of songs and poetry, conveyed spiritual messages with social relevance.

Cultural Renaissance: Bhakti saints were often poets and musicians who used art and literature as mediums to convey their spiritual messages. This artistic expression led to a cultural renaissance, influencing not only religious practices but also the broader cultural and intellectual life of medieval India. Bhakti had a profound impact on the cultural and folk traditions of medieval India. It influenced music, dance, and local art forms, contributing to the rich cultural tapestry of the subcontinent.

Impact on Rulers: While Bhakti was primarily a grassroots movement, some rulers, such as Akbar of the Mughal Empire, recognized its potential for promoting social harmony and tolerance. Akbar, known for his policy of Sulh-i-Kul (peace with all), embraced ideas from the Bhakti movement in his efforts to integrate diverse religious and cultural traditions within his empire.

Resistance to Ritualism: Bhakti thinkers criticized elaborate rituals and formalism associated with orthodox religious practices. They promoted a more direct and personal connection with the divine through devotion and love.

Socio-Political Critique: While primarily focused on spiritual matters, some Bhakti saints expressed socio-political critiques. Kabir, for example, questioned prevailing social norms and institutions and advocated for a m ore just and compassionate society.

Inclusivity and Pluralism: Bhakti emphasized inclusivity and embraced a variety of cultural and religious expressions. Saints from different regions and linguistic backgrounds contributed to the movement, fostering a sense of unity in diversity.

Regional Influence: Bhakti movements were regional in nature, with different saints and traditions emerging in various parts of India. For example, the Alvars and Nayanars in South India, Sant Kabir in North India, and Sant Tukaram in Maharashtra were influential figures in their respective regions.

Emphasis on Inner Experience: Bhakti emphasized the internal and experiential aspects of spirituality. The movement encouraged individuals to focus on their personal connection with the divine through love and devotion rather than relying solely on external rituals.

Within the domain of medieval Indian political ideology, the term "Bhakti" primarily refers to the Bhakti movement, a socio-religious movement that emerged in India from the 7th century CE onwards. The Bhakti movement, while largely grounded in religious and cultural dimensions, exercised significant impact on the political landscape of medieval India. While Bhakti did not serve as a formal political philosophy, its focus on social reform, inclusivity, and cultural fusion had notable implications for the political and social framework of medieval India. The previously mentioned movement has had a substantial impact on cultivating a societal environment that

values variety and encourages tolerance. This has been achieved via the critical examination of existing power structures and the promotion of a more equitable and just set of values. The primary cause for the creation of a movement in medieval India can be linked to its religious and cultural significance, particularly the stress placed on the practice of devotion towards a personal deity. However, the movement had a significant impact on the socio-political landscape of that time period. The Bhakti movement in medieval India, while not directly addressing established political structures, exerted an implicit influence on the socio-political milieu of the time by its emphasis on values such as equality, inclusiveness, and social justice. The movement fostered a shared awareness and unity that transcended traditional cultural barriers.

Key figures and texts associated with the Bhakti movement include:

Alvars and Nayanars Poetry (Tamil Bhakti Tradition): The Alvars and Nayanars were Tamil poet-saints associated with the Bhakti movement in South India. Their devotional hymns, known as "Divya Prabandham" (Alvars) and "Tiruvachakam" (Nayanars), expressed deep devotion to deities and often conveyed socio-political messages.

Bhakti Poetry in Various Languages: Bhakti poets across different regions of India composed devotional poetry in regional languages such as Marathi, Hindi, Kannada, Bengali, and others.

For example, Sant Tukaram's "Abhanga" in Marathi and Kabir's verses in Hindi often contained critiques of social inequalities and emphasized the universality of devotion.

Sant Charitras and Hagiographies: The lives of Bhakti saints, captured in Sant Charitras (saint biographies) and hagiographies, sometimes contained reflections on social and political issues. The biography of Sant Eknath, "Eknathi Bhagwat," for instance, touches upon themes of morality and governance.

Sant literature in North India: Kabir's verses and those of other North Indian saints often critiqued religious formalism, caste divisions, and social injustices. Kabir's "Bijak" and "Sakhi Granth" contain verses that reflect his social and political views.

Basava Puranas and Vachanas (Lingayat Bhakti Tradition): In the Lingayat Bhakti tradition, the Vachana literature, attributed to saints like Basava and Akka Mahadevi,

emphasized devotion to Lord Shiva and critiqued social hierarchies. Basava's "Vachana" literature contains reflections on equality, ethics, and social justice.

Namdev's Abhangas: Namdev, a saint from Maharashtra, composed devotional songs called "Abhangas." His poetry often included social critique, advocating for a society based on equality and the rejection of caste distinctions.

Kabir (15th century): Kabir's verses often criticized religious rituals, caste distinctions, and social hierarchies. His poetry emphasized the oneness of God and the equality of all human beings.

Sant Tukaram (17th century): A Marathi saint, Tukaram's abhangas (devotional songs) reflect his devotion to Lord Vithoba and often carry social and ethical messages.

Meera Bai (16th century): A Rajput princess and devotee of Lord Krishna, Meera Bai's poetry expresses her deep devotion and challenges social norms.

Surdas (16th century): Known for his devotional songs dedicated to Lord Krishna, Surdas emphasized the importance of divine love and equality.

Adi Granth (Guru Granth Sahib): The holy scripture of Sikhism, compiled by Guru Arjan Dev, includes the hymns of Sikh Gurus and other saints. Guru Arjan was fifth guru following the taching and traditions set by Guru Nanak Dev. It addresses issues of social justice and ethical conduct.

While these texts may not explicitly delve into political theory, they contain themes of social justice, equality, and ethical behavior that had indirect implications for the political and social landscape. The Bhakti movement, with its emphasis on direct personal connection with the divine and the rejection of ritualistic barriers, contributed to the formation of a more inclusive and egalitarian ethos in medieval Indian society.

1.2.4 Difference between Islamic and Bhakti Tradition of Medieval Indian Thought

Bhakti and Islamic medieval Indian political thought represent distinct philosophical and religious traditions, each with its unique perspectives on governance, society, and the role of rulers. Here are some key differences between Bhakti and Islamic political thought in medieval India:

Religious Foundation:

Bhakti: Bhakti is a devotional movement within Hinduism that emphasizes personal devotion to a chosen deity. It is rooted in the worship of gods and goddesses, and the followers of Bhakti traditions seek a direct and personal connection with the divine.

Islamic Political Thought: Islamic political thought is based on the principles and teachings of Islam, as articulated in the Quran and Hadith. It includes concepts such as Sharia law, the caliphate, and the integration of religious and political authority.

Deity vs. Monotheism:

Bhakti: Bhakti traditions involve the devotion to various deities within the Hindu pantheon. Each devotee may choose a particular god or goddess as the object of their devotion. Some strands of Bhakti movement like teaching of Guru Nanak and his subsequent followers talked about the 'Nirankar' as the monotheist but majority of Bhakti movement was polytheist.

Islamic Political Thought: Islam is strictly monotheistic, centered on the belief in the oneness of God (Allah). Islamic political thought emphasizes the authority of Allah and adherence to Sharia as the guiding legal and moral framework for governance.

Social Hierarchy:

Bhakti: The Bhakti movement often challenged the traditional caste hierarchy and promoted a more inclusive approach to spirituality. Bhakti saints emphasized the equality of all individuals before the divine.

Islamic Political Thought: While Islam preaches the equality of all believers before Allah, the practical implementation of social and political structures in medieval Islamic states may have still reflected certain hierarchies.

Concept of Rulership:

Bhakti: Bhakti traditions generally did not prescribe a specific political structure or rulership model. The focus was more on individual devotion and spiritual transformation.

Islamic Political Thought: Islamic political thought includes concepts like the caliphate, which is a form of leadership recognized by the Muslim community. The

caliph, as a political and religious leader, is expected to govern according to Islamic principles.

Impact on Governance:

Bhakti: Bhakti had a significant impact on the social and cultural fabric of medieval India. It challenged certain societal norms, especially in relation to caste, and promoted a more egalitarian and inclusive ethos.

Islamic Political Thought: Islamic political thought influenced the establishment of Islamic states in the Indian subcontinent, with rulers adhering to Islamic legal principles. The Delhi Sultanate and later the Mughal Empire integrated Islamic governance into the political structure.

Cultural Integration:

Bhakti: Bhakti traditions often incorporated local cultural practices and languages, leading to the development of diverse regional expressions of devotion.

Islamic Political Thought: Islamic rulers in medieval India, while maintaining Islamic principles, often integrated elements of Indian culture into their courts and administration, resulting in a synthesis of Islamic and indigenous cultural practices.

While both Bhakti and Islamic traditions had profound impacts on medieval Indian society, they originated from different religious and cultural contexts, shaping distinct political and philosophical outlooks.

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1.3 Colonial: Enlightenment and Modernity

-**Nirmal Singh**

Structure

1.3.0 Objectives

1.3.1 Introduction

1.3.2 Key Aspects of Colonial Indian Political Thought

1.3.3 Enlightenment

1.3.4 Modernity

1.3.5 In the Context of Colonial Indian Political Thought

1.3.6 European Enlightenment Thinkers

1.3.7 Let Us Sum Up

1.3.0 Objectives

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

- Comprehend importance of enlightenment and modernity in advancing progressive and reformist thought among Indians.

- Understand socio-economic conditions of the 18th and 19th centuries from which reformist movements and modern Indian political ideologies originated.

1.3.1 Introduction

The term "Colonial Indian Political Thought" encompasses the intellectual and political advancements that transpired in India throughout the duration of British colonial

governance, spanning from the 18th century until the middle of the 20th century. The historical period under consideration was marked by significant transformations in the realms of politics, economics, society, and culture, which were brought about by the influence of British imperialism. Indian intellectuals and statesmen effectively addressed these problems by expressing a wide range of viewpoints on matters of government, nationalism, identity, and resistance. Colonial Indian Political Thought was distinguished by a dynamic interaction between indigenous traditions, Western political concepts, and reactions to the obstacles presented by colonial governance. The quest for independence played a pivotal role in shaping the framework of political ideology, thereby establishing the fundamental principles that underpin the political, social, and constitutional systems of modern-day India.

1.3.2 Key Aspects of Colonial Indian Political Thought

Impact of British Political Ideas:

The encounter with British political and legal systems introduced Indians to concepts such as constitutionalism, representative government, and the rule of law. Influential British thinkers and political philosophers, such as John Locke and Jeremy Bentham, left their imprint on Indian political thought. The encounter with Western political ideas, including liberalism, democracy, and constitutionalism, had a significant influence on Indian political thought during the colonial period. Indian intellectuals engaged with and adapted these ideas to address the challenges posed by colonial rule.

Nationalism and Anti-Colonialism:

The colonial era witnessed the emergence of Indian nationalism as a reaction to the imposition of British colonial governance. The initial manifestations of nationalism in India were characterized by endeavors aimed at the reformation and modernization of Indian society. Notable individuals such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy played a pivotal role in lobbying for changes in the realms of social and educational domains. The period spanning from the later part of the 19th century to the early 20th century witnessed the emergence of Indian nationalism and the assertion of the desire for self-governance. Prominent figures such as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale,

and Dadabhai Naoroji effectively expressed nationalist views and advocated for the implementation of constitutional reforms. The Indian National Congress, established in the year 1885, emerged as a significant political forum for the expression of nationalist ambitions.

Moderates and Extremists:

Within the nationalist movement, there emerged two broad groups with different approaches. The Moderates, led by figures like Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale, sought constitutional reforms and gradual political change. Within the Indian National Congress, there was a division between moderates and extremists. Moderates, led by figures like Gokhale, advocated for constitutional reforms and peaceful negotiations with the British. Extremists, including leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, were more radical in their demands and methods.

Formation of Political Organizations:

Various political organizations were formed to articulate the political aspirations of Indians. The Indian National Congress (INC), founded in 1885, became a major platform for political mobilization.

Partition of Bengal (1905):

The British decision to partition Bengal in 1905 led to widespread protests and marked a turning point in the political consciousness of Indians, fostering a sense of unity and solidarity.

Role of Mahatma Gandhi:

Mahatma Gandhi played a pivotal role in the Indian independence struggle, championing the principles of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience as means to challenge British colonial control. The idea of Satyagraha and the emphasis on Swaraj (self-rule) espoused by him became as fundamental principles that guided the Indian independence movement. Mahatma Gandhi offered a distinctive amalgamation of spiritual and political ideologies. Gandhi's philosophical doctrine of peaceful resistance, commonly referred to as Satyagraha, emerged as a potent instrument for

galvanizing large-scale movements aimed at challenging British colonial governance. Gandhi's emphasis on self-reliance, village industries, and swadeshi (self-sufficiency) made significant contributions to economic and political ideas.

Muslim League and Two-Nation Theory:

The All India Muslim League, led by figures like Muhammad Ali Jinnah, emerged as a political force advocating for the interests of Muslims. The idea of the Two-Nation Theory gained traction, leading to the eventual creation of Pakistan in 1947. The demand for separate electorates and concerns about communal representation gained prominence during this phase.

Social and Religious Reform Movements:

The 19th century witnessed the emergence of social and religious reform movements that sought to address social injustices and promote social harmony. Figures like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, and Swami Vivekananda contributed to discussions on education, social equality, and the role of religion in public life.

Muslim Political Thought:

Muslim political thought during the colonial period included discussions on religious identity, representation, and political rights. Leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and later, Allama Iqbal, played important roles in shaping Muslim political discourse.

Constitutional Reforms:

The British introduced various constitutional reforms in response to Indian demands. The Morley-Minto Reforms (1909) and the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms (1919) were attempts to include Indians in the governance process.

The colonial era in Indian political philosophy was characterized by a dynamic interaction of concepts, tactics, and mobilizations with the objective of opposing colonial governance and conceptualizing the trajectory of a sovereign India. The period under consideration witnessed a multitude of intellectuals and social movements that established the groundwork for the subsequent political ideology that would influence India following its independence.

The concepts of "Enlightenment" and "Modernity" denote discrete yet interrelated intellectual and historical phenomena. When analyzing Colonial Indian Political Thought, it is crucial to acknowledge the manifestation of these notions within the Indian setting.

1.3.3 Enlightenment

The Enlightenment, which predominantly occurred in 18th-century Europe, was a significant intellectual movement that placed great emphasis on reason, science, individuality, and skepticism towards established sources of authority, encompassing both religious and political institutions. The Enlightenment, a prominent intellectual movement that permeated Europe throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, exerted a substantial influence on the political philosophy of colonial India. While the Enlightenment did not have a direct impact on India, its principles did indirectly shape the perspectives of Indian intellectuals who interacted with European ideas throughout the colonial era. During this period, certain components of Indian political thinking were found to resonate with the Enlightenment ideas of reason, individual liberties, distrust of authority, and the pursuit of knowledge.

Ideas and Values: Enlightenment thinkers championed ideas such as liberty, equality, and fraternity. They sought to challenge dogma, promote rational inquiry, and advance the notion of natural rights.

Political Implications: Enlightenment ideas had significant political implications, contributing to the development of democratic and republican ideals. Thinkers like John Locke, Montesquieu, and Voltaire influenced political thought during this period.

Secularism and Humanism: The Enlightenment tended to promote secularism and humanism, advocating for a separation of church and state and emphasizing the importance of human progress through reason and knowledge.

1.3.4 Modernity

Historical Period: Modernity is a broader historical and cultural period that encompasses the significant social, economic, and political changes that occurred from the late 17th century onwards. It extends beyond the Enlightenment era.

Societal Transformations: Modernity is characterized by transformations in various aspects of society, including industrialization, urbanization, technological advancements, and changes in social structures.

Political Changes: In the political realm, modernity often led to the rise of nation-states, the development of new political ideologies, and changes in governance structures. It also brought about the spread of democratic ideas.

Impact on Colonized Societies: In the context of Colonial Indian Political Thought, the encounter with modernity, including its political, economic, and cultural dimensions, had profound effects on traditional Indian societies. The spread of modern education, the introduction of new technologies, and changes in governance structures were part of this transformation.

1.3.5 In the Context of Colonial Indian Political Thought

Encounter with Western Ideas: Colonial India witnessed an encounter with Western Enlightenment ideas and the broader forces of modernity through the presence of colonial powers, primarily the British.

Adaptation and Response: Indian political thinkers and leaders engaged with these ideas, adapting them to their own cultural and political contexts. There was a synthesis of traditional Indian thought and Enlightenment/modern ideals in the process of shaping nationalist movements.

Introduction of Western Education: The British colonial administration introduced Western-style education in India, exposing Indian intellectuals to European Enlightenment ideas through educational institutions.

Print Culture: The advent of printing and the growth of print culture facilitated the dissemination of Enlightenment literature and ideas. Indian intellectuals, including those in the Bengal Renaissance, had access to European works through newspapers, journals, and books.

Rationalism and Critique of Tradition: Enlightenment values of reason and rationalism inspired some Indian thinkers to critically examine traditional social and religious practices. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a prominent figure in the Bengal Renaissance, advocated for rationalism and criticized certain aspects of Hindu orthodoxy.

Concepts of Liberty and Equality: Enlightenment ideas of individual liberty and equality influenced the thinking of some Indian reformers. Indian intellectuals, including those associated with the Indian National Congress in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, were influenced by notions of freedom and equality.

Legal and Political Reforms: The introduction of Western legal and political institutions by the British colonial rulers in India reflected Enlightenment principles. The establishment of legislative councils and the legal codification process were influenced by European ideas of governance.

Political Activism: The ideals of representative government and the right to self-determination found resonance among Indian political activists. The demand for representative government and constitutional reforms in India can be seen as influenced, in part, by Enlightenment political thought.

Critique of Despotism: Enlightenment thinkers criticized absolute monarchy and despotism. In India, this critique was sometimes applied to colonial rule. Indian intellectuals began to question the legitimacy of foreign rule and called for greater participation in governance.

Economic Modernization: The colonial period witnessed significant economic changes, including the introduction of railways, industrialization, and changes in landownership. Economic modernization influenced political thought, leading to debates on economic policies and the impact of colonial economic structures.

The influence of Enlightenment concepts on several facets of Indian political thinking was discernible, albeit with a tendency towards selective adoption and adaptation to suit the specific local circumstances. The dynamics of Indian and Western political philosophy throughout the colonial era were intricate, as indigenous traditions persisted as influential factors in molding the political discourse within India. The political thought in colonial India was shaped by the influence of Enlightenment concepts originating from Europe. This intellectual movement was marked by a multifaceted response to colonial governance, an examination of democratic ideals, and a commitment to effecting socio-political changes. Although there is no singular definitive source or unified school of thought, numerous significant publications and writings made notable contributions to the intellectual conversation of this age. The

political thought in colonial India during the Enlightenment era was significantly shaped by Western ideas and political ideologies. Several important books and influential factors can be identified, including:

1.3.6 European Enlightenment Thinkers

John Locke's "Two Treatises of Government" (1689):

Locke's ideas about natural rights, government by consent, and the right to rebellion had a profound impact on political thought during the Enlightenment and influenced thinkers in colonial India.

Montesquieu's "The Spirit of the Laws" (1748):

Montesquieu's work on political theory, especially his ideas on the separation of powers and the importance of checks and balances, had an impact on discussions about governance in colonial India.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's "The Social Contract" (1762):

Rousseau's ideas on the social contract and the general will also found resonance among thinkers in colonial India, influencing discussions on governance and the role of the state.

Colonial Indian Thinkers:

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's "The Gift to Monotheists" (1809):

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, often considered the father of the Indian Renaissance, engaged with Enlightenment ideas. His work "The Gift to Monotheists" discusses the commonalities among monotheistic religions and advocates for a rational approach to religious understanding. Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote extensively on social, religious, and political issues. His works, including writings on monotheism, critiques of idolatry, and advocacy for social reforms, laid the foundation for the socio-political thought in colonial India.

Dinabandhu Mitra's "Neel Darpan" (1860):

Though a play, "Neel Darpan" is notable for addressing the exploitation of indigo farmers by British colonialists. It reflects early resistance to colonial policies and economic injustices.

Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar's Writings:

Vidyasagar, a prominent social reformer, wrote extensively on issues like education, widow remarriage, and women's rights. While not explicitly Enlightenment-inspired, his ideas align with certain Enlightenment principles.

Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay's "Krishnacharitra" (1866):

Chattopadhyay, a Bengali novelist, explored themes of social and political change in his writings, reflecting on the impact of British rule in India.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak's "Arctic Home in the Vedas" (1903):

While primarily focused on Vedic studies, Tilak's work reflects a nationalist sentiment and a critique of British colonial theories on the Aryan invasion.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale's Speeches:

Gokhale, a political leader and social reformer, delivered speeches advocating for constitutional reforms, civil liberties, and responsible government.

"The Rights of Man" by Thomas Paine (1791) - Influence on Indian Reformers:

While not an Indian text, the ideas presented in Paine's work influenced Indian reformers, including Raja Ram Mohan Roy, in their discussions on human rights, liberty, and the need for constitutional government.

"Hindu Social Reform: Principles and Program" by M.G. Ranade (1887):

Mahadev Govind Ranade, a key figure in the social reform movement in Maharashtra, wrote this work advocating for social reforms within the Hindu community. He emphasized the need for education, gender equality, and the elimination of social evils.

"Poverty and Un-British Rule in India" by Dadabhai Naoroji (1901):

Dadabhai Naoroji, an early Indian political leader and an important figure in the Indian National Congress, wrote this influential work that critiqued British economic policies in India. He argued for Indian self-rule and economic empowerment.

"Gitanjali" by Rabindranath Tagore (1910):

Although primarily a collection of poems, Rabindranath Tagore's "Gitanjali" reflects his philosophical and spiritual reflections. Tagore's thoughts on nationalism, individual freedom, and his critique of narrow patriotism contributed to the discourse on political thought.

"What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables" by B.R. Ambedkar (1945):

B.R. Ambedkar, a key architect of the Indian Constitution and a social reformer, wrote extensively on issues of social justice and political empowerment. This particular work examines the impact of Congress and Mahatma Gandhi's policies on the Dalits (untouchables).

"Discovery of India" by Jawaharlal Nehru (1946):

Jawaharlal Nehru's comprehensive work explores the history, culture, and philosophy of India. It reflects his vision for a modern, democratic, and secular India, influenced by Enlightenment ideals.

"Annihilation of Caste" by B.R. Ambedkar (1936):

This text is a strong critique of the caste system and untouchability. Ambedkar argues for the annihilation of caste as a prerequisite for social and political equality in India.

"Subaltern Studies" (1982 onwards):

While not a single text, the Subaltern Studies collective, initiated by Ranajit Guha and others, critically examined colonial history from the perspective of the marginalized and subaltern groups. It has had a significant impact on postcolonial studies.

"The History of British India" by James Mill (1817):

James Mill's historical work, though criticized for its Eurocentrism and orientalist perspectives, influenced British policies in India. It underscored the idea of the supposed backwardness of Indian society, providing intellectual justification for British colonialism.

"Thoughts on Linguistic States" by B.R. Ambedkar (1955):

Ambedkar's essay on linguistic states played a crucial role in the reorganization of Indian states on linguistic lines post-independence. It reflects his commitment to social justice and the empowerment of marginalized communities.

"The First War of Indian Independence" by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1909):

Savarkar's work provides a nationalist interpretation of the 1857 uprising, challenging the British narrative. It laid the groundwork for a more assertive and militant form of nationalism.

1.3.7 Let Us Sum Up

The modern political thought that began during the Renaissance and enlightenment period, one would come across two notable tendencies in the articulation of various thinkers and reformers mentioned in the lesson. While the first tendency is the reaffirmation of the ancient Dhrama Principles, the second tendency is emphasis on reforms and universal ideals. Some scholars attribute this unique combination of respect for ancient political tradition and sensitivity to the needs for reform a product of the union of English and Hindu culture. To put it in the words of Sen, "The mobile power of European mind struck against the immobile Indian mind. The universal aspect of knowledge, the distribution irrespective of castes and classes, the acceptance of an active and inquiring mind, all these were the revolutionary doctrines which British rule brought forth in seeking to cement the connection between India and the West".

1.4   Moderates and Extremists: Raja Rammohun Roy, Mahadev Govind Ranade and JyotiraoGovindrao Phule

-Mayank Mishra

Structure

1.4.0   Objectives

1.4.1   Introduction: Moderates and Extremists

1.4.2   Raja Rammohun Roy

1.4.3   Mahadev Govind Ranade

1.4.4   JyotiraoGovindrao Phule

1.4.5   Let's sum it up

1.4.6   Exercise

1.4.0   Objectives

In this unit, we will discuss the evolution of the Indian National Congress and the germination of two political actors named Moderates and Extremists. The chapter further deals in elaborations of Raja Rammohun Roy, M G Ranade and Jyotiba Phule's contributions to the Indian national movement. After reading this unit, you should be able to:

- Understand the genesis of the split in the Indian National Congress.

- How two diverse political actors, i.e. moderates and extremists, articulated their political positions.

- The key difference between the two groups

- Contributions of Raja Rammohun Roy, Mahadev Govind Ranade andJyotiraoGovindrao Phule in the Indian national movement and reformation of Indian society at large.

1.4.1 Introduction: Moderates and Extremists

It all started when the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent a telegram stating, "Blow up, if everything else fails". They were on their way to Surat on the eve of the twenty-third session of the Indian National Congress in 1907. It ushered in a new breakthrough in the evolution of India's national movement (Chatterji, 1958). This led to the spilt in the Indian National Congress (INC) into Moderates and Extremists which became the two different types of political actors who had different views on the use of political violence and the pace of political change.

During its initial years of establishment, Congress leaders were in complete agreement with British liberalism, believing that practicing patience and moderation was the key strategy. From 1885 to 1905, the Congress program remained essentially unchanged, aligning with the principles formulated during its initial sessions. The majority of the moderates advocated peaceful and lawful methods to achieve their political objectives. They were willing to cooperate within the existing system to bring about change. The moderates aimed to reconcile their loyalty to the British Crown with their Indian patriotism, seeing these two as complementary aspects. Conversely, the extremists viewed patriotism and allegiance to British rule as diametrically opposing concepts. The moderates remained committed to non-violent and legal approaches for realising their political goals, favouring incremental reforms as opposed to the extremists who championed revolutionary practices. Prominent leaders among the moderates included Gopal Krishna Gokhale and DadabhaiNaoroji. Extremists, on the other hand, were prepared to employ coercion and violence to achieve their political aims. They deemed gradual reforms ineffective, as they saw peace and order under British rule as hindering national progress. Influential figures among the extremists included Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal. They advocated for militant resistance and fostered Hindu pride. In contrast, the Moderates held a secular view of politics and drew upon English political ideas when petitioning for constitutional reforms to

attain self-governance for India within the British Empire (Argov, 1964). Extremists, however, regarded the British Empire as imperialist and driven by capitalist interests, and they sought to liberate India from British rule.

What ignited the spilt when Charles Bradlaugh, on behalf of the Congress, failed to secure in Parliament's sanction to his proposed measure of liberal reforms for India in 1890s. Furthermore, the Indian Council Act of 1892 was introduced by the British parliament to amend the existing constitutional provisions, which increased the strength of legislative councils in the country. However, the Congress heavily criticised the act that direct elections were not being introduced in the country. The act highlighted that the mentioned rules were liberal, which allowed the nationalist leaders to incorporate their debating and legislative skills in the legislatures to represent the voice of Indians. However, the attitude of the British Parliament towards the act was indifferent (Singh, 1968).

The disagreements between the moderates and the extremists were not only limited to the different modes of resistance but also fundamental differences between their goals. The primary demands of the moderates constituted the organisation of the provincials councils, simultaneous examination for the Indian Council Services in India and England, the abolition or reconstitution of the Indian Council, the separation of the Judiciary from the executive, revoking of the Arms Act, the appointment of Indians to the commissioned ranks in the Army, the reduction of military expenditure, and the introduction of Permanent Settlement to other parts of India. The extremists were comprised of three groups; the Punjab group was headed by Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak represented the Maharashtra group and Bipin Chandra Pal led the Bengal cohort of extremists. The Bengal group was influenced by liberal conservative ideas of Bankim Chandra who believed that reforms should be based on the fundamentals of religion.

There were some fundamental differences between moderates and extremists. Moderates believe that violence only leads to more violence and that it is counterproductive to achieving political end. On the contrary, extremists were not averse to violence in view of injustices. Moderates advocated for a peaceful and gradual political change laid importance to build consensus and to respect the rule of law. Their goals were limited like achieving greater autonomy or self-government.

Extremists, however, argued for rapid and revolutionary political change, replacing the existing corrupt system completely as the British were not interested in granting India self-government and that they needed to be forced out of India through a campaign of non-violent resistance. They had ambitious goals, such as achieving complete independence or revolution. But these attributes of the two groups are general trends as there were exceptions where there were moderates who believed in using violence in certain circumstances and some extremists advocated for using peaceful means to achieve goals.

1.4.2 Raja Rammohun Roy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in Radhanagarin Bengal presidency on May 22, 1772. He belonged to an orthodox,affluent family and is considered as one of the greatest reformer of his time. He was the first to employ Bengali prose as a medium to convey his ideas. He was also one of the notable fellows of FRAS (Fellows of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland). Ram Mohan Royestablished Brahmo Samaj in 1828, which was a forum for religious and philosophical contemplation and discussion. He is known as the 'Father of the Indian Renaissance', owing to his contributions to the societal upliftment, abolishment of inhuman evil customs and practices. He regarded constitutional government as the best guarantee of human freedom.

Roy advocated for rationalism and had endeavoured to introduce Western advancements in knowledge, particularly in the realm of science. As he favoured English over Sanskrit, he utilise the English language as the mode of expression relating to his perspectives on matters encompassing religion, society, and politics. He actively campaigned against the Sati tradition and believed that eliminating this inhumane practice would be nearly impossible without the government's active support. He also strongly opposed polygamy. Roy's efforts were directed toward reforming traditional Hinduism and enhancing the status of women, which aligned with his call for greater compassion in society. He vehemently criticised practices like polytheism, idol worship, and superstitions, along with the harmful customs associated with them. He argued that such regressive practices were not supported by Hindu religious texts. In addition to his proficiency in the English language, Roy

was well-versed in Arabic and Persian, enabling him to explore the monotheistic principles found in Islam, which he drew parallels to the *Upanishads* within ancient Hinduism.(Sircar, 2020).

He talked about the emancipation of poor peasants against the exploitation of zamindars and seek to preserve the Ryotwari system, rural basis of Indian civilisation, and parallelly establish modern science. He highlighted the importance of state in bringing about social reform, in protecting the rights of the tenants against the landlords. He opposed all kinds of arbitrary and despotic power and advocated for advocated liberal principles. He regarded complete denial of property rights to women as the root cause of their oppression in society, which was the result of modern property laws. In one of his books written in 1822 titled "Brief Remarks Regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Right of Females", he pointed out that the ancient Hindu Lawgivers gave the mother the right to have an equal share with her sons in the property left by her husband; and the daughter to have ¼ part of the portion which a son could inherit in the property left by the father.

Roy was not limited to reforming Hinduism but also studied comparative religions and sought to amalgamate deep spiritual experiences as he believed that the true essence of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity are fundamentally similar. However, there were allegations against Roy for 'Christianising Hindustan' given his opposition to idol-worship and the practice of collective prayer. However, Roy recommended Indians to imbibe Christ's ethical teachings. He himself admitted, "I found the doctrine of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adopted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge." However, his siding with Unitarianism had two critical dimensions: his doctrinal critique of Trinitarianism represented by the Baptists of Serampore and acknowledging Unitarianism as a more rational and responsible religion with its active involvement in social reform issues. Rather than side with orthodox Christians, Roy produced three tracts (1820-22) which portrayed Christ more as a moral figure than the religious. This so angered the Serampore Baptists that they stopped publishing Roy's tracts. One has to say that an interest in Christ and Christianity proved to be quite pervasive among the modern Hindu intelligentsia. Vivekananda translated Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ and M.K. Gandhi had a life-long interest in the ethical discourse of Christ (Sen, 2019).

Rammohun Roy believed in the principles of constitutionalism and the rule of law. He was critical of the despotic and arbitrary rule of the British East India Company and called for political reforms to establish a more just and representative government in India. He advocated for a system of governance that respected individual rights and freedoms. Roy supported the introduction of Western education in India, seeing it as a means to spread liberal and scientific ideas. He played a role in the establishment of schools and colleges that offered a modern, rational, and liberal education to Indians.

He emphasised the necessity of personal freedom and championed the cause of personal freedom, rights, tolerance and rationalism. He acted as a was a crusader against unreason and superstition and admired the English nation of their civil and political liberty. However, Roy argued that the English parliament, before finalising every piece of legislation relating to India, should consider the views of India's economic and intellectual elites. He advocated for the lucid and clear codification of law and asserted that it was in the interest of both the rulers and ruled keeping in the mind the long-standing customs of the country. However, the customs which are reasonable and conducive to the general welfare of the people should be considered. He differentiated between law, custom and morality and regarded customs as a crucial source for law. Furthermore, some laws, might be legally valid, but morally indefensible and some practices might be morally sound but could not be given legal force. Roy in his book, 'An Exposition of Revenue and Judicial System in India', argued for administrative and judicial reforms. He advocated for constant supervision of the judicial proceedings by a vigilant public opinion, substitution of English for Persian as the official language to be used in the courts of law, appointment of Indian assessors in civil suits, trial by jury, separation of judicial from executive functions, and the constant consultation of the native interests before the enactment of any law that concerned them. He emphasised the importance of holding British administrators accountable for their actions in India. He criticised the lack of accountability and transparency in the colonial administration and underrepresentation of Indian interests.

The English biographer, Sophie Dobson Collet summarises the impact by Roy:

"Rammohun stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition

and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between... polytheism and ... Theism. He embodies the new spirit which arises from the compulsory mixture of races and faiths and civilisations,— he embodies its freedom of enquiry, its thirst for science, its large human sympathy, its pure and sifted ethics, along with its reverent but not uncritical regard for the past, and prudent . . disinclination to¬ wards revolt. He was a genuine outgrowth of the old Hindu stock; in a soil watered by new influences, and in an atmosphere charged with unwonted forcing power, but still a true scion of the old stock. The Rajah was no merely occidentalized oriental, no Hindu polished into the doubtful semblance of a European. Just as little was he, if we may use the term without offence, a spiritual Eurasian. If we follow the right line of his development, we shall find that he leads the way from the orientalism of the past, not to, but through Western culture, towards a civilisation which is neither Western nor Eastern, but something vastly larger and nobler than both. He preserves continuity throughout, by virtue of his religion, which again supplied the motive force of his progressive movement. The power that connected and restrained, as well as widened and impelled, was religion." (Tagore, 1966)

Roy acknowledged the inherent and unchangeable sacredness of natural rights. He not only upheld the concept of natural rights encompassing life, freedom, and the pursuit of property but also vigorously advocated for the ethical rights of individuals. He located his understanding of rights within the Indian framework of common social good i.e. *lokasamgraha*. Although, he espoused an individualist perspective on rights and freedom, he also endorsed government intervention through legislation to promote social reform and educational revitalisation.

1.4.3 Mahadev Govind Ranade

Mahadev Govind Ranade, commonly known as Justice Ranade, was born on January 18, 1842, in Niphad, Nashik, Maharashtra. He was a distinguished Indian scholar, social reformer, jurist, author, and one of the founding members of the Indian National Congress. Justice Ranade, thus, actively participated in the formation of the Indian National Congress, driven by his belief in achieving independence from colonial rule through constitutional means. In 1887, Ranade played a prominent

role within the Indian Social Conference, a reform-oriented organisation affiliated with the early years of the Congress. He played a pivotal role in establishing reform-oriented societies such as the *PrarthanaSamaj*(attempted to revise and reform conservative Hindu traditions), the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha*, and the *Vaktruttvottejak Sabha*. To further the cause of social and religious reform, he edited the Anglo-Marathi newspaper called the *Induprakash*. Additionally, in collaboration with VamanAbajiModak and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, he founded the Maharashtra Girls Education Society and established the oldest Girls' High School at Huzurpaga in Pune, Maharashtra. Ranade was a prominent figure in the realm of social reform and progressive thinking, advocating against practices such as child marriage and the caste system while promoting ideas like widow remarriage and women's education. Recognised as a stalwart of the Indian Social Reform Movement, Ranade coined the movement's motto of "Humanize, Equalize, and Spiritualize." His progressive ideas greatly contributed to the empowerment of women, who later played vital roles in India's struggle for independence. (Portal, 2023)

In his book titled 'The Nationalist Movement: Indian Political Thought From Ranade To Bhave', author Donald Mackenzie Brown asserts,"the tendency of the Indian Congress to pursue the dual and sometimes incompatible objectives of reform and independence stemmed largely from Ranade's outlook". As a moderate, Ranade believed, "that the association of Britain and India was a fortunate one for both peoples, and he was certain that an increase in knowledge and understanding of the mutual problems of Indians and British would inevitably remove the worst sources of evil and friction". His capacity for 'patience and tolerance' had a lasting impact on the Congress and the Nationalist movement, extending all the way to the ultimate call for independence. His significant contribution also involves serving as a mentor to the political leader Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Recognised as the 'pioneer of Indian economics', Ranade held the view that India's overdependence on agriculture lay at the core of its challenges. In his perspective, fostering economic progress entailed giving precedence to industry and commerce over agriculture. In his address to the students of Deccan college, he asserted, "Every nation which desires economical advance has to take care that its urban population bear an increasing ratio to its rural masses with every advance it seeks to make".

Ranade used the term "retrograde movement" to describe the phenomenon where, instead of progressing or moving forward, certain social practices and customs in Hindu society were regressing or moving backward. These regressive practices often included customs and traditions that were oppressive, superstitious, or harmful, especially towards marginalised groups like women and lower castes. Ranade argued that these retrograde movements were detrimental to the overall progress and well-being of society. He believed that for society to evolve and improve, addressing and reforming these regressive practices was essential. He advocated for social reforms that aimed to eliminate these harmful customs and promote more equitable and just social structures. Ranade helped revivethe school of "Indian Political Economy" that examined the growth of population density as one of the principal metrics of economic well-being.

Ranade championed social reforms because he recognised the need for fundamental changes within Hindu society. Ranade was a proponent for ameliorating the position of women and advocated for widow remarriage. Additionally, he contended that it was imperative for men to voice support for women and various marginalised communities. He believed that all other methods should be explored apart from revolutionary approaches to initiate these changes. According to him, there were four primary methods of social reform. First method involved appealing to tradition, using religious texts to advocate for social reforms. The second method aimed to appeal to people's conscience, sensitising them to the need for reform by highlighting corrupt, superstitious, and unjust practices.The third method entailed enforcing reforms through penalties, such as government prohibitions on practices like widow burning. The fourth method involved rebellion, which sought to forcefully change harmful customs, but Ranade was cautious about it as it could disrupt societal stability.Ranade preferred the first two methods but also recognised the utility of state intervention to enforce reforms. However, he believed that legislation alone wouldn't suffice and should be complemented by popular movements. Ranade didn't align with revolutionary or revivalist approaches but was committed to a gradual evolutionary path. In his view, lasting progress could only be achieved by incorporating new ideas into the existing way of life.

While Ranade did not advocate radical political revolution, he believed in peaceful political activism and participation within the colonial framework. He encouraged

Indians to engage in constructive political dialogue and cooperation with British authorities to achieve gradual political reforms. According to him, the state must perform regulative, productive and distributive functions and prevent social malpractices and exploitation. He advocated to inspire the spirit of creativity and self-help among members. He also supported the decentralisation of power. Gokhale recognised Ranade's efforts in promoting education, advocating for the rights of women and lower castes, and his contributions to the socio-economic development of India. Ranade's protege, Gokhale observed that Ranade was "self-reflective" and had immense "self-control" when it came to the same. Ranade was highly tolerant of all religions. Apart from being extremely cooperative, he firmly believed that everyone deserved a "common platform" for India (Grewal, 2020).

1.4.4 Jyotirao Phule

Jyotirao Phule, also known as Jyotiba Phule, was a prominent social reformer, thinker, and activist in 19th-century India. He was born on April 11, 1827, in Pune, which was then part of the Bombay Presidency in British India, and he passed away on November 28, 1890. Jyotirao Phule is primarily known for his significant contributions to the fields of social reform and education.Jyotirao Phule drew inspiration from Thomas Paine's work "The Rights of Man" and held that the key remedy for addressing societal injustices was empowering women and individuals from lower castes through education. In 1848, he embarked on the journey of teaching his wife how to read and write. Subsequently, together they established Pune's inaugural indigenous school for girls. He opposed childmarriage and advocated widow remarriage. This pioneering institution was open to girls from a broad spectrum of backgrounds, including various social strata, religious affiliations, and economic statuses, offering them the opportunity to receive an education.

Initially, Phule imparted reading and writing skills to his wife, Savitribai, and subsequently, the couple jointly initiated the founding of the first school for girls in Pune. Phule and his wife established three schools by 1852 but were shut down by 1858 due to paucity of funds. Phule founded an orphanage with the aim of decreasing the prevalence of infanticide. He sought to eradicate the social stigma associated with untouchability by opening his home and making his water well accessible to individuals from lower castes.

Jyotiba Phule maintained that the Aryan invasion explained the arrival of Brahmans and their dominance and oppression of the lower castes. Phule initiated his work by revaluating the Aryan invasion theory, where he redefined culture through the lens of subcultures. His approach involved reversing the conventional Aryan narrative that had been perpetuated by Western Orientalists and Brahmin reformers. He strategically reassigned the admirable qualities and virtues typically associated with the Aryan elite to the lower castes instead. Instead of advocating for an Aryan Golden Age, Phule advocated for the restoration of an alternative legendary era — a non-Aryan Golden Age, which he attributed to the reign of King Bali. Most notably, by challenging the myth of an idyllic Indian past, he introduced a new element into the discourse: the concept of reason.

He viewed the subsequent Muslim conquests of the Indian subcontinent as a continuation of oppressive foreign rule. However, he found hope in the arrival of the British, whom he regarded as relatively enlightened and unsupportive of the *Varnashramadharma* system (duties performed according to the system of four varnas (social divisions) and four ashrams (stages in life)) that had been introduced and perpetuated by previous invaders. In his work, '*Gulamgiri*,' he expressed gratitude towards Christian missionaries and British colonists for helping lower castes realise their inherent human rights. The book, whose title translates to 'slavery' and focused on topics such as women, caste, and reform, was dedicated to those in the United States who were actively working to abolish slavery.

In his anti-caste struggle, Jyotirao Phule, the late 1880s, used the Marathi term 'Dalit' to describe the marginalised and Untouchable individuals who suffered oppression and marginalisation within Hindu society. 'Dalit' is a colloquial version of the Sanskrit word *dalita*, which in Classical Sanskrit means 'divided, split, broken, scattered'. The terminology was later popularised in the 1970s by the Dalit Panthers. Jyotirao Phule's views on the Ramayana were critical and aimed at challenging the traditional interpretations of the epic that he believed contributed to the social injustices and caste-based discrimination prevalent in Indian society.

On September 24, 1873, Jyotiba Phule established the *SatyashodhakSamaj*, a transformative society with a mission to advance education, expand social rights, promote justice, and enhance political participation among marginalised communities

in Pune, Maharashtra. The society primarily aimed to uplift and empower Dalits, Shudras, and women in Maharashtra. Savitribai Phule, Jyotiba Phule's wife, was crucial in managing the social activities dedicated to women within the *Samaj*. Through the Samaj, Jyotiba Phule vehemently opposed idol worship and strongly condemned the caste system. It actively advocated for the propagation of rational thinking and rejected the necessity of priests in religious affairs. It propagated the principles of human well-being, happiness, unity, equality and simplified religious beliefs and practices.The Samaj found a platform for its ideas in the Pune-based newspaper called *Deenbandhu*. The Samaj's membership included individuals from various backgrounds, including Muslims, Brahmans, and government officials, although it was predominantly composed of non-Brahman castes. Within this context, members of Phule's own Mali caste played a significant role as leading figures and financial supporters of the organisation.

At the heart of his philosophy was the pursuit of truth;*Vidya* (comprising science, knowledge, and education) occupied a central place in his ideology, serving as the antithesis of the brahmanical shastra. His vision of education went beyond being a mere gateway to employment, a means of acquiring the information required for modernity, or a tool for indoctrination to serve the interests of a patriarchal elite. Instead, education was envisioned as a path to human emancipation, allowing those who embarked on it to challenge authority, question the Puranas and sacred texts, and assert their full humanity while scrutinising the very foundations of authority. Phule would have expressed dismay at the memorisation-centric nature of contemporary education and the allocation of only 30 percent of the education budget to primary and secondary education. His overarching theme was the pursuit of truth, embodied in his organisation, the SatyashodhakSamaj, and his call, which resonates with a post-modern sensibility. (Omvedt, 1992)

He advocated for widow remarriage and initiated a facility in 1863 to provide a safe and protected environment for pregnant Brahmin widows to give birth. He established an orphanage with the aim of reducing the incidence of infanticide. Phule made efforts to combat the social stigma of untouchability associated with lower castes by opening his residence and allowing members of lower castes to access his waterwell. During a hearing at an education commission in 1884, Phule appealed for

assistance in providing education to lower castes. To implement this, he proposed that primary education should be made obligatory in rural areas. He also called for special incentives to encourage greater participation of lower-caste individuals in high schools and colleges.

1.4.5 Let's sum up

The Early Nationalists, also known as Moderates, were a group of Indian political leaders active during the period from 1885 to 1907. As the 20th century began, another group emerged with a more assertive stance against the British Empire. In 1907, during the Surat Session of Congress, popularly known as the 'Surat Split,' the Indian National Congress divided into two factions: Moderates and Extremists. The key distinction between Moderates and Extremists lay in their perspectives and ideological beliefs.The Moderates were proponents of liberalism and favored a more gradual approach to change. They sought constitutional reforms to increase Indian participation in governance. On the other hand, the Extremists were vehemently opposed to British rule and aspired for complete independence or Swaraj.Moderates believed maintaining political ties with Britain was in India's best interest and were willing to accept nominal British oversight. In contrast, Extremists were staunchly against British rule and authorities, advocating for self-reliance as a crucial means to counter British domination.

Roy opposed the caste system and the practice of Sati, and he was a prominent advocate for women's rights. He is recognised as "the Father of Modern India" for his significant contributions. He endeavoured to blend Western and Eastern philosophies, drawing from his deep understanding of various languages, cultures, and philosophical traditions, all of which influenced his writings and ideas. His vision was to construct a new Indian society founded on tolerance, compassion, rationality, freedom, equality, and fraternity principles. He believed that the support of the British government was crucial in achieving these goals. In summary, Raja Rammohun Roy held multifaceted views on liberalism, encompassing religious, social, and political dimensions, and his efforts paved the way for the modernisation and reform movements in 19th-century India.

Jyotiba Phule, a 19th-century social reformer from the lower caste, constructed a

critique of the Indian social structure and Hinduism. He argued that when Brahmins migrated to the land inhabited by Shudras and Atishudras (untouchables), they intentionally created an exploitative caste system. The British colonial rule presented an opportunity for the masses to break free from the dominance of the Brahmins. However, he voiced his criticism of the British bureaucracy for supporting higher education and relying on Brahmin officials. He also expressed disapproval of the economic policies of foreign rule, as they often disadvantaged impoverished peasants. He proposed various solutions to ameliorate the conditions in the agricultural sector. Instead of the exploitative Indian social order, Phule aimed to establish a society grounded in individual freedom and equality principles. In lieu of Hinduism, he aspired to promote a universal religion.

Justice Ranade was a liberal thinker rooted in the humanistic tradition and advocated for the progress and well-being of all individuals. He endorsed the idea of infusing spirituality into politics and stressed the significance of truth and morality in our lives. He did not adhere to rigid doctrines and argued that the government had to play a proactive role for social and economic progress. He emphasised that the diverse Indian culture and the welfare of all communities formed the foundation of Indian nationalism. In the realm of economics, he supported government initiatives aimed at fostering industrialisation within the country.

1.   Exercises

Answer the following questions:

a)   What led to the split in the Indian National Congress?

b)   What were the fundamental differences between the extremist and moderates?

c)   Elaborate on the contributions Raja Rammohun Roy as a modern social reformer.

d)   What sort of change did Ranade want to bring about Hindu society?

e)   How did Phule differ from Ranade and other reformers as regards his viewson religion?

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M.A. Political Science, Semester III, Course No. 301, Modern Indian Political Thought
Unit –II: **Nation in Indian Thought**

2.1 CIVIC NATIONALISM: GANDHI, NEHRU AND AZAD

- S. S. Narang

STRUCTURE

2.1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the meaning of civic nationalism and how it is different from ethnic or religious nationalism;

- Comprehend Gandhi's contribution to civic nationalism with his concepts of satyagraha, sarvodaya, swadeshi, non-violence, truth, state and swaraj;

- Recognize how Nehru contributed to India's civic nationalism with his liberal and secular notions, how his views on nationalism, secularism, Hindu-Muslim unity, democracy and internationalism influenced to advance the concept of civic nationalism in post-independence India;

- Understand Maulana Azad's views about civic nationalism, his concepts non-violence, democracy, his views on nationalism, Hindu-Muslim unity and on partition of India.

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, India has been a nation-in-the- making. This was both an objective and subjective process. On the one hand, several political, economic, social and cultural forces were interacting to make India into a unity. On the other hand the Indian people were becoming conscious of this unity and the

commonness of their interests, particularly the struggle for overthrow of the British rule. Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad along with other national leaders made tremendous contributions in creating and sustaining the consciousness of Indian nationhood.

The concept of civic nationalism is their unique contribution. It was pitted against cultural nationalism of both Hindu and Muslim national leaders. Civic nationalists led by Gandhi not only waged successful anti-colonial struggle for freedom, but also attempted to build a secular, democratic India where liberty, equality, fraternity and justice were secured for its people. Commitment to civil liberties and democracy was a basic constituent of nation-making in India. Hence, civic nationalism was both a theoretical concept and a practical weapon to make India a strong and united nation.

2.1.2 MEANING OF CIVIC NATIONALISM

Civic nationhood is meant to describe a political identity built around shared citizenship in a liberal-democratic state. A 'civic nation', in this sense, need not be unified by commonalities of language or culture (where "culture" refers to the traditions and customs of a particular group). It simply requires a disposition on the part of citizens to uphold their political institutions, and to accept the liberal principles on which they are based. Membership is open to anyone who shares these values. In a civic nation, the protection or promotion of one national culture over others is not a goal of the state.

Although the concept of a 'civic', as distinct from a 'cultural', nationalism goes very far back in the literature, those employing the distinction today tend to be philosophers who wish to defend a liberal ideal of citizenship. Jürgen Habermas argues that new immigrants to a liberal state should not be required to assimilate to the culture of the majority nation, but instead must simply "assent to the principles of the constitution within the scope of interpretation determined at a particular time".

Brian Barry has also defended a version of civic nationalism: he suggests that liberal governments should maintain a fair set of rules within which individuals have equal opportunity to make free choices (perhaps based on their cultural preferences). All that a civic state can legitimately require of its citizens is that they take account of their fellow citizens' interests and are willing to sacrifice for the common good, not that

they adopt the cultural practices of the majority nation. Civic nationalists agree that it is not the role of the state to privilege or endorse one national culture over others.

Hence, civic nationalism is the form of nationalism in which the state derives political legitimacy from the active participation of its citizenry, from the degree to which it represents the 'will of the people'. It is often seen as originating with Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Civic nationalism lies within the traditions of rationalism and liberalism, but as a form of nationalism it is contrasted with ethnic nationalism. Membership of the civic nation is considered voluntary. Civic-national ideals influenced the development of representative democracy in countries such as the United States, France.

The identification of Western nations with civic identities cannot be understood apart from the very successful theoretical efforts of Hans Kohn, Karl Deutsch, Ernest Gellner, and Eric Hobsbawm against any notion that Western nations were rooted in primordial ethnic identities. None of these writers denied that people in the premodern era had a sense of communal kin affinities within their respective tribes or localities. Their focus was on the modern nation states of Europe, and their argument was that these nation states, and the corresponding ideology of nationalism, were "artificial historical constructs", "invented traditions", designed by political elites interested in forging powerful territorial states among previously scattered and loosely related rural communities lacking a sense of national-ethnic identity. The claim that European nations contain a strong ethnic core was not factual but an ideological weapon employed by state-elites seeking to create states with mass appeal, a national infrastructure, official languages, centralized taxation, national currency and laws, through the modern era, culminating in the nineteenth century. The exhortations of nationalists in the 19th and 20th centuries about the kin-ethnic roots of their nations were mere rhetorical ploys to induce in the masses support for elite efforts at extending their power nationally over an otherwise disparate, never ethnically conscious, population consisting of multiple dialects, ancestries and local loyalties.

Civic nationalism came out of western-north European countries where a solid middle class had developed; the members of this class were inclined to a conception of the state as a voluntary association of individual wills. This was a progressive class in

wanting a form of citizenship based on laws originating out of the free reasoning of individuals; this class did not like states that impose an ethnocultural identity on its members. Ethnic nationalism, by contrast, come out of cultures lacking a middle class, driven by regressive classes suspicious of free willing individuals, and preferring states that impose on their people an irrational sense of communal collective identity inspired by emotions rather than by factual historical realities.

2.1.3 GANDHI'S CONTRIBUTION TO CIVIC NATIONALISM

Mahatma Gandhi's greatness lay in defining the character and contours of the nation that was being forged, mobilizing common people, peasants, workers and the middle classes. He was successful in bringing millions of women out of their homes to participate in the political movements and Satyagraha campaigns wherein nation was defined as the nation people. It was also proclaimed that politics was the domain of all Indians. Through Satyagraha, Sarvodaya, trusteeship, morality in politics, non-violence and many other means, Gandhi not only built Indian nation, but also the feeling of oneness that is nationalism.

Gandhi was a multifaceted personality. He was an intensely political person who observed the highest standards of morality in politics. He was great a political strategist who led a prolonged non-violent mass movement for the overthrow of colonial domination and the capture of state power. He was an orthodox religious person, who stood for the social liberation of women and the ending of caste discrimination, oppression and, ultimately the caste system itself. He pleaded in general for the application of reason to all aspects of social life. Above all, he was a person who had the vision of a world in which all conflicts would be settled without the use of violence. He exhibited total commitment towards civil liberties and democratic functioning and gained grasp over the relationship between leaders and masses in a mass movement.

Gandhiji's uncompromising opposition to and fight against communalism *is* well-known. Moreover, he opposed communalism in all its variants: Hindu, Muslim or Sikh. He wrote in January 1942 that he held it to be utterly wrong thus to divide man from man by reason of religion. He also refuted the basic communal assumption that the political economic interests of Hindus and Muslims were different as they follow different religions.

What conflict of interest can then be between Hindus and Muslims in the matter of revenue, sanitation, police, justice, or the use of public conveniences? The differences can only be in religious usage and observances with which a secular State has no concern. He added that we must get out of the question of religious majorities and minorities. Why is a Parsi's interest different from Hindu's or Muslim's, so far as the state is concerned? Also, refuting, the two-nation theory, he observed in 1940 that a Bengali Muslim speaks the same tongue that a Bengali Hindu does, eats the same food, has the same amusements as his Hindu neighbour. They dress alike. The same phenomenon is observable more or less in the South among the poor who constitute the masses of India. One reason why he was critical of colonial electoral bodies such as municipal committees and legislatures was because in them Hindu and Muslim interests were falsely regarded as separate and even antagonistic.

Gandhiji was totally committed to civil liberties. He wrote that Indian must first make good the right of free speech and free association before they can make any further progress towards their goal. They must defend these elementary rights with their lives.' He then went on to explain what these rights meant: 'Liberty of speech means that it is un assailed even when the speech hurts; liberty of the Press can be said to be truly respected only when the Press can comment in the severest terms upon any event or matters. Freedom of association is truly respected when assemblies of people can discuss even revolutionary projects. The fight for swaraj, the khilafat, the Punjab wrongs means fight for this threefold freedom before all else. Further he wrote that Civil liberty consistent with the observance of non-violence is the first step towards swaraj. It is the breath of political and social life. It is the foundation of freedom. There is no room for dilution or compromise. It is the water of life. He has never heard of water being diluted.

Communalism was, Gandhiji asserted, not only anti-national but also anti-Hinduism in the case of Hindu communalism and anti-Islam in the case of Muslim communalism. For example, referring to Mohammad Ali Jinnah and those who think like him, he said, are rendering no service to Islam; they are misinterpreting the message inherent in the very word Islam. He said that Muslims will not serve Islam if they annihilate the Hindus; rather they would thereby destroy Islam. And if the Hindus believe that they would be able to annihilate Islam, it means they would be annihilating Hindu

Dharma.   As is well-known, during 1946 and 1947, Gandhiji stood like a rock in opposition to the prevailing communal mentality, popular communal pressure and the barbarous communal killings, and waged an incessant campaign against communalism and for Hindu-Muslim-Sikh unity. His work in hate-torn Noakhali, Bihar, Calcutta and Delhi is a legend.

Gandhiji had a holistic, modern understanding of secularism. In India, as elsewhere secularism has come to be defined in four terms and Gandhi accepted all of them and framed his own one which was truly national. First definition was that religion should not intrude into politics; there should be separation of religion from politics, economy, education and large areas of social life and culture; and religion should be treated as a private or personal affair of the individual. To talk of any other, so-called Indian definition of secularism, which would condemn this, would be to deny secularism. At the same time, secularism does not mean removing religion from life itself or antagonism to religion. Nor does a secular state mean a state where religion is discouraged. In a multi-religious society, secularism also means that the state should be neutral towards all faiths or, as many religious persons would put it, the state should show equal regard for all faiths, including atheism. Secularism further means that the state must treat all citizens equal and must not discriminate in favor of or against citizens on grounds of their religion. Secularism has another feature specific to India. In India secularism arose as the ideology of uniting all the Indian people vis-a-vis colonialism and as a part of the process of nation-making. Simultaneously, communalism has developed as the most divisive social and political force. Consequently, secularism also came to mean a clear-cut opposition to communalism.

It is well known that the social vision of the Indian national movement encompassed a secular society and a secular state. The movement also defined secularism in the same comprehensive manner as discussed in the previous paragraph. It was as a result of this vision and the resultant commitment to it that independent India succeeded in framing a secular constitution and laying the foundations of a secular state and society despite the Partition and the Partition riots.

All would agree that the individual, the Congress and nation must show equal respect for all religions. But Gandhi did not differentiate between this formulation and

observing neutrality towards all religions. Gandhiji's regard for the followers of all religions included equal respect for atheists. Gandhiji's change of the proposition 'God is Truth' to 'Truth is God' enabled him 'to give an equal place to atheists in his Congress of all religions. Atheists, provided they accepted Truth as the Supreme End, had an equal place in his programme.

Gandhi also declared that in freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess and practise his religion, that all citizens would be equal before the law, irrespective of creed or sex, that no disability would be attached to any citizen on grounds of religion, caste, creed or sex 'in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling.

2.1.3.1 GANDHI AND SATYAGRAHA

The concept of Satyagraha was Gandhi's own. He coined it when the Transvaal Government introduced in 1906 an anti-Indian legislation in the local legislature: the Asiatic Registration Bill, seeking to prevent Indians, who had left Transvaal during the Boer War, from returning and to prevent any future Indian immigration; forcing all Indians (around thirty thousand in number) living in the Transvaal to go for fingerprinting and receive from the Government registration certificates. They were supposed to carry these certificates with them whenever and wherever they went. Otherwise, they would be fined, imprisoned or deported. The Bill, as expected, was strongly opposed as the Indians feared that if it was passed, it might one day be used to drive them out from the Transvaal as well as from the whole of South Africa. Under Gandhiji's leadership, the Indians living in the Transvaal opposed the Bill. It was against this background that Gandhi coined the term 'Satyagraha'.

Satyagraha is more than the passive resistance as it goes beyond it. It is the method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is opposed to resistance by arms. As a fundamental concept of Gandhian political theory, it means a conscious assertion of truth and fight against the vested interests. Elaborating the concept, Gandhi states that when he refused to do a thing that is repugnant to his conscience, he used the soul force. Force instance, the government of the day passed a law which one does not like. If by using violence he forces the government to repeal the law, he is employing body force. If he does not obey the law and accepts the penalty for violating it, he uses soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

The practical application of non-violence in life is Satyagraha or soul force. It is not merely abstaining from violence, but doing good. If one hits one's adversary, that is, violence but to be truly non-violent, one must love him and pray for him even when he hits. Love forgets and forgives evil, wrongdoing, injustice or exploitation. It does not avoid the issue but fearlessly faces the wrongdoer and resists his wrong with the force of love and suffering.

Thus Satyagraha is the non-violent resistance to evil with all the moral and spiritual force. Trust and suffering are its main features. Satyagrahi never considers his opponent an enemy and always appeals to his reason and conscience to mend his behaviour.

Gandhi believed that soul was superior to body. Hence, he advised the people to oppose any law that went against their moral code of conduct. Voice of the inner conscience was supreme. The dictates of the government were to be strongly resisted if they prevented the people from discharging their duties. Gandhi was not opposed to Satyagraha in a democratic set-up. He did not have full confidence in a parliamentary democracy nor could he accept, the superiority of the majority represented in parliament. Like J.S. Mill, he believed that one single individual might be absolutely right in resisting the anti-people laws of the state. He said that even in a democracy, he would singlehandedly fight against the evils because non-cooperation with evil would be a sacred duty.

The ethics of Satyagraha, thus, does not go well with that of democracy, which rests on number only. In democracy, people are influenced by passion, prejudices and petty consideration. But a Satyagrahi is free from all these. Satyagrahi refutes anything that is opposed to the soul. While fighting for justice and the truth, he prepares himself for any kind of sufferings and sacrifices.

Satyagraha is an inherent birthright of a person, a sacred right, a sacred duty. if the government tramples the rights and freedoms of the people, denies them their due share in the process of the government, deprives them of their independence, protects social exploitation, promotes economic inequality, encourages indiscipline and rests on force, it should be challenged, disobeyed, resisted and overthrown. And anyone who opposes such type of government and tries to secure his rights must

be prepared to invite all kinds of atrocities from the government. He may be fined, tortured, imprisoned, persecuted, and also eliminated.

2.1.3.2 GANDHI AND SARVODAYA

Based on the concept of the unity of existence, Sarvodaya (The good for all or the emancipation of all) implies constant fight against cruelty to human beings. It has its roots in the famous Yajur Veda which states that the entire universe is blessed by the Supreme God. It is the Vedantic concept of the spiritual unity of existence and the Gita-Buddhistic concept of the good for all living beings. Sarvodaya includes the values of freedom, equality, justice and fraternity and opposes the state machinery.

State is not created by God. It is an instrument of coercion and exploitation, and based on force and organized violence. It projects and promotes the interests of those who have manipulative skills and capacity to influence and control the government machinery. Sarvodaya seeks to replace the politics of power by the politics of cooperation. People should have freedom and equal opportunity for their spiritual growth. It also means good life for all in every sphere of life – social, economic, political and cultural. It symbolized the greatest good for all the people. It seeks to provide social justice, economic equality and political rights to the people. It is rooted in love, faith, kindness, help and goodwill.

At the political level, it has two significant implications. One it rejects the theory of class struggle and two, it safeguards the interests of the minority. As stated earlier, it seeks to maximize the good of the entire community. Discouraging and denouncing the lust for power and wealth, it emphasizes disinterested service. Dedication, service and the realization of common good are its main features. Sarvodaya has faith in social equality which rests on truth and non-violence. Opposing majoritarianism and giving importance to consensus, Gandhi stood for the village commonwealth and criticized Western democracies these propagated the violence.

2.1.3.3 GANDHI AND HIS CONCEPT OF SWADESHI

Gandhi's Swadeshi was the most powerful weapon in the struggle to drive out the British from India. By using the Swadeshi goods and boycotting foreign goods, he wanted to challenge the English trade and commerce. He knew that the Great

Britain was a merchant nation and the British and the East India Company came to India for trade purposes. In case the trade was not profitable, they would never stay here. Therefore, he advised the people to boycott the foreign goods. Who not only boycotted the foreign goods, but also burnt them at different places. By purchasing the goods manufactured in India, they encouraged Indian industries and gave them a new lease of life. The Indian workers also got jobs and Indian money stopped flowing out of the country, which greatly improved the Indian economy.

Gandhi encouraged the use of "Charkha" and "Khadi" to improve the lot of the poor in India and inspired the people to use "Khadi". With Charkha and Khadi he wanted to bring a great change in the village economy and finally in the Indian economy. He stood for decentralization of production and wanted every village to produce and use all its necessities so that it could become self-sufficient. In addition, it should produce something more to fulfil the requirements of the cities. Heavy industry would necessarily be centralized and nationalized. He did not favour industrial economy as it did not recognize the dignity of man. Rather it made him a slave, a soulless machine. For instance, the West had yet to discover anything as hygienic as the Indian tooth-stick. This was truly Swadeshi giving a tremendous satisfaction to the people. He favoured cottage industries as it gave employment and removed poverty in the countryside. He launched the Swadeshi Movement because political freedom was meaningless without economic freedom.

2.1.3.4 GANDHI'S CONCEPT OF NON-VIOLENCE

Ahimsa, otherwise known as non-violence, means no torture to any one's life. No one should do anything undesirable against any one. One should love all the living and non-living beings. This can be possible only when one is pure and divine. This can be done either by withdrawing from the world or by fighting the evil by doing good deeds in the world. Ahimsa is not merely being harmless to others but is a positive state of love, of doing good even to the evil-doer. He believed that only love or non-violence would conquer evil wherever it was found — in people or in laws, in society or in government. He who practises non-violence should not even hurt those who are unjust. He must love them. But he would oppose the tyranny whether of parents or others, but never hurt the tyrant.

About his practice of non-violence, Gandhi often used to say, "Truth was inborn in me, non-violence came to me with great effort." His greatest contribution to politics in particular and life in general was his teaching and practice of non-violence. On 14 August 1920, he wrote in **Young India** that nonviolence was a perfect state. It was the real goal towards which all mankind moved naturally, though unconsciously.

Non-violence as a concept did not originate from Gandhi. But certainly he was the first to apply it on a mass scale and in the arena of politics. Bismark unified Germany through the policy of blood and iron, but Gandhi adopted non-violence as a means to get independence for the country. Emphasizing it, he once said that his interest in India's freedom would cease if she adopted violent means, because the outcome would be not freedom but slavery in disguise. For him, non-violence was not a mere philosophical principle. It was the rule and breath of his life. It was a matter not of the intellect but of the heart.

Recognizing the importance of liberty and love, Gandhi said that non-violence must have universal application, transcending time and space. Applied in both war and peace, it had lasting value. The more one practised it, the more he became perfect and disciplined. One attained divinity to the extent he practised it. By doing so, he could attain deliverance in his life. Whatever was needful and could be gained by political power could be more quickly and more certainly gained by nonviolent means.

2.1.3.5 TRUTH: THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF NON-VIOLENCE

It was Gandhi's highest "Dharma" and non-violence the highest duty. He never wanted violence to be applied to achieve a goal. In 1909 Madanlal Dhingra shot down an English officer and was hanged to death. Without expressing his anger or surprise over the incident, Gandhi remarked, "Dhingra was a patriot, but his love was blind. He gave his body in a wrong way; its result can only be mischievous". Praising non-violence, Gandhi said that India's ills could not be removed by the violence as India's civilization required the use of a different and higher weapon of self- preservation. In his message to the Indian National Congress in 1909 he said violence in any shape or form was to be given up. Neither Swaraj could be won nor any benefit the country would get by violence and terrorism. Anger was to be conquered by non-anger and evil by good.

To Gandhi, Ahimsa was the greatest love, the largest charity. Love never claims, it always gives and suffers, never resents, never revenges itself. In the practice of non-violence, truth is the foundation and love the weapon. Writing on self suffering, Mahatma Gandhi said: "A nation that is capable of limitless sacrifices is capable of rising to limitless heights. The greater the sacrifice, the quicker the progress". Those who used force overlooked the fundamental distinction between the animal and the human worlds. Adoption of violent resistance posed a threat to human life and degraded it to the level of animal existence.

2.1.3.6 GANDHI ON STATE

Restricting the activities of the state to minimum Gandhi firmly believed in self-directed activity. Emphasizing voluntary cooperation at the village level, he realized that undue state action killed or suppressed one's initiative as it gave rise to nepotism and bribery. Like other philosophical anarchists, he believed that the compulsive nature of the State robbed individual action of its morality. Men were not machines, and when they were forced to act as automations, there could be no question of morality. Like Thoreau, he considered the state to be a soulless machine. He said that stateless democracy was the most ideal society. On 2 July 1931, he wrote in *Young India*: in such a state of enlightened anarchy, everyone was left to himself. Everyone was his own ruler. There was least interference in his activities from outside. He ruled himself in such a manner that he was never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there was no political power because there was no state.

Gandhi wanted that the State should enjoy minimum power and its role be minimum and limited. Voluntary associations should enjoy more power than the state. State should not be coercive. It should be people-oriented and welfare-oriented. It should be least arbitrary and least authoritative and coercive. As an instrument of exploitation, the state let loose an organized violence against the poor, weak, docile, meek and mild. Supporting the rich, it oppressed the poor, restricted their scope and always rest on force and fraud, coercion and intimidation. In a non-violent society, the state governs the least and applies minimum force. He believed that in the ideal state of Ram Raj or the kingdom of God upon earth, moral authority of the people reigned supreme and the state would collapse and perish in time. But, at the same time, he did not want its immediate abolition.

2.1.3.7 GANDHI AND SWARAJ

In the field of politics or political freedom, it could be obtained only through intense suffering and continuous struggle. It was by no means a gift to be conferred on the people, but something to be achieved through hard work and sincere efforts. And it required a moral courage, physical endurance and a strong conviction. Accepting the Tilak's slogan "Swaraj is our birth right", Gandhi believed that the people were entitled to freedom because they had fought for it and had to pass through a number of ordeals. People should be free because of their immense sufferings they had suffered for freedom. He emphasized that his Swaraj stood for the downtrodden and starving millions; he felt that if the state failed to ensure a good life for its citizens, it must be resisted peacefully.

Swaraj was not the replacement of the white bureaucracy by the brown. It was the total recasting of life in India. There should be unity in diversity and communal harmony. The society should be free from regional imbalances and rural-urban dichotomy. Freedom, personal and civic, was the foundation of Swaraj. It could be moral freedom (emancipation from the slavery of passions), national freedom (emancipation from the bondage of alien rulers and exploiters) and spiritual freedom as realization of truth. Dedicating every moment of his existence to the cause of the Swaraj, the birth right of Indians, he said that they should not be deprived of it. Swaraj for him meant freedom for the lowliest of our countrymen. He was not interested in freeing India merely from the British yoke, but from any slavery whatsoever.

Swaraj meant self-rule or Ram Raj, or the Kingdom of God on earth. He had a strong desire for Ram Raj. As God did not reside in heaven, he had to be realized on earth. One need not think of the world beyond. If he could do his duty with all sincerity, God would take care of him. This necessarily included political independence.

Unity among different sects would help in achieving Sawraj. Hence he emphasized upon Hindu-Muslim unity. And for this, the Hindus must come forward as their responsibility was greater than that of Muslims, the latter being in minority. It was argued by some that Indian Swaraj would be the rule of the majority community, the Hindus. They were certainly mistaken. If it was to be true, Gandhi said that he would not call it Swaraj and fight it with all the strength at his command. To him Hind

Swaraj was the rule of all, the rule of justice. Whether under that rule, the minorities were the Hindus or Musalmans, they had to get justice. No community in India should develop an apprehension that Swaraj would be monopolized by a community. Swaraj would be real only when there would be no occasion for safeguarding such rights. Therefore, necessity of separate electorate for different communities did not arise. He said that poor man's Swaraj was soon coming and let them not be found unrepresented when it actually came.

Swaraj, to Gandhi, was freedom that one enjoyed in every sphere. It was complete independence from alien rule and complete economic and moral freedom. While political Swaraj necessarily meant the removal of the control of the British army in every shape and form, economic Swaraj meant freedom from the British capitalist, as also their Indian counterpart. By political independence, Gandhi did not mean a mere imitation of the Europeans or Americans. They had systems suited to their own genius. Indians must choose that which would be most suitable for them. He described it Ram Raj, which meant sovereignty of the people based on moral authority. Indian economic independence meant to him the economic uplift of every individual by his or her conscious effort. People must lead a good life and maintain a decent standard of living.

Therefore, he urged the people to go to villages, identify themselves with the villagers, with untouchables and give a meaning to the Hindu-Muslim unity. They should do menial jobs like scavenging. After getting Swaraj, they could not go to sleep, unconscious, unmindful of various problems confronting them. Swaraj was not absence of rule. The people should strive hard to make it success. It recognized no race or religious distinctions. Nor was it to be the monopoly of lettered person or rich men. It was to be for all including the farmer, the maimed, the blind and the starving toiling millions. A stout-hearted, honest, sane, illiterate man might be the first servant of the nation. Swaraj did not lie in the cities but in the villages. If India was to attain true freedom, the people should live in villages, but not in town; in huts, not in palaces to accommodate crores of people. An ideal village would be self-sufficient in nature, free from social evils like untouchability and caste and race exploitation.

Gandhi felt that riches were always a hindrance to real growth. To solve this, he evolved a trusteeship system which would transform the present capitalist order of

society into an egalitarian one. It did not recognize any right of private ownership of property unless it was permitted by society for its own welfare. The rich must act as trustees of the people. Capital and labor would coexist: capital as trustee of the society. In his socialism, the prince and the peasant, the wealthy and the poor, the employer and the employee were all at the same level. This would ensure perfect unity in the plurality of designs.

Strongly criticizing gross economic inequality existing in the contemporary society, Gandhi said that the basis of socialism was economic equality. There could be no Ram Raj in such a society if inequalities existed and the people did not have enough to eat. Gandhi wanted India to become a network of self-governing and self-sustaining village republics. Each village or group of villages would have to own industries and each village would have its own autonomous existence.

Gandhi's views on economy could be summed up: "Decentralization of production and regional self-sufficiency: avoidance of the extremes of wealth and poverty. Acceptance of wealth as a trust for the betterment of the whole humanity; raising of the moral standards of life by reducing the material standard of luxurious living; renunciation of all vindictive punishments and reprisals; and reducing the use of physical force to its minimum in the task of maintaining law and order".

He was a Mahatma, a champion of love and peace: gave a new dimension to Indian politics by spiritualizing it. The whole world appreciated his policy of religious basis of politics. He was a great exponent of Truth.

2.1.4 NEHRU AND CIVIC NATIONALISM

Nehru is the single most person who was credit to provide direction to the country and government towards civic nationalism. Being a first Prime Minster of India, he is the one who always attempted to up held the constitution on all the sensitive matters. His scientific temper, secular outlook, liberal ideology significantly influenced his understanding about civic nationalism.

2.1.4.1 NEHRU ON NATIONALISM

Though a great nationalist leader, Nehru did not develop any theory of nationalism as such. Nevertheless, he defined the meaning and content of Indian nationalism. In his

Unity of India, there is indication that he believed in the objectivity of the fundamental unity of India nurtured on cultural foundations, "which were not religious in the narrow sense of the term." He defined nationalism as essentially a collective memory of past achievements, traditions and experiences. Briefly speaking, Nehru's theory and practice of nationalism had three foundations. First, he was against the racial arrogance of the British rulers. The second source of his nationalism was economic in nature. He blamed the British for the rampant poverty and ruthless exploitation of the country. The third foundation of his nationalism was political and administrative. The foreign rulers had the monopoly of decision making. They cleverly followed the policy of 'divide and rule' and tried to disrupt the unity of the country. To Nehru, nationalism is, indeed, a noble phase of self-realization. In his view, nationalism has also solid social, political and economic foundations as well as material advantages to offer. Nehru had been a firm believer in the concept of self-determination.

Other ingredients of his philosophy of nationalism were socialism, secularism, Hindu-Muslim unity, democracy and internationalism. On the question of socialism, it is to be understood that while a student in London (1905-12), he became attracted to the ideas of Fabian socialism of Shaw and the Webbs, but in a vague and humanitarian way. But during 1926-27 he was again in Europe and there he imbibed more radical ideas of social and economic emancipation. Back in India, he presided over the annual conference of the Indian Trade Union Congress in 1929, and from the presidential platform of the Lahore Congress he categorically emphasized his commitment to socialism.

By now Nehru was fully dedicated to the ethical, sentimental and emotional aspects of socialism as a philosophy of compassion for the suppressed classes and nationalities. But till 1932 his socialism remained rather vague and ambiguous. Between the years 1933 to 1936, however, Nehru bent more and more in the direction of Marxian Socialism. In 'Wither India' (published in 1933) he recognised the conflict between the old nationalist ideology and the new economic ideology" making its appearance on the Indian scene, and pleaded for combining the national struggle with the struggle for economic emancipation. It was, however, in his Presidential Address to the Lucknow Congress on April 12, 1936 that Nehru's socialism acquired a distinct Marxian colour. But since 1936, Nehru gradually drifted away from Marxism

and went back to his old socialistic ideals which were nearer to a diluted form of Fabianism. In fact socialism for Nehru was largely a matter of economic strategy rather than an economic doctrine.

Nehru's socialism revolved around planning and the public sector. But planning to him was neither a dogma nor a doctrine. Though he felt the need of a controlled economy, he did not believe in an autonomous sphere of economics beyond the realm of politics. Anyway, by the end of 1938 a National Planning Committee headed by Nehru was set up. But the development model that he put forth envisaged the simultaneous participation of both the private and public sector. Primacy, of course, was given to the public sector as it was considered to be the chief agency of development and modernization.

In the post-Independence period, the Indian National Congress accepted the ideal of a "socialistic pattern of society" at the Avadi (Andhra Pradesh) session in January 1955. The socialistic pattern connotes social ownership or control of the principal means of production, acceleration of national production and the equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation. In a Lok Sabha speech, he pointed out that "equality, removal of disparities and the possibility of everyone to live a good life constitute a socialist pattern of society." In Nehru's scheme, the public sector in the field of heavy and basic industries was to be the dominant phase of the economic advance of the country. But for the advance of production, private sector was also to be encouraged. In a way, he now subscribed to the ideas of a welfare state rather than a socialist state. Besides, cooperative farming had been recognized since the Nagpur Congress of 1958 to be one of the dominant techniques for the realization of a welfare society. Nehru was committed to the theory and practice of mixed economy. All the same, Nehru took the lead in putting socialism as a concrete social and economic objective before the Congress and the country.

2.1.4.2 NEHRU ON SECULARISM

An agnostic, Nehru had been a secularist in his approach since the beginning. In his secular outlook he was greatly influenced by the family environment and the personality of his father, who himself was an agnostic. In his own words, "Of religion I had very hazy notion; for me it seemed to be a woman's affair." The Anand

Bhawan, the ancestral home of Nehru, was free from religious atmosphere. Here, there were three cultural strands — Hindu, Muslim and Christian. This influence of mixed culture turned Nehru broad-minded and ultimately a secularist. According to Chester Bowles, the US Ambassador, "One of Nehru's greatest achievements is the creation of a secular state. By proclaiming Indian democracy neutral in matters of religion, he laid down the foundations of a secular state and saved the country from falling prey to religious fanaticism and chauvinism." In the words of Ashok Mehta, "A distinctive contribution to Indian political life was Nehru's insistence on secularism." As a secularist in the Western sense, Nehru believed in keeping the state neutral in religious matters.

2.1.4.3 Nehru on Hindu-Muslim Problem

Nehru's thoughts on Hindu-Muslim problem evolved alongwith his evolution as the national leader of India's independence movement. Firstly he thought that it would be patently wrong to assert that the Hindu Muslim problem in India was created by the British government. But at the same time, he drew attention to the continuous British efforts to keep that problem alive. As a social realist, Nehru was not satisfied with the generally prevalent religious explanation of Hindu-Muslim tensions. As a Marxist, he offered an economic analysis of this phenomenon. But being unaware of Hindu- Muslim hostility at the grassroots level, he could not go beyond a simplistic class analysis of the whole issue.

2.1.4.4 Nehru and Democracy

Nehru firmly believed in the theory and practice of Parliamentary democracy. He detested authoritarianism and dictatorship of any variety. He was always repelled by the crudities and vulgarities associated with fascism Naziism and totalitarianism. He was a passionate and genuine defender of freedom — civil, political and economic. He deplored the absence of a strong opposition in Indian polity, which is essential for the success of Parliamentary democracy. Regarding press freedom, another pillar of democracy, Nehru's famous remark was: "I would rather have a completely free press, with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that freedom, than a suppressed or regulated press."

2.1.4.5 Nehru's Internationalism

A great patriot, Nehru was no narrow nationalist. Intensely proud of his country, he felt it a great honour to be called a "citizen of the world". To him, the whole of humanity was one and the whole world was the stage on which he wanted India to play her part. Nehru was one of the leading spokesmen of Asian and African aspirations for absolute political and economic freedom.

It was Nehru who broadened the outlook of the Indian National Congress and made it take keen interest in international affairs. He made Congress realise that the Indian struggle for freedom was a part of global struggle, and it could be made to succeed if it is geared in the international context. He visited Spain and China (1936-37) to express India's sympathy with the freedom fighters in pre-independence period.

After independence, the credit for India's key role in arranging ceasefire in Korea, in the ending of hostilities in Indo-China, in advocating the ending of Anglo-French military action in Suez, and for sending Indian peace-keeping troops to Gaza Strip and Congo goes to Nehru. He was fully aware of the growing sentiments for interdependence among nations. He stated: "The world be become internationalised, production is international, markets are international and transport is international. Only men's ideas continue to be governed by a dogma which has no real meaning today. No nation is really independent."

He was a firm believer in the ideals of the United Nations. He was opposed to the bipolarsation of world politics and persistently refused to join any power bloc, and instead adopted the policy of Non-alignment. But he sponsored a dynamic concept of Non-alignment and not a passive one of neutrality. In 1949, he declared: "Where freedom is threatened, where justice is menaced and where aggression takes place, we cannot and shall not be neutral." Nehru was the architect of the Indian foreign policy. The foundations of his foreign policy were: non-alignment with power blocs, active pursuit of peace and freedom, opposition to imperialism and racialism, interest in developing close relationship with Asian countries, and a deep concern with the plight of the people of Africa.

Further, Nehru was the exponent of the Panch Sheel or the five cardinal tenets of international amity and accord: (1) Maintaining respect for each other's territorial

integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Peaceful coexistence and; (5) Equality and mutual benefit.

Nehru always believed that political revolution must be accompanied by economic revolution. He visualized a synthesis of political and economic democracy. Although the synthesis of political freedom and economic justice was not his original thesis, he was certainly a leading exponent of this idea in India. It was more due to his efforts than that of any other leader that socialism became a vital issue of Indian politics.

Debating about the kind of nation Nehru had built, Bipan Chandra, an acknowledged Historian writes that during most of the Nehru era, despite a multitude of problems and difficulties, which often appeared to overwhelm, there was no feeling of frustration. There was 'the mood of hope' and expectation in the country, a certain faith in its future, a confidence in its future destiny. There was a feeling that new forces were emerging which will change the face of the country. As Nehru himself put it in a message to the Chief Ministers in June 1955 that there is the breath of the dawn, the feeling of the beginning of a new era in the long and chequered history of India and he the rightly added that he felt so and in this matter at least that he thought that he represented innumerable others in our country. Though dissatisfied with and largely critical of Nehru and his policies, most on the Left too shared this feeling, though with an angle different from Nehru's but very much because of what Nehru was doing. Those who have lived through that era, now often feel that they were lucky to have lived though those years.

2.1.5 CONTRIBUTION OF MAULANA AZAD TO THE CIVIC NATIONALISMS

In his political life Azad travelled on three paths at different times: the path of exclusive patriotism and pan Islamism (1906-20); the path of reconciling Muslim patriotism and Indian nationalism (1920-23); and the path of thoroughgoing secularist-democratic nationalism (1923-58).

In the beginning, Azad was inclined towards Extremist politics during the Swadeshi movement, and he followed Aurobindo Ghosh, Shyam Sunder Chakravarty and Ajit Singh in this phase of his political career.

But, soon after his release from Ranchi jail, he met Gandhi on 18 January 1920. This meeting became a watershed in his life, as it marked his involvement with a movement based on the philosophy of non-violence. When the Noncooperation Movement was launched, he threw himself whole-heartedly in it and gave the Khilafat question his full support. Khilafat, to him, meant representation, and the authority of the Khilafa was a kind of representative authority. Azad brought Jamait-ul Ulema-i-Hind, of which he was the President, into active participation in this Movement. Azad declared: "Liberty is the natural right of man given by God and no power on earth can deny this. Political liberation, therefore, was not only a political duty but a religious act." Within three years he had the distinction of becoming the youngest president of the Congress in 1923 at the age of thirty four. Incidentally, he set another record — that of the longest term, as he was the President of the Indian National Congress from 1940 to 46.

2.1.5.1 AZAD ON NATIONALISM

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

2.1.5.2 AZAD ON HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

Azad was one of the greatest champions of unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. In fact, it is not Jinnah of the Congress membership period but Azad who should be regarded as the real "ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity." He was a consistent champion of communal peace and amity. He wanted his own co-religionists to follow a policy of give and take and not to be rigid.

While addressing the Congress in 1923, Azad spoke: "If Swaraj is delayed, it will be a loss for India but if Hindu-Muslim unity is lost, it will be a loss for the whole of mankind." He further added: "If an angel descends from the heaven today, and proclaims from the Qutub Minar that India can attain Swaraj within 24 hours provided I relinquish my demand for Hindu-Muslim unity, I shall retort to it. Not my friend, I shall give up Swaraj but not Hindu-Muslim unity." Again in 1940, he proclaimed: "I am a Muslim and proud of the fact; Islam's splendid tradition of 1300 years are my inheritance. I am part of the indivisible unity that is Indian nationality. Everything bears the stamp of our joint endeavour. Our language was different but we grew to use a common language (Hindustani); our manners and customs were different, dissimilar but they produced a new synthesis. No politicking or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity." As a student of History, he pointed out that the ancestors of the Hindus and Musalmans were common and they have been living together for nearly a thousand years.

2.1.5.3 Azad on Non-Violence

Regarding the techniques of revolution, Azad was guided not guided by Islam, but by Gandhi. Though Islam did sanction the meeting of violence with violence but taking in view the political situation of the day, Azad declared that he was committed to non-violence as the only course available. Nonviolence, for Azad, was not a creed but a policy. He believed that "means should be appropriate and effective not necessarily non-violent."

2.1.5.4 Azad's Views on Democracy

As regards his views on the political system, he did not take inspiration from Islam alone but also from the West. He said: "Ours is essentially a democratic age and the spirit of equality, fraternity and liberty is sweeping over all the peoples of the world." In his broad spirit of synthesis Azad could even reconcile the seemingly opposed concepts of aristocracy and democracy. He argued that aristocracy of merit and talent may not supplant democracy but may enrich it with the richness and grace of a cultivated minority. Aristocracy may serve democracy by supplying the cultural deficiencies of a broad-based power structure. Democracy is not opposed to aristocracy if the latter serves "as an adjunct to democracy and seeks to fulfil its

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

2.1.5.5 AZAD ON PARTITION OF INDIA

Azad was a staunch opponent of the idea of partition or Pakistan. According to him, "The scheme of partition is harmful not only for India as a whole, but also for Muslims in particular, and in fact it creates more problems than it solves." As President of the Congress, Azad had warned against partition. He had pinpointed and forewarned that partition would be a bitter pill which would keep the two countries at loggerheads and the condition of the minorities would be miserable. The subsequent largescale massacre on the subcontinent on the eve of partition vindicated Azad's statement that the scheme of partition creates more problems than it solves. What is more, the creation of Pakistan has given it (Hindu-Muslim enmity) a constitutional form and made it more difficult for solution. However, even after the partition, Azad wistfully thought that the two countries would be united once again. He said: "The division is only on the map of the country and not in the hearts of the people, and I am sure it is going to be a short-lived partition.

Unlike other Indians, who have laid the blame for partition entirely on the Muslim League and British machinations, Maulana was candid and courageous enough to place some of the blame on the Congress leaders, particularly Nehru, his closest colleague. Azad in his 'Prelude to Partition', a chapter added to *'India Wins Freedom'* in 1988, blamed Nehru for partition of the country. He writes: "I have to say with deepest of regrets that a large part of the responsibility for the development rests with Nehru. His unfortunate statement (of 10 July 1946) that "the Congress would be free to modify the Cabinet Mission Plan" reopened the whole question of political and communal settlement to which both the parties were agreed. Mr. Jinnah took full advantage of his mistake and withdrew from the League's early acceptance of the Cabinet Mission Plan. It was on the basis of distribution of power among the Centre, the provinces and the groups that the League had accepted the Plan. Congress was neither wise nor right in raising doubts. It should have accepted the Plan unequivocally, as it stood for the unity of India. Vacillation would give Jinnah opportunity to divide India, who was already under pressure to wriggle out. But Raj Mohan Gandhi, in his *'India Wins Errors'* takes Azad to task for not having stood up

against the partition resolution, for the only person who dissented was J.B. Kriplani and not Azad at the Congress Working Committee meeting on 8 March 1947.

Azad was right in pointing out at partial culpability of Congress leaders, but where he was wrong asserting that the last chance in averting the creation of Pakistan was lost in 1946. As a matter of fact, it was lost eight years earlier at the time of the formation of the Congress Ministry. About this event Azad writes: "Nehru committed an almost equal blunder in 1937. This was a most unfortunate development. If the League's offer of cooperation had been accepted, the Muslim League would for all practical purposes merged with the Congress. But Jawahar Lai Nehru's action (in refusing the offer) gave the Muslim-League a new lease of life. Jinnah took full advantage of the situation and started an offensive which ultimately led to Pakistan." No doubt, "it was one of the most disturbing features in the political history of India; it gave strength to the belief held by some adventurous Muslim leaders that the Muslims should have a separate homeland."

2.1.6 LET US SUM UP

According to Pardha Chatterjee, Afro-Asian nationalism was based on difference and, therefore, it is wrong to conclude that the nationalist discourse that galvanised the masses into action was entirely derivative and heteronymous. It is true that the nonwestern leaders involved in the struggle for liberation were deeply influenced by European nationalist ideas. They were also aware of the limitations of these ideas in the particular socio-economic contexts of Africa and Asia due to their alien origin. So while mobilising the imagined communities for an essentially political cause, they spoke in a 'native' vocabulary. Although they drew upon the ideas of European nationalism, they indigenised them substantially by discovering or inventing indigenous equivalents and investing them with additional meanings and nuances. This is probably the reason as to why Gandhi and his colleagues in the anti-British campaign in India preferred swadeshi to nationalism. Gandhi avoided the language of nationalism primarily because he was convinced that the Congress flirtation with nationalist ideas in the first quarter of the twentieth century frightened away not only the Muslims and other minorities but also some of the Hindu lower castes. This seems to be the most pragmatic idea one could possibly conceive of in a country like India that was not united in terms of religion, race, culture and common historical

memories of oppression and struggle. Here is located the reason why Gandhi and his Congress colleagues preferred the relaxed and chaotic plurality of the traditional Indian life to the order and homogeneity of the European nation-state because they realized that the open, plural and relative heterogeneous traditional Indian civilisation would best suit Indians. In view of the well-entrenched multilayered identities of those identified as Indians, the drive to revitalise the civilisation of India was morally more acceptable and politically more effective.

2.1.7 EXERCISE

1. In the light of the statement "Civic Nationalism was both a theoretical concept and a practical weapon to make India a strong and united nation" discuss Gandhi's unique contributions.

2. What is Civic Nationalism? What are Nehru's contributions to Civic Nationalism?

3. Discuss the contributions of Maulana Azad to Civic Nationalism.

2.2 CULTURAL NATIONALISM : A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

- S. S. Narang

STRUCTURE

2.2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the meaning of cultural nationalism and how primordial identities are important in defining cultural nationalism;

- Comprehend Veer Savarkar's views about cultural nationalism, his interpretation of Indian history, and Hindu-Muslim unity;

- Know Golwalkar's views on cultural nationalism and Hindutva, his resentment against Pakistan and Christianity and his animosity towards communism.

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Cultural nationalism as propagated by Savarkar and Golwalkar is based on religion, language, culture, history, race and territory with religion being in the commanding position. This ideology has come to be equated with Hindutva. The national leadership of the Indian National Congress which spearheaded the Freedom Movement did not include cultural nationalism in their ideological structure. Their understanding was that the constituents of cultural nationalism split the national movement which was known for immense diversity. Their deep commitment to democracy and secularism did not permit cultural nationalism to take a centre stage during the independence struggle. But the ideological leadership of Savarkar and Golwalkar kept cultural nationalism abreast of the national movement and endeavoured to equate it with Indian nationalism of the Indian National Congress. Savarkar and Golwalkar, the chief exponents and proponents of the ideological cultural nationalism not only wrote about the ideology, but also mobilized Indian masses around it.

2.2.2 DEFINING CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Cultural nationalism generally refers to ideas and practices that relate to the intended revival of a purported national community's culture. If political nationalism is focused on the achievement of political autonomy, cultural nationalism is focused on the cultivation of a nation. Here the vision of the nation is not a political organisation, but a moral community. As such, cultural nationalism sets out to provide a vision of the nation's identity, history and destiny. The key agents of cultural nationalism are intellectuals and artists, who seek to convey their vision of the nation to the wider community. The need to articulate and express this vision tends to be felt most acutely during times of social, cultural and political upheaval resulting from an encounter

with modernity. Cultural nationalism often occurs in the early phase of a national movement, sometimes before an explicitly political nationalism has appeared. But it can also recur in long-established national state.

Anthony Smith significantly contributed to the notion of Cultural Nationalism. For Smith, all nationalism has a cultural dimension; hence his insistence that it is an ideological movement rather than merely a political movement. Across his long career, Smith has sought to demonstrate the trans-generational 'stickiness' of the culture of nations. According to Smith, this pattern of myths, symbols, memories and values often extends backwards into the pre-modern era, as well as structuring a nation's particular path toward modernisation. However, while Smith stresses the capacity for cultural patterns to endure in the face of social change, he also acknowledges they can undergo rapid change. Here Smith attempts to carve out a middle ground between those who view nationalism as an expression of an innate collective spirit stretching back into 'time immemorial', and those who view it as a wholly modern ideology conjured up by enterprising elites and imposed upon the masses. For Smith, national cultures take shape through a process of reinterpretation and rediscovery rather than mere invention. Smith has lately focused more explicitly on cultural nationalism.

Cultural nationalism encompasses the feelings of cultural pride that people have in a society. This society is typically, but not limited to, an ethnically diverse makeup of people who have common cultural beliefs and a common language but not a common race or ancestry. These societies thus have a shared culture even when they do not share the historically common characteristics of a national group. These characteristics mainly being race, religion and ethnicity, the way groups have typically been separated throughout history. Hence, the ideas and feelings of cultural nationalism are built upon shared cultural ideals and norms among a society. These shared ideals and norms may include political ideologies, recognition of holidays, a specific and unique cuisine, etc. The other main idea of cultural nationalism is the shared language of the groups of people. While societies that are ethnically and religiously homogeneous usually also share a common language, culturally nationalistic societies typically have a common language and different races of people who also speak a native language from a previous society or country along with that common language.

2.2.3 VEER SAVARKAR AND CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Who is Hindu, written by Savarkar while he was in prison, is the real charter of Hindu nationalism, the ideology which has come precisely to be equated with the word 'Hindutva'. It is in this work that Savarkar argues that Muslims were the real enemies, not the British. It rests on the assumption that Hindus are weak compared to Muslims. The Muslims are a closely-knit community that has no nationalist sympathies. According to him, the adventurous valour of the Aryans and sublime height to which their thought rose laid the foundation of a great civilization. By the time they had cut themselves aloof from their neighboring people especially the Persians, they had spread out to the farthest of the seven rivers, Sapta Sindhus and had developed a sense of nationality. Out of their gratitude to the network of rivers that ran through the land, they naturally took to themselves the name of Sapta Sindhus which was applied to the whole of Vedic India in the oldest records of the world, the *Rigveda* itself. These seven rivers were a visible symbol of common nationality and culture.

Down to this day, a Sindhu - a Hindu - wherever he may happen to be, will gratefully remember these rivers that purify his soul. We actually find that the Vedic name of our nation Sapta Sindhu had been mentioned as Hapta Hindu by the ancient Persian people. Thus in the very dawn of history, we find ourselves belonging to the nation of the Sindhus or Hindus and this fact was well known to our learned men even in the Puranic period. The activities of the fearless Sindhus or Hindus could no longer be kept confined to the Panchnad or the Punjab. They spread out to reclaim the vast, waste and very thinly populated lands. Forests were felled, agriculture flourished, cities rose, kingdoms thrived. The touch of the human hand changed the whole face of the wild nature. But while these great deeds were being done, the Aryans had developed a policy that was loosely centralized. As time passed on, the distances of their new colonies increased, and different peoples of other highly developed types began to incorporate into their culture. The new attachments grew more and more powerful. Some called themselves Kurus, others kashis or Videhas or Magadhas while the old generic name of the Sindhus or Hindus was first overshadowed and then almost forgotten. National and cultural unity did not vanish, but it assumed other names and other forms, the politically most important of them being the institution

of a Chakravartin. At last the great mission which the Sindhus had undertaken of founding a nation and a country, reached its geographical limit when Prince of Ayodhya conquered Ceylon and actually brought the whole land from the Himalayas to the Seas under one sovereign hold. The day when the prince returned unchallenged to Ayodhya, the great flag of sovereignty was unfurled over that imperial throne of brave Ramachandra. Allegiance to him was sworn, not only by the Princes of Aryan blood but also by Hanuman, Sugriva, Bibhishana from the south. That day was the real birthday of the Hindu people. It was truly our national day; for Aryans and Anaryans knitting themselves into a people. A nation was born. It politically crowned the efforts of all the generations that preceded it and it handed down a new and common mission, banner and cause which all the generations after it had fought and died to defend.

But as it often happens in history, this undisturbed enjoyment of peace and plenty lulled our Sindhusthan in a sense of false security and bred a habit of living in the land of dreams. At last she was rudely awakened on the day when Mohammad of Gazni crossed the Indus and invaded her. That day the conflict of life and death began. Nothing can weld people into a nation and nations into a state as the pressure of a common enemy. Hatred separates as well unites. The fight began with Mohammad and ended with Abdalli. For years the contest continued. During this period nations and civilizations fell before the sword of Islam. But here for the first time the sword succeeded in striking but not in killing. It grew blunter each time it struck, each time it cut deep. Vitality of the victim proved stronger than the vitality of the victor. The contrast was not only grim but it was unequal. India had to struggle against not one race or one nation. It was nearly all Asia, quickly to be followed by nearly all Europe. The Arabs had entered Sindh. They soon failed to defend their own independence in their homeland. The moral victory was won when Akbar came to the throne and Darashikoh was born. The frantic efforts of Aurangzeb to retrieve their fortunes lost both in the moral field as well as battlefield.

Till the reign of Aurangzeb, the Hindus lost the battle. But after his death, they won the war. No Afghan dared to penetrate to Delhi, while the triumphant Hindu banner that our Marathas had carried to Attack was taken up by our Sikhs and carried across the Indus to the banks of the Kabul.

Savarkar further writes that in this prolonged furious conflict, our people became intensely conscious of ourselves as Hindus and were welded into a nation to an extent unknown in our history. It must not be forgotten that we have all along referred to the progress of the Hindu movement as a whole and not to that of any particular creed or religious section there of Hindutva and not Hinduism only, which gained strengths. Sanatanists, Satnamis, Sikhs, Aryas, Anaryas, Marathas and Madrasis, Brahmins, Panchamas all suffered as Hindus and triumphed as Hindus. The enemies hated us as Hindus and the whole family of peoples and races, of sects and creeds that flourished from Attock to Cuttack suddenly became a single being.

The majority of the Indian Muslims loves India as their Fatherland, as the patriotic and noble-minded amongst them has always been doing. The story of their forcible conversions is very recent. So they remember that they inherit Hindu blood in their veins. But we cannot recognize these Muslims as Hindus. It is clear that though their original Hindu blood is still pure, yet they cannot be called Hindus, because Hindus are bound together by the love they have for the fatherland and by the common blood that runs through their veins.

Hindus are one because they are a nation, a race and own a common Sanskriti (Civilization). Mohammedans or Christians who had been forcibly converted to a non-Hindu religion but who have inherited along with Hindu, a common Fatherland and a common culture, language, law, customs, folklore and history, cannot be recognized as Hindus. It is not to them a Holyland as it is for Hindus. Their Holyland is far off in Arabia or Palestine. Their mythology and Godmen, ideas and heroes are not from this soil. Consequently their names and their outlook seem to be of a foreign origin. Their love is divided. That is but natural. Muslims or Christians possess all the essential qualifications of Hindutva but they do not look upon India as their Holyland.

Savarkar believed that the Muslims could grow to their height and satisfaction in the temple of Hindutva. They should come to the Ganges to quench their thirst. The blood in their viens is that of the Hindus. They were cruelly snatched away from their Indian heritage at the point of the sword. They should come back to their brothers and sisters who would welcome them. In Hinduism there is tremendous freedom of worship. Even atheists can propagate their viewpoint. There is lot of freedom

of social organization in the Hindu society. Muslims by race, blood, culture and nationality possess almost all the features of Hindutva. They should recognize the Fatherland (*pitri-bhu*) which is the Holyland (*Punyabhu*); and they would be most welcome to the Hindu fold.

2.2.4 VEER SAVARKAR'S INTERPRETATION OF INDIAN HISTORY

In his book *Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History* (published in 1971), Savarkar said that Indian History contained six glorious epochs. They were:

- First, the Maurya Empire set up by Chandragupta with the assistance of his great teacher Chanakya. Without any strong background, he founded with his own efforts his empire mightier even than that of Alexander himself.

- Second, the triumph and victories of King Pushyamitra who destroyed the Greek power in India.

- Third, Vikramaditya who annihilated the might of the Sakas.

- Fourth, Yashodharma of Malwa who defeated the Huns at Mandasore in 528 A.D. and captured the powerful and cruel Hun leader Mihiragula.

- Fifth, the foundation of the Maratha power as a powerful counter-blast to the might of the Islamic forces in India. Maratha leaders believed in the aggression against the enemy. Mere defence was not their policy, and

- Sixth, successful removal of the British from India and getting freedom for the country.

While making a brilliant exposition of Indian history, Savarkar glorified with much passion and zeal the Vedic Hinduism. At the same time, he strongly opposed virtues like pacifism, generosity, forgiveness, etc. as these were against the achievement of goal through violence. He extolled the virtues of Shivaji who established the independent empire and reconverted Palkar and Nimbakar who were forcefully converted into Islam; criticized the Hindus for tolerating "foreign rulers" who invaded India, plundered its property, killed its innocent people and enslaved those who survived their anger. Devoid of virtues like sympathy, goodwill, sacrifice,

cordiality, compromise, understanding, etc. they were cruel, selfish and arrogant. Savarkar highly praised the Maratha power for challenging the Muslim regime and accepting "Swadharma and Swaraj" as its two fundamental ideals which they cherished.

Calling the Sepoy Mutiny (1857) as the First War of Independence and praising those who participated in it, he argued that the fear of "greased cartridges" and the annexation of Oudh might have been its minor and immediate causes. But it was in fact, the result of suppression. Quoting others, he said that the term "Sepoy Mutiny" did not mean that only Sepoys participated in it. It was by no means a military mutiny. Several factors like military grievances, national hatred and religious fanaticism were responsible for it. The Meerut Sepoys found in a moment a leader, a flag and a cause and the Mutiny was transformed into a revolutionary war. When they reached Delhi, they had all "unconsciously seized one of the great critical moments of history and converted a military mutiny into a national and religious war". Assuming a new dimension in 1857, the Mutiny became the rebellion of a whole people.

Opposing the concept of absolute non-violence, Savarkar strongly believed that violence has no place if the world is good, peaceful and where saints and angels rein the supreme. But when there are thousands of wicked people and where there are countless contradictions and maladies, violence can be used as a means to achieve an ideal. Unless there is a kingdom of God where good souls live, unless and until a new era of perfect peace and love comes in, it would be a sin if violence is given up as a means to achieve the goal. But once there exists a kingdom where virtues play a dominant role, it would be a great sin to apply violence to achieve a cause, however noble it may be. Savarkar, therefore, admired those who adopted violence to bring justice, establish the truth, promote equality, guarantee liberty and achieve fraternity. He wrote that he had full faith that justice must win in the end. Because every Hiranyakashipa has the Narasimha, because every Dushashana has his Bheema, because every evil-doer has his avenger, there is still some hope that injustice cannot last for long.

India as a nation has its cultural and organic solidarity. Strongly subscribing to the theory of Hindu resurrection, he powerfully argued that Hinduism is certainly superior to other religions, and firmly believed that Hinduism should undergo both moral

and social regeneration. It should be concerned with different aspects like "life after death", "salvation", "rebirth", "existence of heaven and hell", "existence of God", etc. But so far as the materialistic aspect is concerned, the Hindus are a nation bound by a common culture, a common history, a common language, a common country and religion. They can develop only if they consolidate their interests. Fellowship and community feeling should replace their pervasive isolationism.

A Hindu is he who regards this land of Bharatvarsha, as his Fatherland as well as his Holy land. It is the cradle of his religion. There are three criteria which make someone a Hindu. First, he should have an intense love and attachment for his country which extends from the Sindhu river to the Brahmaputra and from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. Second is the racial or blood bond or the **Jati.** A Hindu is one who inherits the blood of the race "whose first and visible source could be traced to the Vedic Sapatasindhu". It is evident from history that the Hindus have developed racial features over the centuries and these are different from those of Germans, Chinese or Ethiopians.

It is only the Hindus and to some extent the Jews who belong to a racial unit. No other religion can claim this status. A Hindu marrying a Muslim may lose his caste but not his Hindutva. He may be an orthodox or heterodox. He may believe any theoretical or philosophical or social system which is Indian and founded by a Hindu. He may lose his sect but not his Hinduness because it is determined by blood which gets transmitted from generation to generation. Therefore, one who loves his Fatherland and inherits the blood of the race that has evolved, possesses two of the most essential requisites of Hindutva.

A Hindu is known by his culture, the third criterion. He feels proud of it. It is a set of values which regulate, determine or control his behaviour: a feeling, an attitude, an impression born out of common language, common history, common geography, common achievements and failures, common expectations common religion, common art and architecture, common rituals and festivals. Those who give up Hinduism and accept Christianity or Islam can never be called as Hindus, because they no more subscribe to the culture of Hindus. The converted Christians and Muslims eat beef, criticize Hindu gods and deities and do not take 'Prasad' offered to them.

Hindutva is more comprehensive than Hinduism. While the later has religious significance and covers rituals, etc., the former includes the social, moral, political and economic aspects. It transcends Hinduism. It is not merely a concept of organic socio-political unity. It is something more than that. It is an embodiment of essential elements of nationalism. It is a socio-political body knit together by three bonds of territorial belongingness, blood or birth and culture. It is a programme for action. All those forces that create discord and division are to be controlled, so that there can be unity and understanding among them. All the barriers that divide the Hindus must be demolished. Inter-caste marriages will go a long way in this regard. It will remove caste barriers. Jains, Sikhs. Buddhists. Arya Samajists and Brahm Samajists are to be treated as Hindus.

Savarkar argued that Hindutva and nationalism are not antithetic. They go together. Rationalistic and scientific Hindutva is not a narrow creed and it stands for nationalism, humanism and universalism.

2.2.5 SAVARKAR ON HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

On the issue of Hindu-Muslim Unity, Savarkar stated that the human world has been divided, according to the Muslim theology and theoretical politics, into two groups: the Muslim land and the enemy land. While the former is inhabited entirely by the Muslims or is ruled by the Muslims, the latter is just the opposite. A faithful Muslim becomes intolerant of the latter and only mission or his only goal is to conquer all the enemy lands and their rulers. Muslims want to convert the entire enemy land into the Muslim land. A Muslim feels happier if he converts the Hindus into Muslims.

A faithful Muslim's love for the Muslims is unique as it transcends all barriers, geographical, territorial, historical, etc. Territorial patriotism is something unknown to them. He may be staying in India among his friends and relatives, but thinking about Mecca and Medina. Needless to say, he treats India and every non-Muslim Indian as his enemies.

An Indian Muslim, to Savarkar, hardly loves India. He rarely shares with its sorrows and sufferings with his non-Muslim brethren. He feels shy of identifying himself with a country where he is born and brought up. It is because the country's majority of the population is the Hindus and it is not ruled by Muslims. He is not loyal to

India, nor has any commitment towards it. He always looks up to Mecca and Medina and develops an extra-territorial loyalty. He is moved more by events in Palestine than that concern India as a nation. He is worried more about the well-being of the Arabs than the well-being of their Hindu neighbours and countrymen in India. He conspires with any one any number of times to bring India under the Muslim rule.

A Muslim theologian has maximum hatred for the Hindus. To him, Christians and Jews are after all "Kitabis", having holy books partially in common. But Hindus are totally 'Kafirs", and as a consequence their land Hindustan is "Enemy Land" as long as it is not ruled by Muslims or all Hindus do not embrace Islam. This is, to Savarkar, the religious mentality of all Indian Muslims.

Consequently, political and cultural mentality of the Muslims is essentially anti-Hindu and is bound to be so as long as they continue to be the Muslims and "faithfuls". They are always conscious of the fact that they entered India as conquerors and subjected the Hindus to their rule. But they have forgotten that they were defeated by the Hindus in a hundred battlefields in India. In the long run, the Hindus freed India from the Muslim yoke and re-established Hindu Padshahi. Muslims know that they are a powerful minority and their population has been growing every day.

Muslims want that Urdu should be the national language even though crores of them living in India and elsewhere do not speak it or understand it. It can claim no more merit than Hindi which is the mother tongue of more than twenty crore people and easily understood by more than ten crore people. While the Arabian language itself on which Urdu is based deemed foreign by Kemal and the Turks in the land of the Khaliphas itself, the Muslims expect some twenty-five crore Hindus to learn it and adopt it as their national language.

The Muslims insist on the adoption of the Urdu script as the national script, without bothering about the oldest script "Nagri". Kemal discarded the Arabian script itself as it was not suitable to the present day needs. The Nagri is more scientific, more amenable to printing. Yet the Urdu script must be, to them, the national script and the Urdu the national language. The only reason for this is that they consider Urdu as their cultural asset. Therefore, it is not their concern to make room for the culture of Hindus and other religions.

The Muslims do not tolerate the song "Vande Mataram". It is reduced and shortened because of lack of unity amongst the Hindus. But the Muslims are not satisfied even with reduced portion. Even if the whole song is dropped, they would treat the very words "Vande Mataram" quite insulting to them.

Savarkar is of the view that the self-centered politicians of India have deprived Hindus of their dues. He was never against the Muslims, but he was certainly opposed to the policy of appeasement towards them. This was solely responsible for the partition of India. He strongly criticized Nehru and Gandhi for their role in this regard and also opposed Golwalkar, the then Head of the Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangh, for his role during the massacre of Hindus. He kept quiet while Hindus were mercilessly butchered, silently watched the perpetration of the worst crimes and did not do anything to prevent such ghastly events. Neither he nor the RSS supported Veer Savarkar and the Hindu Mahasabha who were opposed to the partition of the country.

2.2.6 GOLWALKAR'S VIEWS ON CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Golwalkar lamented on the anti-British nationalism of pre-independence India. In his books titled *We or our Nationhood Defined* and *Bunch of Thoughts*, he criticized the vigorous anti-British character of the Indian freedom movement. In Golwalkar's own words: Anti-Britishism was equated with patriotism and nationalism. This reactionary view has had disastrous effects upon the entire course of the freedom struggle, its leaders and the common people. Golwalkar writes that to keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by her purging the country of the Semitic Races – the Jews. Race pride at its highest has been manifested here. Germany has also shown that it is very difficult for different races and cultures, to be assimilated into one united whole. It is good lesson for us in Hindusthan to learn and profit by. Ever since that evil day, when Moslems first landed in Hindustan, right up to the present moment, the Hindu nation has been fighting to defeat Muslims. The Race spirit has been awakening.

According to Christopher Jaffrelot, an English scholar on Hinduism, despite the use of the term "race", Golwalkar's main purpose was not racial unity but cultural unity. However, Jaffrelot also makes references to Golwalkar's racism. According

to Jaffrelot, Golwalkar viewed a national language like Sanskrit to be an expression of the race spirit; Golwalkar's racism is a form of socio-cultural domination rather than being based on notions of racial purity. The "racial factor" was, to Golwalkar, the most important ingredient for a nation, and in this respect, Golwalkar claimed inspiration from Hitler's ideology. Golwalkar applied this nationalist ethnic reasoning to Indian Muslims. He felt that they were destabilizing Hindu society. The minorities were meant to be "assimilated" through the removal of their signs of identity. It was stated that the Hindu symbols are "national," those of the religious minorities are communal or foreign. The Indian nation of Golwalkar and other RSS leaders is a "hierarchy dominated by the Hindus".

Golwalkar strongly opposed the concept of a secular Indian state. He stated that the non-Hindu people must adopt Hindu culture and language, learn and respect Hindu religion, entertain no idea but of those of glorification of the Hindu race and culture. In a word they must cease to be foreigners, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu nation. They should claim nothing, no privileges, and no preferential treatment not even citizens' rights. Golwalkar believed that the Aryan ancestors of the Hindus were indigenous to India in contrast to India's Muslims, who invaded India and still looked to Mecca as the centre of their faith.

In "*Bunch of thoughts*", Golwalkar opines that Muslims and Christians in India are unpatriotic, but Golwalkar's hatred is not confined to Indian Muslims or Christians. Golwalkar condemns even Chinese because they eat rats, pigs, dogs, serpents, cockroaches, and everything. Such men cannot be expected to have human qualities. Golwalkar showers praise on the Nazi campaign against Jews and Gypsies which took place in the 1930s in Germany explaining that this was a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by, there are only two courses open to these foreign elements, Golwalkar explains, either to merge themselves in the national race and adopt its culture or to live at its mercy so long as the national race may allow them to do so and quite the country at the sweet will of the national race. Further he wrote that in this land Hindus have been the owners, Parsis and Jews are guests, and Muslims and Christians the dacoits.

2.2.7 VIEWS OF GOLWALKAR ON HINDUTVA

Golwalkar tells religious minorities to pledge allegiance to Hindu symbols of identity, which are synonymous with Indian Identity. It is equated with Hindu culture, and religious minorities should to keep community concerns in the private sphere. Golwalkar actually labelled members of these minorities, as well as foreigners namely 'those who do not subscribe to the social laws dictated by the Hindu Religion and Culture' as mlecchas (barbarians), in ancient India a mleccha was someone at the fringe of the caste system dominated by the values of the Brahmin. Golwalkar pays no attention to the territorial dimension of nationalism. He repeatedly condemns Indian National Congress for the amazing theory that the nation is composed of all those who, for one reason or the other happen to live in the country'. Race is by far the important ingredient of a nation'. In this context Golwalkar claims inspiration from Hitler's ideology. He applies this nationalist ethnic reasoning to India's Muslim minority, which he believed posed a threat not only because it enjoyed the backing of Islamic states but also because it was a 'foreign body' lodged in Hindu society. Golwalkar considers India's Christians and Communists as anti-national elements too.

2.2.7.1 GOLWALKAR ON INTERNAL THREATS

The Muslims: It has been the tragic lesson of the history of many countries in the world that the hostile elements within the country pose a far greater menace to national security than aggressors from outside. Unfortunately, this first lesson of national security has been one thing which has been consistently ignored in our country ever since the British left this land. Wishful thinking born out of lack of courage to face realities, mouthing of high-sounding slogans by the persons at the helm of affairs to cover up the tragedies overtaking us one after another, and opportunistic alliances of parties and groups with the hostile elements to further their narrow self-interests, have all combined to make the threat of internal subversion to our national freedom and security very acute and real.

First, of all, he takes the case of Muslims even to this day, there are so many who say, that 'Now there is no Muslim problem at all. All those riotous elements that supported Pakistan have gone away once and for all. The remaining Muslims are devoted to our country. After all, they have no other place to go and they are bound to remain loyal.

Pakistan-A Continuing Aggression: Their aggressive strategy has always been twofold. One is direct aggression. In the pre-independence days, Jinnah called it 'Direct Action.' The first blow got them Pakistan. Our leaders who were a party to the creation of Pakistan may try to whitewash the tragedy by saying that it was a brotherly division of the country and so on. But the naked fact remains that an aggressive Muslim State has been carved out of our own motherland. Golwalkar states, from the day the so-called Pakistan came into being; leaders in Sangh have been declaring that it is a clear case of continued Muslim aggression. The Muslim desire, growing ever since they stepped on this land some twelve hundred years ago, to convert and enslave the entire country, could not bear fruit, in spite of their political domination for several centuries, because of the conquering spirit of the nation rose in the form of great and valiant men from time to time who sounded the death- knell of their kingdoms here. But even though their kingdoms lay shattered, their desire for domination did not break up. In the coming of the British, they found an opportunity to fulfil their desire. They played their cards shrewdly, sometimes creating terror and havoc, and ultimately succeeded in browbeating our leadership into panicky surrender to their sinful demand of Partition.

Pursuing Jinnah's Dream: The second front of their aggression is increasing their numbers in strategic areas of our country. After Kashmir, Assam is their next target. They have been systematically flooding Assam, Tripura and the rest of Bengal since long. It is not because, as some would like us to believe, East Pakistan is in the grip of famine that people are migrating into Assam and West Bengal. The Pakistani Muslims have been infiltrating into Assam for the past fifteen years. Does it mean then that famine has been stalking East Pakistan all these fifteen years. They are entering Assam surreptitiously and the local Muslims are sheltering them. As a result, the percentage of Muslims there which was only 11 percent in 1950, has now more than doubled. What else is this but a conspiracy to make Assam a Muslim majority province so that it would automatically fall into the lap of Pakistan in course of time.

The Time-Bomb: Golwalkar argues that Sardar Patel was aware that Western U.P. had continued to be as powerful a Muslim pocket as before. He did not want that it should be linked to West Pakistan by a continuous Muslim belt. Hence he had taken due precautions to see that the Muslims driven out of East Punjab after Partition did

not resettle anywhere near West Punjab so as to form a contiguous Muslim chain from West Pakistan to U.P. But, on account of pressure from Acharya Vinoba Bhave, Muslims were allowed to resettle first in Gurgaon District and then over four lakh Muslims were resettled in other regions. There are sure signs that an explosive situation similar to that of 1946-47 is fast brewing and there is no knowing when it will blow up. Right from Delhi to Rampur and Lucknow, the Muslims are busy hatching a dangerous plot, piling up arms and mobilizing their men and probably biding their time to strike from within when Pakistan decides upon an armed conflict with our country. And when they do strike, it is very likely that even Delhi may be rocked to its foundations unless Indians wake up in time to nip the mischief in the bud. Not those Indian leaders do not know it. The secret intelligence reports reach them all right. But it seems they have in view only elections. Elections mean vote catching, which means appeasing certain sections of people having a solid bloc of votes. And the Muslims are one such solid bloc. Therein lies the root of all this appeasement and consequent disastrous effects.

Forgetting Nothing, Learning Nothing: Golwalkar further stated that Muslim League has again raised its ugly head in the South. The creation of Pakistan woke up the Hindus in the North, at least for the time being, to the danger of Muslim League. So the League leaders shifted their headquarters to the South. Now they have come out with the statement that they have been carrying on their activities all these years in secret. The mass agitation in Kerala which brought down the Communist Government, gave them a golden opportunity to come out in the open. The elections that followed proved to be a windfall for them. The Congress, learning nothing from its past experience of placating the Muslim League which had landed our country in the calamity of Partition, once again stretched its arms to embrace that treacherous party during elections. And in order to justify their blatantly anti-national move, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru gave the Muslim League a clean chit of patriotism saying that it was not the old Muslim League, but a new patriotic party devoted to their community and religion! It was a marvellous definition of patriotism. But to his misfortune, on the very next day, the All-India President of the Muslim League came out with the statement that theirs was the same old party with not a shadow of change. Now in Kerala, they openly propagate for an independent 'Moplaland.

Everywhere the Muslims were being abetted in their separatist and subversive activities by our own Government, our leaders and political parties. Take the case of Calcutta riots which occurred in the wake of the holocaust of Hindus in Khulna, Narayanganj and Dacca areas of East Pakistan in 1963. Our men in power tried to paint it as a reaction to the East Bengal riots. But what are the facts? These were the Muslims in Calcutta who first started the attack on a peaceful procession of students. It was again they who set fire to the grand exhibition pandal erected in connection with the Swami Vivekananda centenary celebrations and destroyed the precious exhibits. Can anyone in his senses believe that the Hindus of Calcutta could have destroyed a pandal containing Swami Vivekananda's exhibits? It was only after the Muslims began perpetrating such vandalism that the Hindus rose to defend themselves. Thus the Calcutta riots were, beyond a shadow of doubt, only an extension of and not a reaction to the riots in East Bengal.

But Indian Government, as usual, Golwalkar observes following in the footsteps of their erstwhile British masters, came down upon the Hindus with a heavy hand and shot them indiscriminately. One of the Central Ministers even declared, 'Every Muslim life is sacred to us,' whereas every life ought to be a sacred trust with any Government worth the name. He even boasted that more Hindus were killed in police firing than Muslims. By this statement he had only betrayed the real mind of the Government in the matter. That, is the way things are going on in our own country, said Golwalkar.

Countless 'Miniature Pakistans': In fact, all over the country wherever there is a masjid or a Muslim mohalla, the Muslims feel that it is their own independent territory. If there is a procession of Hindus with music and singing, they get enraged saying that their religious susceptibilities are wounded. If their religious feelings have become so sensitive as to be irritated by sweet music, then why don't they shift their masjids to forests and pray there in silence? Why should they insist on planting a stone on the roadside, whitewash it, call it a prayer spot and then raise a hue and cry that their prayers are disturbed if music is played?

The so called religious susceptibility of the Muslims here regarding music has nothing to do with religion or prayer but is solely motivated with a view to picking up quarrel with the Hindus and establishing their own little independent cells.

The Great 'Nationalist Muslims: Golwalkar contioned his countrymen to wake up, look around and understand the true significance of the words and actions of even the very eminent Muslims. Their own statements have exposed the greatest of the so-called 'nationalist Muslims' in their true colours today.

Maulana Mohammad Ali, the right hand man of Mahatma Gandhi in the early days of the freedom struggle, had announced in public, not once but repeatedly, that the worst sinner among the Muslims was, in his eyes, far superior to even Mahatma Gandhi.

Golwalkar says that he had once an opportunity to talk to a great scholar of the Sufi sect in our country. He said that the only way to meet the challenge of the godless philosophy of Communism was to mobilize and bring together all men having faith in God to whatever sect or religion they might belong. Golwalkar asked him, 'What is that common plank on which all can come together?' Without a moment's hesitation he replied, 'Islam'! That is how the minds of even their so-called scholars and philosophers work.

The greatest 'nationalist Muslim' of our times, Maulana Azad too in his last days gave out his mind in the book *India Wins Freedom* in unmistakable terms. Firstly the whole of the book, from start to finish, is an egocentric narration which depicts all other leaders including Gandhiji, Nehru etc., as simpleminded and Patel as a communalist. Secondly, he has not a single word of condemnation for the heinous massacres and atrocities committed by Muslims on Hindus in various places like Calcutta, Noakhali, etc. More than all, the entire burden of his opposition to the creation of Pakistan was that it would be against the interests of Muslims. In effect, Azad says, the Muslims were fools in following Jinnah, as thereby they got only a fraction of the land, whereas if they had followed his advice, they would have had a decisive say in the affairs of the entire country in addition to all the benefits of Pakistan. Sri Mehar Chand Mahajan, Ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, has come out with the same comments about that book. For instance, he says, 'The Maulana was shrewder than Mr Jinnah. Left to him, India would become virtually a Muslim-dominated country.'

2.2.7.2 GOLWALKAR'S VIEWS ON CHRISTIANS

So far as Christians are concerned, to casual observer, they appear not only quite

harmless, but also very embodiment of compassion and love for humanity. Their speeches abound in words like 'service' and 'human salvation' as though they are specially deputed by the Almighty to uplift humanity. They run schools and colleges, hospitals and orphanages. The people of our country, simple and innocent as they are, are taken in by these things. But what is the real and ulterior motive of Christians in spending crores of rupees in all these activities?

Are Christian gentlemen residing in our land today^ out to demolish not only the religious and social fabric of our life but also to establish political domination in various pockets and if possible all over the land? Such has been, in fact, their role wherever they have stepped—all under the alluring garb of bringing peace and brotherhood to mankind under the angelic wings of Jesus Christ. Jesus had called upon his followers to give their all to the poor, the ignorant and the downtrodden. But what have his followers done in practice? Wherever they have gone, they have proved to be not 'blood-givers' but 'bloodsuckers! What is the fate of all those lands colonized by these so-called disciples of Christ? Wherever they have stepped, they have drenched those lands with the blood and tears of the natives and liquidated those races. Do we not know the heart-rending stories of how they annihilated the natives in America, Australia and Africa? Why go so far? Are we not aware of the atrocious history of Christian missionaries in our own country, of how they carried sword and fire in Goa and elsewhere?

After the British quit this land and we became free to shape our future national set-up, the discussion of various theories and 'isms' has become a live issue for us. No doubt we have opted for the Western type of democratic set-up. But have we been able to reap its beneficial fruits after all these years of experimentation? Instead of symbolizing the collective will of the people, it has given rise to all sorts of unhealthy rivalries and forces of selfishness and divisions.

2.2.8 GOLWALKAR'S RESENTMENT AGAINST COMMUNISM

A serious failure of democracy in our country is the growing menace of Communism which is a sworn enemy of democratic procedure. In a bid not to be left behind the Communists in their economic appeal to the masses, our leaders are only making

Communism more respectable by themselves taking up the Communist jargon and the Communist programmes. If the leaders imagine that they will be able to take away the wind out of the Communist sail by such tactics, they are sadly mistaken.

They also feel that economic development is the only defence against Communism. It is the constant dinning into the ears of the masses of the promise of higher standards of life, thus raising their expectations at a time when they cannot possibly be satisfied. That is aggravating the sense of frustration and paving the way for popular discontent and chaos. Nowhere do we find the appeal to higher sentiments like patriotism, character and knowledge; nor is there any stress on cultural, intellectual and moral development.

Under the garb of Socialism, what is it that is actually taking place? We find that all the measures being undertaken here are only an improved version of what has happened in China. The only difference is that these developments were brought about by brutal violence in China whereas here the same things are being done through polished propaganda. This will be quite clear to us if we compare the governmental measures of both countries. When the present Communist Government in China first came to power, they did not want any challenge to their absolute power. So they liquidated the old nobles, chiefs and industrialists and nationalized all industries. They liquidated the landholders and ultimately the smaller zamindars and farmers.

Here also, landlords were liquidated. Now the 17th Amendment has come by which even the smaller farmer, having even half an acre of land, is considered an estate-holder and the Government is empowered to take away his property practically without any compensation. Co-operative farming, collective farming, nationalization of banks and industries and such socialistic doctrines are going to be implemented. All this is, in a way, following the Chinese line step by step. Let us try to see the close parallel and read the writing on the wall. And before we are reduced to mere slaves and tools, beware!

Further, Socialism is not a product of this soil. It is not in our blood and tradition. It has absolutely nothing to do with the traditions and ideals of thousands of years of our national life. It is a thought alien to crores of our people here. As such it does not have the power to thrill our hearts, and inspire us to a life of dedication and character. Thus we see that it does not possess even the primary qualification to serve as an ideal for our national life.

Thus, after throwing the British out, we find ourselves in a confused state of affairs trying to catch foreign theories and 'isms'. This is highly humiliating to a country which has given rise to an all-comprehensive philosophy, capable of furnishing the true and abiding basis for reconstruction of national life on political, economic, social and all other planes. It would be sheer bankruptcy of our intellect and originality, if we believe that human intelligence has reached its maximum heights with the present theories and 'isms' of the west. Let us therefore evolve our own way of life based on the eternal truths discovered by our ancient seers and tested on the touchstone of reason, experience and history.

2.2.9 LET US SUM UP

Indian political thought involves three related issues of 'nation', 'nationalism' and 'national identity'. For obvious reasons, these three ideas constitute the foundation, as it were, of any nationalist discourse. Based on specific c experiences, the thinkers engaged in this project seek to articulate a voice which is neither absolutely derivative nor entirely delinked with the context. In other words, the ideas are constructed, nurtured and developed within a social, political and economic milieu that can never be wished away in conceptualising social and political thoughts. What is most determining in the entire process is the organic link with a particular reality that always leaves an imprint on the construction of ideas. Hence, one must capture the complex interrelationship between the ideas and reality in the context of exogenous but formidable influences of colonialism. Implicit in this process is the dialectics of social and political changes shaping 'the mind' of an age that is simultaneously a point of departure and convergence with its immediate past. Presumably because the ideas that constitute 'the core' of new thinking are an outcome of a process in which both the present and past seem to be important, they are creatively articulated underlining both the influences.

2.2.10 EXERCISE

1. How do you understand cultural nationalism?

2. Discuss the theory of Hindutva as propounded by veer Savarkar.

3. Analyse Golwalkar's views on cultural nationalism and Hindutwa.

2.3 NATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN INDIAN THOUGHT

- S. S. Narang

STRUCTURE

2.3.4.3 Leasership Question at the Round Table Conference

2.3.4.4 Creation of Pakistan – Jinnah's Role

2.3.5 Exercise

2.3.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the contribution of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in the social reforms of Muslim society in India, his views on representative democracy and his other social & political ideas;

- Know Muhammad Iqbal views on nationalism and Islamic Humanism, his ideology of Pakistan;

- Jinnah's contribution to the Islamic thought, his differences with the Congress leadership and his role in the creation of Pakistan.

2.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The linguistic, religious and cultural diversity in India, the positions of Muslims as members of a minority community as well as their interpretation of the message of Islam led Muslim intellectuals to grapple with definitions of nationhood, political community and the paths towards national development. Their concerns were heightened by the increasingly dominant view that the political unity of India ultimately hinged on the unity of culture. Whereas sections of the Muslim intelligentsia in India championed the call for national integration on a secular basis, others expressed reservations about the call for integration, arguing instead for the compatibility of sectional and national interests. Some stressed the need for a more 'Islamic' legal-political order for Muslims. Yet others called for the broadening of Islamic categories such as *dhimmi* and *umma* to include Hindus and other communities in India so as to facilitate the further integration of Muslims and non-Muslims into a single political entity; thus they were in essence calling for Islamic political categories to be fundamentally reconstructed.

2.3.2 SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan rendered a significant service to Muslims. What Raja Ram Mohan Roy did to Hindus, Khan did the same to the Muslims. Well known for his learning and piety, he commanded respect from *ulemas* of his time who accepted him as their leader. Khan was a powerful personality vibrant with a noble desire to uplift his community by making its members literate and educated, dynamic and progressive, forward and ambitious. He was a legendary Muslim leader with modern outlook to issues and problems confronting the Indian Muslim community in particular. He did his best to "purify" Islam by restoring its original purity. He also denounced the un-Islamic practices that had crept into the Muslim community.

It may be noted that though the western education contained numerous flaws and deficiencies, it had, by all means, a positive impact upon the Indians, particularly those who were exposed to it. A new elite class emerged. Committed, it took a vow to liberate India from the British regime. Apart from it, others being exponents of Indian culture and thought, did something to usher in a new era socio-cultural renaissance. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did the same work for the Muslims.

A strong supporter of modem education, he wanted to give a new image to Koran. It was because of this his friends called him a heretic. He did his best to bring a synthesis between the old system and the new system of education.

2.3.2.1 SOCIAL REFORMER

Syed brought out a monthly journal *Social Reformer* in Urdu in which he propagated the importance of social reform. Founder of Mohammedan Educational Conference, he made the people aware of social reforms, modern education and general economic and intellectual progress. It was painful for him to see the plight of the Muslims as they were poor, backward, illiterate and ignorant. They also suffered from arrogance and false pride. Hence, they lagged behind and could not prosper.

2.3.2.2 BRITISH LOYALIST

Khan was a great loyalist of the British Government. He believed that Muslims' loyalty to the Government would bring them rewards, benefits and benedictions. He wanted to win the heart of the Government by extending it the community's

support and cooperation. And for this he was prepared to face the consequences. He, therefore, congratulated the Government for introducing the Self-Government Bill in 1883 for imparting training to the Indians in the field of Self-Government. This reflected Government's greatness and magnanimity. But at the same time he objected to the introduction of the elective element in Indian politics. For this extreme loyalty to the Government, he was known as "a loyalist of the loyalists".

Khan stressed the necessity of modern education and he had a rational approach towards the Koran and for this some of the Islamic religious leaders called him a heretic. He pleaded for social reform and an educational curriculum synthesizing the old and the new learning. Thus the Aligarh movement launched by Syed Ahmad was a deliberate counterpoise to the stand of the Muslim revivalists like Haji Shariat Ullah[1], Dudu Miyan and the Ahil-i-Hadis movement. Syed Ahmad wanted to give pride of place both to secular modem education and to Islamic theology. He had been, earlier, influenced by the Wahhabis like Ahmad Shahid, Ismail and others. He defended Wahhabism from the charge of sedition and conspiracy against the British government.

II. The Causes of the Indian Revolt of 1857: Non-participation of Indians in Decision Making

In 1858, Syed Ahmed Khan wrote *The Causes of the Indian Revolt.* Originally written in Urdu, it was translated by Colvin and Graham in English in 1873. According to Syed Ahmad the primary cause of the revolt was the non-admission of Indians into the processes of legislation. Participation by people in the councils is essential. In India due to the non-admission of Indians in the legislative bodies, there was no avenue open to them through which they amid register their protests and express their opinions. There was thus a great misunderstanding of the real intentions of the government. There came a time when all men 'looked upon the English government as slow poison, a rope of sand, a treacherous flame of fire.' The colossal misunderstanding would have been avoided if there would have been an Indian in the Legislative Council. Hence in his *book* he deplored the absence of an effective communication and information feedback between the rulers and the subjects. He lamented that although the British government had been in the country for nearly a century, no attempts had been made to solicit the affections and good feelings of the

people. He regretted that the people had no means of expressing to the rulers their grievances. Syed Ahmad had made a plea for people's participation in councils and lamented that the people in India had no means to register their protest against an unwanted measure. They had no channel whereby they could give public expression to their wishes. The government, hence, had to take the initiative in winning the affections and friendship of the subjects. He wrote:

"Most men agree, I believe, that it is conducive to the welfare and prosperity of government— indeed it is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its councils. It is from the voice of the people that government can learn whether its projects are likely to be well received. This security can never be acquired unless the people are allowed a share in the consultation of government. The men who have ruled India can never forget that they were here in the position of foreigners. The security of government is based on its knowledge of the governed as well as its careful observance of their rights and privileges.

There were some other subsidiary causes of the Indian revolt, according to Syed Ahmad, which were rooted in the primary factor of legislative non-participation by Indians. These other factors can be thus classified:

- The passing of laws and measures which went against the cherished traditions and conventions of people. Some of these laws and measures were definitely objectionable.

- The government was ignorant of the desires and aspirations of the people.

- The neglect by the rulers of the basic elements which were requisite for the good government of India.

- The bad management of the army leading to the spread of disaffection amongst them.

From the revolt of 1857, Syed Ahmad drew some lessons for political philosophy. He inculcated the necessity of friendship and sympathetic intercourse between the rulers and the ruled. Taking a botanical analogy he said that the government is the root and the people are the growth of that root.

Syed Ahmad Khan did not believe in popular Government. He, like John Stuart Mill, had a genuine fear of the 'tyranny of the majority'. Being a member of the minority community he felt that the advance of popular government would result in stifling and even suppressing the interests of the Moslems. Khan's opposition to democracy was not based on aristocratic grounds and it will not be accurate to interpret him as a spokesman of the interest of the agrarian aristocracy. His basic theme was the dread of the numerically overwhelming, large Hindu community.

Being sensitive to the trends and tenor of his times Sir Syed wanted a fresh orientation of Islamic thought. He stressed the necessity of modem education. On 24 May, 1875, he founded a school in Aligarh, which soon developed into the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College, now called the Aligarh Muslim University. His aim was to popularize the scientific and rationalistic philosophy of the West for the purpose of the enlightenment of the mind. But his immediate and pragmatic consideration was that the Muslim community should take to English education for obtaining necessary training for getting good jobs under the government. He wanted an educational curriculum synthesizing the old and the new learning. He wanted to give place of pride both to secular modern education and to Islamic theory.

2.3.2.3 SIR SYED AS A NATIONALIST

In the beginning, Sir Syed was inspired by patriotic sentiments. He said in a speech (27 January, 1883) that India is the motherland for both of us (that is, the Hindus and Muslims) who breathe the same air, drink the water of holy rivers of Ganges and Jamuna and consume the products of the same earth which God has given to the country and live and die together. In his opinion, India was like a newly wedded bride whose two beautiful and luminous eyes are the Hindus and the Musalmans; if the two exist in mutual concord the bride would remain forever splendid while if they make up their mind to see in different directions, the bride is bound to become squinted and even partially blind. Another speech by him is still more revealing of his nationalistic sentiment. In his reply to an address presented to him by Arya Samaj, he observed: "The word 'Quam' refers to the inhabitants of the country. The word 'Hindu' does not denote any religion. Every Indian can call himself a Hindu, for he who lives in India is a Hindu.

In this nationalistic phase of his career, Sir Syed supported the Ilbert Bill, which sought to eliminate the discrimination against the authority of Indian judges. Again, in 1884, during his trip to Punjab, he exhorted the people of both communities to forge a united front, so as to evolve a composite nationhood. Thus, he remained a champion of Indian nationalism and stood for territorial nationalism up to 1887.

2.3.2.4 PIONEER OF MUSLIM SEPARATION

However, after 1887 we see a marked change in Sir Syed's attitude. He became suspicious of the national movement led by the Indian National Congress. He advised Muslims to keep aloof from the Congress. Quoting Sir Syed, M.N. Roy writes that those of the Hindus, who inaugurated the agitation for representative government and social reforms, were intellectual bourgeoisie, whereas the Aligarh alumni belong to the landed aristocracy with social and political tendencies predominantly feudal, socially diverse hence, could not get united in a national movement. Because of his anti-Congress attitude, Sir Syed opposed tooth and nail the Congress's proposal to hold simultaneous examinations for recruiting the best talent in the country. In addition, he took lead in the establishment of two associations meant as a counterpoise to the Indian National Congress: the United Indian Patriotic Association (1888) and the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Organization (1893).

2.3.2.5 SIR SYED'S VIEWS ON REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

According to Sir Syed, Islam was opposed to personal rule or monarchy. He was one of the first Indians to plead for a responsive and representative government. But he opposed the system of representation by election or popular government. In fact, Sir Syed was worried of the numerically overwhelming large Hindu community. He felt that the advance of popular government would result in stifling and even suppressing the interests of the Muslims who are in a minority. He argued that the system of representation by election was most unsuited to India because India did not constitute a homogeneous nation. It is unsuited to India because in India caste distinctions still flourish, there is no fusion of races and religious distinctions are still violent and education in the modem sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all sections of the people.

By 1893 Sir Syed began to emphasize that India was inhabited by different

nationalities, professing different faiths, speaking different languages and having different historical traditions. Hence, the Muslims could be considered as part and parcel of the same nation. In short, Muslims constitute a separate nation. Now his argument was "How can the Muslims and Hindus sit at the same throne and remain equal in power. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both will remain equal is to desire the impossible and inconceivable" In another speech he remarked that no nation could be made of a mere geographical expression such as India was, for the Hindus and the Muslims were so different with regard to their aims and aspirations that they could not be blended into a single nation. Thus, an analysis of his speeches after the 1880 does indicate that a nationalist Syed was replaced by a sectarian communalist. Sir Syed Ahmed was no longer the upholder of territorial nationalism.

In the light of these perceptions that Sir Syed then entertained, it is not surprising that he preferred the British rule to that of the Congress, a body dominated by the Hindu community. The question arises as to how Sir Syed changed from an ardent nationalist to a staunch communalist? There are several factors responsible for this change in his outlook.

As a matter of fact, the British rulers were horrified to see the remarkable unity between the two major communities during the revolt of 1857. Hence, they adopted the policy of divide and rule. Through the good offices of Theodore Beck, the first principal of the Aligarh College, efforts were made to wean Sir Syed, the rising Muslim star, away from growing nationalism in the country. Beck had great influence on Sir Syed, and he succeeded in convincing him that Anglo-Muslim alliance alone would ameliorate the Muslim community.

The founders of the Congress displayed shortsightedness in not reading the mind of Sir Syed. No attempts were made for reconciliation with him. Sir Syed had hoped to be the third president of the Congress, but it went to another Muslim leader, Badruddin Tyabji. Thus, getting disillusioned with the Congress, Syed hastened to fall in the communalist camp, just as Mr. Jinnah did a few years later.

Sir Syed always aimed at raising the Muslim intelligentsia to a higher and better status. With this goal in mind, he always looked to the British for support. Since the

British started distancing from the Congress after 1887, Syed followed suit.

Although the influence of Mr. Beck on Syed was undeniable, it was not the sole factor in his conversion. Syed was unhappy about British callousness towards Muslims after the Mutiny, and he was sincerely striving for a rapprochement. He believed that Muslim interests lay in siding with the foreign rulers rather than with the Congress. He felt that any support to the Congress would have meant antagonizing the British and thereby acting as a setback to the Muslims' uplift.

2.3.2.6 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IDEAS OF SIR SYED

Since the beginning Sir Syed emphasized the necessity of interaction between the rulers and the ruled and for this purpose he suggested the inclusion of chosen Indian representatives in the Legislative Council, which was done by the Indian Council Act of 1861. He himself was the member of the Council for five years (1878-82). Further, he suggested the formation of a suitable organization that could keep in touch with the British Parliamentarians regarding the needs and aspirations of the Indian people. It resulted in the establishment of the British-Indian Association in 1866. Again, Sir Syed vehemently supported the Ilbert Bill (1883) which provided for the elimination of racial discrimination in judicial administration. He also joined Surendra Nath Bannerjee for securing equal facilities and opportunities for Indians to enter the Indian Civil Service.

Sir Syed's greatest achievement, however, was that he liberalized and modernized Islam in India. He was the greatest protagonist of modernism in Islam in India. He made the first concerted efforts to reconcile Islam with rationality and Western science.

Sir Syed held liberal views on social questions. He was keen to eradicate social evils which had crept into the Muslim society. For instance, he was opposed to ritualism, polygamy and easy divorce. However, he was against sweeping changes in religious and cultural matters. To quote Moin Shakir, "Despite his rationalism in politics and radicalism in religious matters, Sir Syed was not progressive in his views on social matters. He supported the system of purdah and considered the education of men more important than that of women. Moreover, his efforts were confined to the promotion of the upper and middle classes."

Summarising the political views of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Moin Shakir observes: "His political programme was isolationism, separatism and withdrawal. In the opinion of A.G. Noorani, "Sir Syed's three pronged approach — loyalism, separatism and modernism — paved the way which eventually led to partition of India. Sir Syed was equally responsible for Islamic integration as well as Islamic separatism in Indian body politic. He was the first Muslim leader who spoke of the Muslims being a separate race. He was the first to declare that both Hindus and Muslims are two different nations with separate and often conflicting economic, political and cultural interests. A renowned historian, B.R. Nanda accuses Sir Syed of "sowing seeds of Muslim separatism: He was the forerunner of separatism in India. A well known authority, Pendrel Moon, observes that "Sir Syed laid down the premises which led naturally to the idea of Pakistan. To conclude, vision of two-nations was implicit in Sir Syed's thinking.

2.3.3 MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Iqbal was an Islamic revivalist. In his *Six Lectures* he wrote that the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, as conceived by Islam, is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. But life is not for change, pure and simple. It has within it, elements of conservatism also. Man in his forward movement cannot help looking back to his past. The spirit of man in its forward movement is restricted by forces which seem to be working in the opposite direction. Life moves with the weight of its own past on its back. No people can afford to reject their past entirely; for it is their past that has made their personal identity.

2.3.3.1 Iqbal's Views On Nationalism And Islamic Humanism

Iqbal was a progressive revivalist. He did recognize the immense significance of the forces of social stability and conservatism. But he wanted the liberal school of Muslim jurisprudence to interpret the fundamental legal principles in the light of the experiences of the jurists and in view of the changed situation of the day so that Muslims could remain abreast of the movement of society.

Iqbal accepts a religious solution of the problems of the modem world. He was repelled by materialism, atheism and plutocracy of Western civilization. He condemned Machiavelli as a "messenger of Satan" because he separated ethics

from politics. He pleads for the assertion of the Islamic concept of Fair which imparts strength and provides the capacity for the conquest of evils and passions. Thus, religion is a source of progress to him. What is needed is faith in the abiding continuity of historical heritage and a culture founded upon religious principles. These ideals of social and political resurrection have to be rooted in the acceptance of a spiritual world.

Iqbal had a theocratic conception of political power and advocated the Islamic religious orientation. He was opposed to the modem secularist approach which considers religion to be a private affair of the individual. To quote Iqbal, "The proposition that religion is a private affair of an individual has no sanction in Quran. In Islam, God and universe, spirit and matter, church and state are organic with each other." To him, religion is to shape all phases of life. He believed that religion is of utmost importance in the life of the individual as well as states. His religious ideal is organically related to the social order which it has created. He believed in the total governance of all aspects and phases of life by the law of the *Shariat*. In his opinion, the various aspects of man's life social, religious, political and economic cannot be compartmentalized. Thus, politics can be separated from religion at its own peril. The Quran therefore considers it necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and politics in a single revelation. Unlike Christianity, there is no duality of a spiritual world and a temporal world in Islam.

Iqbal believed in the conception of a human commonwealth based on the acceptance of the sovereignty of God. In place of nationalism which separates, he advocated the concept of Islamic humanism. Since nationalism was a political concept, it was not in consonance with the true spirit of Islam.

The state, according to Islam, is only an effort to realize the spiritual in a human organization. Thus, Iqbal sponsored theocracy in the sense of raising the spiritual principle as the basis of political governance. But he never subscribed to the cult of the ruler as the vicegerent of God. His theocracy is a neutralization of force and domination.

The modern orientation to politics expressing itself in the concept of sovereignty of the people and the supremacy of the General Will failed to satisfy him. The notion

of democracy, for him, does not take into account the dissimilarities in the inherent capacities and endowments of the individuals. The heads are counted and not weighed. In a theocratic state, then sovereignty of God is to prevail, according to Iqbal. But he failed to identify the medium of expression of such a divine sovereignty in political and economic matters.

Prior to his visit to Europe (1905-08), Iqbal was an ardent nationalist and used to write patriotic poems. His poem "Hindustan Hamara" eulogized the greatness of India. He regarded India as the best in the whole world. In another poem, "Naya Shivala' he expressed that "every particle of the country's dust was as holy as an idol." (Khake watan Ka Mujhko Har Zarra Devta Hai.). In place of strangeness, separatism and alienation, he pleaded for a genuine unity among the inhabitants of the country. But later on, he became a champion of Islamic aspirations towards Muslim fraternity and declared himself to be a Pan-Islamist. When he wrote 'Tarana Millat' he forgot all about 'Tarana-i-Hind. In place of the territorial and racialist concept of nationalism, he became the heraldry of an Islamic renaissance. In his 'Tarana Millat' he wrote: 'China, Arabia and India are ours. We are Muslims and the whole world is ours. From the principles of Tauhid (unity of God) he drew the implication of a world unity. He explained that his real purpose is to look for a better social order and to present a universally acceptable ideal of life and action before the world. When he realized that the conception of nationalism based on the differences of race and country was beginning to overshadow the world of Islam and that the Muslims were in danger of giving up the universality of their ideal in favor of a narrow patriotism and false nationalism, he felt it duty to recall them back to their true role in the drama of human evolution. Like modem day fundamentalists, Iqbal gave the slogan, "Back to early Islam." He emphasized the concept of the Millat as the crystallization of Muslim fraternity. The Millat was the social and political manifestation of the concept of Tauhid which implies equality, freedom and fraternity. Kaba was to represent this solidarity as a geographical centre. But Iqbal categorically stated that Pan- Islamism never dreamed of a unification of all Muslims into one political centre. Because of this supreme belief in the significance of Pan-Islamic fraternity, Iqbal ridiculed the League of Nations as a "Lean structure of European diplomacy" and as one doomed to die.

Iqbal was an opponent of nationalism on two grounds: First, he felt that the slogan of all-India nationalism would mean the political ascendancy of the Hindus. Secondly, Iqbal felt that the concept of nationalism would loosen the bonds of Islamic fraternity because of separate patriotic feelings, as it goes against the idea of Muslim brotherhood. Nationalism, therefore, is dangerous to the interest of humanity. Further, according to him nationalism, with its exclusive sovereign nation state as its political expression, is the greatest single factor militating against peace, freedom and justice in the world. Nonetheless, he accepted Pan-Islamism as a humanitarian ideal recognizing no racial or nationalistic barrier or geographical frontiers. He said that only one unity is dependable, and that unity is the brotherhood of man which is above race, nationality or language.

2.3.3.2 A NATIONALIST-TURNED-COMMUNALIST

In his famous poem 'Shikwah Aur Jawabe Shikwah' he clearly stated: "Nation is created and sustained by religion. If religion expired there will be no nation." He condemned patriotism as a "subtle form of idolatry". As such, he started describing nationalism incompatible with the spirit of Muslim brotherhood. He feared that the sentiment of nationalism might result in loosening the bonds of Islamic fraternity and induce each Muslim country to develop the feeling of separate nationalism. In addition, he also felt that the slogan of all-India nationalism would mean the political ascendancy of the Hindus.   Hence he declared that "the Muslims from the bank of Nile to the soil of Kashghar must unite to defend the Haram, the place around the Kaba and a symbol of the unity of Islam." lie had the vision of such a state which would be called Islamistan. Iqbal was now inspired by the view of a new Mecca, a world-wide, theocratic, utopian state."

2.3.3.3 IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

According to Iqbal, the year 1799 (defeat of T'ipu Sultan) marked the downfall of Islamic decay. However, in the nineteenth century there occurred a revival of Islam. With the activities of Syed Ahmed Barelvi and Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, there began the phase of Islamic awakening. But it was Jonh Bright, a British radical statesman, who probably was the first person to have suggested the idea of division of the subcontinent in 1877. In 1913, Mohd. Ali, while discussing the Hindu-Muslim

problem, also suggested that North India may be assigned to the Muslims and the rest to the Hindus. But Dr. Iqbal was probably the first important Muslim political leader to put forth the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims on the basis of two nation theory, from the official platform of the Muslim League.

Iqbal felt that the destiny of the Muslims lay in the formation of a state for themselves. He regarded the Muslims as an all-India minority and even called them a "nation." He was opposed to the unitary Indian nation on the plea that it would mean the domination by the majority. He felt that there was no future for the Muslims in a united India. As a staunch Muslim, he was apprehensive that the Hindu dominated polity may impede the cultural and religious development of the Muslim Community. Accordingly, he supported the Communal Award.

In the early 1930s, Iqbal became an advocate of the "consolidated North Western Indian Muslim State." This proposal had been put forward before the Nehru Committee as well. Later on, as President of the Muslim League session at Allahabad on 29 December, 1930 Iqbal said: "To base a constitution on the conception of a homogeneous India or to apply to India the principles dictated by British democratic sentiment is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war." In his opinion, the only way to peaceful India was a distribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. According to him, India is a land of many nations. In fact, "India is Asia in miniature," and there could be no peace in the country until the constituent elements got the opportunity of developing without breaking with the past. Hence, he proposed the formation of a consolidated Muslim state, He said: "I would like to see Punjab, North Western Frontier Province, Sind, Baluchistan amalgamated into a single state. The North Western Indian Muslims would thus possess the full opportunities of development within the body politic of India." Thus, he supported the demand for "a Muslim India within India" Later on, in a letter to Jinnah in 1937, he wrote: "To my mind the new constitution with its idea of a single federation is completely hopeless." The enforcement of the Shariat of Islam is impossible in the country without a free Muslim state. He, therefore, suggested that in order that Muslim India could solve her problems it would be necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim states with absolute majority. At the Lucknow session of 1937 he asked: why not the North-Western India and Bengal

be considered as nations entitled to self-determination as other nations are?" Thus, Iqbal is rightly considered to be the spiritual father of the Pakistan ideology. The ideology of Pakistan was conceived in its basic form in the speech of Iqbal at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League in 1930.

Iqbal believed that Islam is perfect and eternal as a guide for social and political life. He was however aware of the fact that the medieval spirit of Islam had rendered it useless to modem man. But he did not have sufficient courage to break with traditional Islam completely and to accept the spirit of modem science and socialism. With the result "his thought is replete with paradoxes and oscillates between modernity and antiquarianism. He failed to assimilate liberal forces and could not free himself from the mooring of tradition. His inconsistencies and contradictions make it difficult to regard him as a systematic thinker or a consistent philosopher. The story of Iqbal's thought represents the tragedy of a great genius.

2.3.4 MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH'S VIEWS ON NATIONALISM

Returning to India Jinnah resumed the leadership of the Muslim League with all seriousness. It was under his leadership that the Muslim League fought the elections of 1937. But to Jinnah's surprise, the League received nominal support from the Muslim masses, securing only 25 percent of Muslim seats. The disastrous performance of the Muslim League had a "traumatic effect on Jinnah". To illustrate its electoral debacle, it won 3 seats in Sind, only one in Punjab and none in North-West Frontier Province. In Bengal, however, it won a third of the Muslim Seats. In the opinion of B.R. Nanda, "it was this electoral disaster which seems to have driven Jinnah to use the dynamite of religious emotion for blasting his way to political influence and power." Again, the failure to reach an accommodation with the Indian National Congress in the formation of coalition governments further compelled him to reconsider his strategy. Besides, he was greatly alarmed by the Congress policy of Muslim mass contact formulated after the 1937 elections. Furthermore, "the difficulties he had faced since 1937 in rallying support in the Muslim majority provinces and in challenging their parliamentarianism had forced Jinnah to cast his demands in communal terms'". This is how his Muslim nationalism eclipsed his Indian nationalism.

Jinnah's entire strategy now was aimed at getting the Muslim League accepted as the sole representative of the Muslims of India. In 1939, he put forward the claim of the Muslim League for a fifty-fifty share of political power between Muslim India and non-Muslim India. In 1940, Jinnah formulated his two-nation theory, pointing out that it was impossible to establish in India that bond of homogeneity which is the foundation of Western democracy. Hence, a federal constitution of Dominion type would not suit India. Thus, by 1940 he had become a fervent advocate of the two-nation theory, though he was not its author. But Jinnah did give an ideological and religious tinge to the two-nation theory.

In 1944, in course of Gandhi-Jinnah talks, he fanatically stuck to the concept that the Muslims are a nation. In one of his letters to Gandhi, in September 1944 he wrote: "We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindus are two major nations by any definition or test as a nation. We are a nation of a hundred million and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinct culture and civilization, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclatures, sense of value and proportion, aptitudes and ambitions. In short, we have our distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation. By this time, Jinnah had become absolutely uncompromising, and he insisted that Pakistan was the sole solution to Hindu-Muslim differences. In 1944 he again said: "There is only one practical realistic way of resolving Hindu-Muslim differences and this is to divide India into two sovereign parts.

2.3.4.1 FROM A NATIONALIST TO A COMMUNALIST

In his early phase of political career, Jinnah was an ardent nationalist in the non-denominational sense of the term. In fact, he was the most secular of all Muslim leaders until 1936, and cherished the principle of nationalism, democracy, secularism and the unity of the country in this phase. To be exact, right up to mid-thirties he proudly proclaimed that he was "Indian first and a Muslim second". But how an ardent nationalist became a hard-headed communalist is a pestering question. The following reasons may be attributed to this change in Jinnah's outlook':

2.3.4.2 Difference with Congress Leaders

With Gandhi's emergence on the political scene Jinnah felt that his importance would gradually diminish in the Indian National Congress. He felt that he was cheated of destiny, for Gandhi was where he would have been. Whereas Jinnah was pompous and believed in faultlessly tailored suits and high collars, Gandhi was an embodiment of simplicity. Again, Jinnah was a believer in practical and constitutional politics, whereas Gandhi believed in agitational politics and adopted the technique of Satyagraha, non-cooperation and civil disobedience. As such, the two could not pull on well together. Jinnah also did not like another great contemporary and a rival — Jawaharlal Nehru. To Jinnah, Nehru like Gandhi had overshadowed him in freedom movement. It was unbearable to him. Same Nehru almost hated and could not stand Jinnah on account of his arrogance, pomposity and lack of decency.

When Jinnah found that he had lost the leadership of the Congress he began to seek another platform where his leadership was unassailable. He found the League a proper forum for domination to satisfy his lust for acquiring and asserting supremacy. Jinnah was a domineering man, whose reversion to Indian politics in 1934- 35 prepared him to the needs and the characteristics of his people, a community looking for a great saviour who had proposed to unify the community and bring early glory of Islam.

2.3.4.3 Leadership Question at the Round Table Conferences

His vanity was hurt when he was not chosen to represent the Muslim community at the Second and Third Round Table Conferences as he was not considered a true representative of the Muslim community. Hence, he now began to cover himself in a communal coat.

Jinnah got undue importance in the last decade of the freedom struggle. His ego was given a great boost when Gandhi went to him for talks in 1944 and addressed him as" Quaid-i-Azam". The British bureaucracy also did the same by standing behind him on all issues and by conniving at his obstinacy. All this made him uncompromising.

But it is to be noted that as late as 1936 Jinnah took a liberal communalist position. At Lahore (March 1936) he said: "My role and only object has been the welfare of my country. I assure you that India's interest is and will be sacred to me and nothing

will make me budge an inch from that position." But Jinnah was greatly alarmed by the Congress policy of Muslim mass contact formulated after the 1937 elections. Further, the failure to an accommodation with the Congress forced him to reconsider his strategy.

It is interesting to note that Jinnah's political career spanned all the phases of communalism: communal nationalism, liberal communalism and extreme communalism. "Once the basic digits of communal ideology are accepted, the ideology takes over a person bit by bit, independent of the subjective desire of the person." This is how a person who started as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity and strongly stood for national unity ended by demanding partition of the country. The logic of communalism, thus, asserted itself and transformed Jinnah into, first from a nationalist into a communal nationalist and, then into a liberal communalist. But it is worth noting that until the elections of 1937 Jinnah stuck to his semi-nationalist, liberal communalist politics. But after the elections he became an extreme communalist However, he tried (though unsuccessfully) to revert to a liberal phase in independent Pakistan as his speech on 11 August 1947 shows. But, it was too late for him to back-out from his ill-conceived notion of two nations.

2.3.4.4 CREATION OF PAKISTAN — JINNAH'S ROLE

Jinnah is commonly considered the creator of Pakistan. In some quarters, it is believed that had there been no Jinnah there would have been no Pakistan. Some writers even believe that Pakistan was Jinnah's off-spring. To Frank Moraes, "Pak was one man's achievement. If Jinnah had not taken upon himself to lead a crusade for an Islamic "Land of the Pure," it is problematical whether Pakistan would have been established." In the opinion of Sharful Mujahid, "Jinnah's presence was necessary at least as far as the calendar date of Pakistan's emergence was concerned." Endorsing his views, Ishaq Hussain Qureshi in 'Struggle for Pakistan' says, "Though without Jinnah Pakistan would have come but it would have been delayed by decades." According to S.R. Mehrotra, "Jinnah became both the architect and the symbol of the alliance between Muslim separatism and the Muslim will to rule the Muslim majority provinces."[10] Most of the writers concur that but for his unflinching stand against all offers of concession within a united India there would have been no Pakistan.

But it appears from the above statements that undue credit has been given to Jinnah for the creation of Pakistan, for, as Hemshaw maintains: "The character of the leader and the circumstances of his time are equally crucial in the shaping of events at any given point of time." The destinies of nations are molded by the inner-most urges and their determination to achieve the purpose. But if they fail to provide a leader of necessary ability and stamina they may be frustrated. In view of Moin Shakir, "the formation of Pakistan cannot be regarded as just the result of the ambitions and intrigues of selfish leaders like Jinnah. Such a view could leave out of account the larger impersonal forces without the aid of which the results of such magnitude would be impossible."" According to Akbar Ahmed, "Pakistan has been the fulfilment of the collective wish of the Muslims of the subcontinent for their own homeland.

It is worth mentioning in this context that much before Jinnah there were three others who created the necessary atmosphere for fostering separatism. Sir Syed started the Aligarh Movement, the rallying point for Islamic revivalists and Aligarh professors prepared the two- nation theory and submitted it to Jinnah. Iqbal provided theoretical justification for a separate homeland. To Rahmat Ali goes the credit for coining the word PAKISTAN, and above all there was an organized political platform the Muslim League. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the Muslim League minus Jinnah could not have amounted to a great deal. In fact, Muslim League became both the agent and the index of Muslim resurgence during 1937-47 because of Jinnah. The irresistible demand for Pakistan and the solidarity of the Indian Muslims behind that demand were creations of the "decade of destiny" (1937-47) alone and supremely the creation of one man-Jinnah. But it is worth noting that it was not until the elections of 1945-46 that Jinnah could effectively stake his claim that the vast majority of the Muslims supported his demand for Pakistan.

2.3.5 EXERCISE

1. Discuss the political and social ideas of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan with special reference to the Nationalist Movement.

2. Make a fair assessment of Muhammad Iqbal's views on Nationalism and Islamic Humanism.

3. In his early phase of political career, Jinnah was an ardent nationalist; discuss how Jinnah got converted from a Nationalist to a communalist.

2.4 ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSE : E V RAMASWAMY NAICKER AND RABINDRANATH TAGORE

- S. S. Narang & V. Nagendra Rao

STRUCTURE

2.4.0 Objectives

2.4.1 Introduction

2.4.2 Jyotirao Govindrao Phule

2.4.2.1 Phule's Ideas on Social Justice and Equality

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2.4.3 Ramaswamy Naicker and Nation

2.4.3.1 Naicker in Indian National Congress

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2.4.3.3 The Self-Respect Movement

2.4.3.4 Anti-Hindi Movement

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2.4.4 Rabindranath Tagore

2.4.4.1 Tagore's Critique of Nationalism

2.4.4.2 Tagore and Indian Nationalism

2.4.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the alternative discourses on nation and how they are questioning the mainstream ideas on nation and nationalism

- Know Jyotirao Phule's ideas on social justice and equality, his fight against oppression and his main political ideas;

- Comprehend Tagore's views on nationalism, his concept of freedom, and his opinions on Indian nationalism.

2.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The 'alternative discourse', as a collective term refers to the set of discourse that had emerged in opposition to what it understands to be mainstream, essentially the western constructs in social sciences. What is being defined as alternative is often considered to be relevant to its surroundings, creative, non-imitative and original, non-essentialist, counter-Eurocentric, autonomous from the state, and autonomous from other national or transnational groupings. In the current lesson, you will study about such alternative discourse on nation as provided by Jyothiba Phule, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker and Rabindranath Tagore.

2.4.2 JYOTIRAO GOVINDRAO PHULE

A prominent social reformer, a renowned activist, a great thinker and above all a noble 'Soul', Jyotirao Govindrao Phule did his best to bring in positive changes in the spheres of education, agriculture, caste system, social position of women, etc. in the 19th century. He is admired and remembered for his selfless service to educate women and low caste people. Respectfully addressed as "Mahatma", he led a movement against the existing caste structure, revolted against the domination of the Brahmins, and fought for the rights of the peasants and others belonging to low castes. He was the first Hindu to set up an orphanage for the unfortunate children.

2.4.2.1 Phule's Ideas on Social Justice and Equality

Phule strongly felt that all the problems of *dalits* could be solved if right and proper education was provided to them and education was the key to their survival, success and enlightenment. He had also a strong conviction that women should have voice in the society, power to influence the decision-making process and revolt against injustice, deprivation and exploitation. His stress on women education impelled him to establish in 1848 the first girls' school in India. His wife, who was educated by him, played a key role in this regard.

His efforts in making the *dalits* and women educated and conscious of their rights were strongly condemned and denounced by orthodox Brahmins. Furious at his activities, they accused him of vitiating the norms and regulations of the society. Many considered him to be an agent acting on behalf of the Christian missionaries. Firm, outrageous and fearless, Jyotirao remained committed to his goal. Interestingly, he was strongly supported by some Brahmin friends. But for them, his 'Movement' might not have been successful.Criticizing and condemning the attitudes of orthodox Brahmins and others belonging to upper castes, he called them 'hypocrites' and campaigned against them for their authoritarianism and urged upon the peasants and 'proletariat' to defy the restrictions imposed upon them.

In 1851, Jyotirao established another girls' school. He also set up a number of schools for girls and an indigenous school for the lower castes, especially the *Mahars* and *Mangs*. Moved by the plight of the poor widows and their children, he established an orphanage in 1854 to provide shelter to them. In fact, it provided shelter to many young widows belonging to upper castes.

Jyotiba felt that a new society or social system could be created to ensure liberty, equality, freedom, rights, fraternity, etc. and this could be possible only when blind beliefs and superstitions were given up. The old social system which encouraged and protected old, obsolete blind beliefs and superstitions, should be replaced by a new one having strong faith in those phenomena which were rational. He condemned things like belief in astrology, fate, rituals, sacredness, Godmen, etc. as these were absurd and irrational. To him, religious books and sacred texts were never created by God. It would be better if those were analysed scientifically but not accepted

blindly. These should not be followed without any proper analysis. He criticized the priests as they were solely responsible for all kinds of social evils and social disorder.

To him, God never wrote the Texts (religious scripts). If at all He wrote, why did He write in Sanskrit, a language which was understood only by few people in India? He further asked: if there was only one God, who created this entire world which is diverse? It was one's ignorance and prejudice that made him to believe that Scriptures and Texts were divine-oriented. All religions were man-made and all Texts written by men and the intention behind such writing was to perpetuate the blind beliefs and keep the 'Shudras' and other backward people under their (authors') control. Every Text, every Scripture, every Religion has a value system. But it is purely temporary in nature. It loses its relevance, validity and importance in due course of time. It is not universal. Religion, an instrument for exploitation, a paradise for Brahmins, could be interpreted in any way by them. And their interpretation was final. It was certainly ridiculous. It was not religion, but removal of economic exploitation that mattered.

2.4.2.2 PHULE'S FIGHT AGAINST OPRESSION

Jyotirao strongly believed that Brahmins were solely responsible for all kinds of social oppression and suppression in the society. The laws were made in such a manner that it helped them to 'enslave' the 'Shudras'. Disgusted with the existing laws and regulations, he formed the Satya Shodhak Samaj (Society of Seekers of Truth) on 24 September 1874 to set the 'Shudras' free from the domination of the Brahmins. He became its first President and Treasurer. Any one could be a member of it. As a result, some Jews also were its members. In 1878, its strength was 316. In 1868, Jyotirao decided to construct a common tank outside his house for common man's bath. He also wished to dine with all regardless of their caste.

After the formation of the Samaj, his wife Savitribai became the head of the women's section which included ninety female members. She also taught tirelessly the girls. Deenabandhu Publication, the mouthpiece of the Samaj, played an important role in its Movement. After the demise of Jyotiba in 1890, his sincere and devoted followers spread the message of the Movement in the remotest parts of Maharashtra. Shahu Maharaj, the ruler of Kolhapur Princely State, gave a lot of financial assistance to the Samaj. As a non-Brahmin party, it dedicated itself to the cause of *dalits,* women, etc. and made tremendous efforts to remove superstitions.

A dedicated and devoted 'Soul', Phule spent his whole life to uplift *dalits*. He laid the foundation of a new society where there would be no more exploitation, humiliation and torture against any one, particularly the *dalits* and the women. He ignited the spark, lit the fire that started engulfing the whole society. It enkindled a passion for a new social order that would protect equality, liberty and rights of every *dalit*. His relentless revolt against arrogance, and meanness of the Brahmins made him a 'Mahatma'. A significant figure in the social reform movement, he developed an impeccable sense of social justice. He was not critical of British rule in India as it gave India a new notion of social justice. A pioneer of anti-caste movement, he was the first *dalit* to start a chain of girls schools at Pune in 1850s. Founder of a fondling home to take care of unwanted children, he set up a shelter home for neglected widows and an orphanage for the poor women. Opposed to child marriage and 'Sati' system, he favoured widow remarriage. Because of his contributions to the upliftment of the *dalits*, poor, women, destitute, orphans, widows, etc. he became a legend and pioneer of social transformation and *dalit* liberation in is lifetime.

Opposing idolatry, denouncing the *Chaturvamya* system (caste system), propounding rational thinking and rejecting the need of a Brahmin priestly class as educated and religious leaders, Jyotirao did not regard the Vedas as sacrosanct. Phule called Shivaji a 'destroyer' of Muslims who were a degenerative force like the Brahmins. The True inhabitants of India were the Astiks but not the Brahmins. The latter were outsiders to Hindustan. He did not like the castists of Tamil Nadu using Rama as a symbol of oppression of Aryan conquest.

Some of India's first modem feminists were closely associated with Phule. They were: his wife Savitribai Phule; Pandita Ramabai, a Brahmin lady who created a sensation in the liberal reforms movement; Tarabai Shide. a non- Brahmin who wrote a book on gender inequality; and Muktibai, a fourteen year old baby girl, who became famous for writing an essay on social oppression of the Mang and Mahar castes. It is because of his popularity, place and position in the society, the Crawford Market in Mumbai and an agricultural institution are named after him. The latter is called Mahatma Phule Krishi Vidyapeeth set up in Rahuri in Ahmednagar district of Maharashtra.

2.4.2.3 Phule's Political Ideas

Mahatma Jyotiba Phule's political ideas are closely connected with his social ideas. Phule believed British raj is not a curse but a boon. It is better than Peshwa's raj. British established rule of law, equality of laws. The new rulers opened the opportunities in education. He hoped that the new government which believes in equality between man and man would emancipate lower castes from the domination of the Brahmins. He welcomed the British rule as 'Divine Dispensation' for he viewed it as God's instrument to rescue the oppressed from the clutches of Brahman demos. Phule raised the question that what do you mean by independence of the country? Freedom means political freedom? Freedom means upper caste freedom only. After independence will upper caste allowed shudras for equal rights? Though Phule preferred British rule, he was aware of shortcomings of the former and he never hesitated to point them out openly. Thus Phule was committed not to the Britishers but for the justice and equality of downtrodden. Phule's criticism of the British government emanated out of his concern for the welfare and the status of the lower castes.

In short, it may be said that Mahatma Jyotiba Phule questioned the existing social order, brahminical surpremacy and contributed heavily for the liberation of women and shudras from the control of religious vested interests. He believed in the equality of men and women. For Phule equality in the society was meaningless without equality of man and woman in the family. He believed in overthrowing the social system in which man has been deliberately made dependent on others, illiterate, ignorant and poor, with a view to exploiting him.

Jyothiba Phule remained inspirational for various others in bringing necessary changes in the social and economic fields of India. Dr. Babasaheb Bhim Rao Ambedkar, first law minister of the Republic of India and the architect of Indian Constitution was inspired by his noble work towards humanity and he followed the philosophy of Phule based upon justice, equality, liberty and fraternity. Jyotiba Phule 's philosophy of education, human rights, women empowerment, socio-political and religious ideas remain relevant and still inspire several people in their fight against the man made disparities and the discriminations in Indian Nation.

2.4.3 RAMASWAMY NAICKER AND NATION

E.V. Ramaswai Naicker (1879-1973) who is fondly called as Periyar, by the followers of his philosophy is known for the Self Respect Movement of the *Dravidian Movement*. He is also the founder of the socio-cultural organization, Dravida Kazhagam. Periyar propagated the principles of rationalism, self-respect, women's rights and eradication of caste. He opposed the exploitation and marginalization of the non-Brahmin indigenous Dravidian people of South India and the imposition of, what he considered, Indo-Aryan India. Thus, he proposed the creation of an independent state called **Dravidanad** comprising South India.

2.4.3.1 NAICKER IN INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The non-Brahmin members of the Tamil Nadu Branch of the Congress Organization formed the Madras Presidency Association in 1917. It was formed to represent and safeguard the non-Brahmin interests in the national organization and at the same time, to repudiate the claims of the Justice Party to be the sole representative of the non-Brahmin community in the Madras Presidency. However, the immediate aim of the Association at that time was to place before Edwin S. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, a scheme of reforms that would give non-Brahmins full communal representation in the legislature. Naicker, who attended the inaugural meeting of the Association, was in full agreement with its aims, and particularly its efforts to secure representation for non-Brahmins in public bodies. Naicker viewed such efforts for representation of non-Brahmins as inspired by the need for social justice. Brahmin domination in liberal and civil services added a further sharpness to such demand for social justice in the Madras Presidency.

Indian National Congress' plans for the liberation of the country appealed to him. Especially its efforts to raise the condition of the masses and remove untouchability and prohibition impressed him. As the Congress held views similar to his own on social reforms, he felt it could bring about a new social order in the Presidency of Madras and joined the Indian National Congress 1919. Naicker participated wholeheartedly in the non-cooperation movement, in the temperance campaign and in the campaign launched to replace foreign cloth by the progressive use of Khaddar, i.e. home spun cloth. Naicker fully endorsed Gandhiji's calls for boycott not only of

legislatures but also of local taluk board elections. In 1921 he felled all the revenue fetching toddy trees and lost permanent income. In this he showed he would go to the extreme of keeping principle above all other considerations. In the same year he organized picketing before arrack and toddy shops. In 1922 Periyar was elected as the president of the Madras Presidency Congress in its Tirupur session. In the same session, he advocated for reservation in government job and education. Several of his attempts were defeated in the party essentially due to the strong indifference and discrimination by the upper caste. Disillusioned, eventually he left the party in 1925. During his congress days he actively participated in Vaikom Satyagraha and and kept questioning the brahminical supremacy tooth and nail. Hence they require a special mention.

2.4.3.2 Vaikom Satyagrha (1924-25)

Vaikom was in the princely state of Travancore. Persons of low social status were not permitted to use the road near the temple in that place. To protest against such inequality in society and to maintain the right of untouchables to use the roads and the temples, the Congress members in Travancore launched a Satyagraha with Gandhiji's permission. But the Travancore State swiftly arrested them. Before their arrest, they appealed to EVR, then the President of TNCC to take over the leadership of the Satyagraha. EVR arrived in Travancore and made provocative speeches against the Gods and Brahmins. The Vaikom Satyagraha revealed the positions EVR and conservative sections in the society, held on the question of untouchability. EVR launched his agitation on principle but he could not foresee the reaction of the conservatives. He could not recognize that the age- old practice of untouchability could not be eradicated by one satyagraha or violent speeches against Gods. It had to be fought at every level over a long period without communal colour.

At Congress funded Gurukulam at Shermadevi, in Tirunelvelly District, non-Brahmin boys were forced to eat apart from the Brahmins. This issue agitated the minds of the Congressmen but they were not able to intervene in the Gurukulam affairs. At the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee meet in Trichinapally, a compromise resolution was agreed by which the committee recommended that all organisations partaking in the national movement should shun all gradations of merit based on birth. Ramaswamy Naicker himself agreed with the resolution. He said that if the country was not yet

prepared to accept this state of affairs, it was the duty of the non-Brahmins to create public opinion which was receptive to their rights.

Failure to settle the issue of the Gurukulam, widened the rift between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins in the Congress. Even efforts made by Naicker and another individual with the mandate from the TNCC to dispense with the communal restrictions failed to produce results. Naicker whose criticisms so far were directed against the social evils and Brahmin domination in the bureaucracy, now directed charges against the Congress organization itself.

Naicker was of the view that the Brahmin question should be settled even while the British supremacy lasted in the country. Otherwise non-Brahmins would have to suffer under "the tyranny of Brahmanocracy", he said. White this question opened a rift between the Congress and Naicker in the Tamil Nadu Congress, two other issues completed it. They were the question of communal representation and the controversy with Gandhiji on Varnashram Dharma. On communal representation, Naicker held the view that in a society marked by caste hierarchy, representation of Brahmins only in bureaucracy and other liberal professions would mean only consolidation of caste hierarchy in society. A majority of non-Brahmins were denied access to economic and political benefits. He said that non-Brahmins would remain low in social hierarchy. To lift them he suggested communal representation for them. Brahmins were in the national organization only to further their own political interests rather than to strive for the independence of the country. He' contended that Brahmin leaders on account of their vested interests were opposed to any measure that sought to improve the political fortunes of a majority of the non-Brahmin community. Naicker held very strong views against four-fold division of caste hierarchy in the Indian society. He joined the Congress for its lofty ideals and goals, one of which was the abolition of untouchability. His fight against it at Vaikom was by itself a vigorous agitation. Moreover, the Justice Party's formation was itself a revolt against Brahmans and Varnashrama dharma. Unfortunately, Mahatma Gandhi expressed his firm belief in Varnashrama dharma on at Cuddalore. He appealed to the non-Brahmins that in their anger 'against Brahmins, non-Brahmins should not wreck 'the system of Varnashrama dharma, which is the main basis of Hinduism. However, he stoutly rejected the notion of higher and low status attached to the system of Varnashrama

dharma and suggested that neither the ban on intermarriage nor that on inter dining was desirable.

However to many non-Brahmins in the Tamil region, Varnashrama dharma could mean the superiority of Brahmins over the rest of the population. Naicker was very condemning of Varnashrama dharma. He considered that it included the relegation of all the non-Brahmin castes Hindus to the position of Shudras in the Tamil region. He felt that if each caste were to follow their own Dharma, non-Brahmins would be forced to serve the Brahmins. Should we think of ourselves as Shudras or we accept ourselves as sons of prostitutes, he lamented.

Naicker even met Gandhi in September 1927 with a view to modify Gandhi's stand on varnashrama dharma. He expressed his deep concern over Gandhi's statements and pointed out that this only strengthened the orthodox Hindu position on the question of untouchability and child marriage, the two evils against which Gandhi himself was fighting.

2.4.3.3 The Self- Respect Movement

The propagation of the philosophy or self respect became a full time activity for Periyar since 1925. Towards this he started a Tamil weekly *Kudi Arasu* (People's Government) started in 1925 and an English journal **Revolt** essentially to reach the English reading people. Eventually these two became the mouthpieces of the Self-Respect Movement specially directed at certain non-Brahmin groups.

The Self-Respect Movement had its target the Brahminical traditions, on a number of occasions, the Manusmriti was burnt. Certain characters in the puranas were changed. For instance, Ravana in the Valmiki's *Ramayana* was held up as the hero and be an ideal of good Dravidian conduct. Rama was seen as a wicked and unjust Aryan. Attack of this kind on Hindu scriptures and its symbols, however, were, criticized even by non-Brahmin leaders apart from Brahmins. But their criticisms did not have any impact on the Self-Respect Movement's tone. The propaganda of the Self-Respect Movement continued and even grew sharper. Songs about self-respect leaders were printed and distributed and pamphlets were issued to explain the movement's aims.

The most important of the early activities of the Self-Respect Movement was the convening of the first Provincial Self-Respect Conference at Chingleput on February 17, 1929. The conference proceedings reflected its strong egalitarian bias and its determination to boycott Brahmin priests, its desire to attract young people and women and above all its commitment to what it considered to be Dravidian civilization. The new programme envisaged the formation of different wings. It was confirmed belief of the movement that *Kudi Arasu,* which not only propagated the ideology of the movement, but also carried on practical activities. It went on strengthening the true freedom for India would be achieved only with the destruction of Indian National Congress, Hinduism and Brahminism. This extreme step pushed Naicker to support even the statutory Simon Commission which was boycotted by the Congress. He went to the extent of criticizing the Civil Disobedience campaign of Mahatma Gandhi as well.

The movement which is dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidianist past denied the superiority of the Brahmins and their implicit faith in the present system. The movement sought to drastically change the present social system and establish a living bond of union among all the people irrespective of caste or creed, including the untouchables. One of the essential points was a denial of the of Hinduism by which the non Brahmins were made victims of the Brahmins. Since the Brahmin was seen as a leader of the social and religious life of Tamil Nadu, he became the prime target of 'Self-Respect' attacks.

The Movement concentrated entirely on the Tamil Districts. It covered primarily the groups low in the social hierarchy like Vanniya, Kula, Kshatriyas and the untouchables. Naicker's efforts were also directed at women and young people. Because of the directness of contact and simplicity of message, the illiterate and semi-educated in the rural areas turned to the movement. This was a new development in Tamil Nadu politics. The Justice Party, which claimed to be the sole representative of the non-Brahmins, did not bother to cover these groups. In fact the leadership of the Justice Party was drawn from the landowning groups and attempted to cover the middle classes and landowning classes.

A Special bond was developed within the body of Self-Respect League Samadharma (Communist) Party of South India. Both aimed at achieving political independence

for the country through constitutional methods, amelioration of the condition of the industrial and the agricultural labourers and working with redoubled vigour for the original aims of the Self-Respect Movement. These aims of the Movement were termed as the Erode Programme.

2.4.3.4 ANTI-HINDI MOVEMENT

In the Legislative Council elections, the Congress won a sufficient number of the seats to form a government and C. Rajagopalachari became premier of the Madras Presidency. In accordance with the Congress policy, he announced to the Press that Hindi would be introduced as a compulsory course of study in the school curriculum for the first three years. The decision to introduce Hindi in the Madras Presidency ignored the linguistic differences between the North and the South and overlooked the strong currents of regionalism which were themselves an out of the cultural revivalism that had taken place half a century ago. But the political awakening that was brought about was created in their mother tongue, i.e. Tamil.

There were two main reasons for the Tamil scholars' opposition to Hindi. First, the introduction of Hindi meant to them the revival of Sanskrit — a language which they traditionally opposed. Secondly, the mother tongue was not a compulsory subject in the curriculum in those days and many passed out of the schools without knowledge of the Dravidian tongue. Therefore, they argued that the introduction of Hindi in the schools without making the mother tongue also a compulsory subject was a deliberate attempt to relegate the Dravidian languages to the background.

These genuine fears were ignored and Hindi was introduced in April 1938 in the schools. Agitations and demonstrations were launched against Hindi. Meanwhile the leaders of the Self-Respect Movement organised a march from Trichinapally to Madras in order to strengthen public opinion in favour of the anti-Hindi movement. The most important feature of the anti-Hindi movement was the participation of a large number of women in the agitation. Naicker asked the women participants to fight against "Hindi Imperialism". He appealed to the women to protect the mother tongue 'from the onslaught of an Aryan and alien language'. After his speeches, a large number of women came to participate in the anti-Hindi movement and many of them were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment for picketing schools.

2.4.3.5 Demand for Dravidnad

Naicker's opposition to the Congress did not rest with the anti- Hindi alone. It was extended to raise demand for a separate Tamil Nadu called Dravidianad. To some extent this demand was the culmination of a separate identity kept up over for about 50 years. The writings of the western writers, besides contributing to Tamil revivalism also fostered a sense of new identity of Dravidianism. But Naicker gave a political dimension to a hazy identity, by passing a resolution at the Executive Committee of The Justice Party in 1940. He expressed his views that the concept of a Tamil nation was nothing new but had been popularised since the inception of the Justice Party. The concept had manifested itself as a political credo only in 1937 when the political Brahmins under the aegis of the Congress threatened his goal. The nationalist press like the Swadesamitran criticized his demand as "mischievous" and "dangerous". Despite that he carried on his propaganda. He supported the demand of the Muslim League for partition. He also supported nation Jinnah's two nation theory, advocating reasons for establishing a separate Muslim nation. He conceded and upheld the Muslim demand as the only solution for them to live harmoniously in a nation dominated by themselves and not by Aryan Brahmins. The League's role in the politics of the nation, Naicker said, was not to disrupt national unity; it was to defend the right and privileges of the Muslims and all the other minorities in the country.

To sum up, Naicker represented the new emerging forces in Tamil Society. He was a stout follower of Gandhian methods of struggle against the colonial power. But on the question of communal representation and varanashrama dharma, he differed from the Congress and Gandhiji and even left the Congress. The Self-Respect Movement was a new development and was a revolt against the artificial division of society into varnas. The Movement attracted the masses that were hitherto untouched and claimed to fight against social evils like untouchability. The more enduring aspect of the Movement was the elevation of Tamil language and Tamil culture. Some of the caste rigidities were removed and representation of non-Brahmin communities in services for which Naicker fought consistently was secured.

The Movement had also negative features. It uncritically assimilated the racial theories propounded by foreign scholars. It saw inequality in society in terms of

Brahmin contrivance and dominance. This communal outlook led him to call the Congress and the national movement as Brahmin dominated. He even went to the extreme extent of siding with the Muslim League and raising the demand for Dravidianad. But he maintained throughout that he was not against Brahmins but was against Varnashrama dharma, and Brahmins' claim to superiority.

2.4.4 RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), the first non-European to win the Nobel Prize. Much of his writings deal with the problems of national belonging. His negotiation with the politics of his time was particularly complex. Tagore participated in Indian Nationalist movement in his own non-sentimental and visionary way, however, it was a fluctuated one, largely because of his ideological differences with the leaders of the Indian national Movement of the day. While Tagore was without a doubt, patriotic, his notion of freedom was not simply political, just a release from the British.

2.4.4.1 TAGORE'S CRITIQUE OF NATIONALISM

Before directly going into Tagore's views on nationalism and Indian Nationalism, it is important to take a note of how Tagore viewed the relation between the East and the West. Like all the leading intellectuals of his time, Tagore also was obliged to address the question of the relation between India and the West. Like his compatriots he began by believing in an essential dichotomy between the two cultures and, for a certain period of time, he talked of a spiritual East and the materialistic West. But there was an evolution in his understanding when he discovered for himself spirituality in Western civilization too. He located this spirituality in the West's dynamism and experimentation and its continuous pursuit of truth. Equally, he observed and critiqued the West's arrogant display of power but believed that it clashed with her 'inner ideal'. This criticism led to his controversial lectures on *Nationalism* in 1916 where he argued that the West's tremendous success in science and technology had led to dehumanization and an increasing greed for power.

Without dwelling so much into the debates on nationalism we will touch upon the concept briefly. Here it may be remembered, even though, cultural nationalism has prevailed since the beginning of society, nationalism as a political expression, " people sharing a common geographical boundary and some unifying cultural political

signifier is relatively new. Despite the fact that such nationalism has received world wide acceptance as the only legitimate form of political organization, Tagore did not express an iota of positivity towards such nationalism as it was a constructed modelled with certain utilitarian objectives. Scholars like Ernest Gellner, attribute the emergence of "nationalism" to the rise of industrial-capitalism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The epochal shift of human society from pre-industrial to industrial economies, he argues, set up the conditions required for the creation of larger social units and economies that would be culturally 'homogenous' and cooperative as workforce, thus paving the way for the formation of the more complex and intricate social organization of the nation-state. Effectively, the expansion of the workforce and the market made the earlier pre-industrial, tribal societies and their structures both inadequate and obsolete. Having and expressing similar kind of view point Tagore makes his severe critique of nationalism.

Thus for Tagore, Nationalism was essentially a western construct, and it is not a spontaneous self-expression of man as social being, where human relationships are *naturally* regulated, so that men can develop ideals of life in co-operation with one another, but rather a political and commercial union of a group of people, in which they congregate to maximize their profit, progress and power; it is the organized self-interest of a people, where it is least human and least spiritual. Tagore deemed nationalism a recurrent threat to humanity, because with its propensity for the material and the rational, it trampled over the human spirit and human emotion; it upset man's moral balance, obscuring his human side under the shadow of soul-less organization.

Tagore also found the fetish of nationalism a source of war, hatred and mutual suspicion between nations. Tagore argued that British colonialism found its justification in the ideology of nationalism, as the colonizer came to India and other rich pastures of the world to plunder and so further the prosperity of their own nation. They were never sincere in developing colonized countries/nations, as to convert their hunting grounds into cultivated fields would have been contrary to their national interest. Like predators, they thrived by victimizing and violating other nations, and never felt deterred in their heinous actions by the principles of love, sympathy or universal fellowship. The logic is simple but cruel, and is sustained by a privileging norm, that in order to have rich and powerful nations, some nations ought to be left

poor and pregnable, because this civilization is the civilization of power, therefore it is exclusive, it is naturally unwilling to open its sources of power to those whom it has selected for its purposes for exploitation. By its very nature as an organization, Tagore argued, nationalism could ill afford any altruism in this regard.

This way, Tagore called into question both the constructed aspect of nationalism, which stifled the innate and instinctive qualities of the human individual, and its overemphasis on the commercial and political aspects, at the expense of man's moral and spiritual qualities. Both of these limitations reduced nationalism to an incomplete, monolithic and unipolar ideology—essentially inadequate for human beings given to an inherent multiplicity and seeming contraries, that needed to be unified and synthesized, through a process of soulful negotiation and striking of an axial line between opposites, to create the whole and wholesome person.

2.4.4.2 TAGORE AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

The Nation, Tagore considered with all its paraphernalia of power and prosperity, its flags and pious hymns, its blasphemous prayers in the churches, and the literary mock thunders of its patriotic bragging, cannot hide the fact that the Nation is the greatest evil for the Nation. Hence, he fiercely opposed to India joining the bandwagon of nationalism. In his understanding, such a thing would compromise India's history and identity as a culture and bring it under the shadow of the West. He warned that as Indians, 'we must make up their minds that we cannot borrow other people's history and that if we stifle our own we are committing suicide. When you borrow things that do not belong to your life, they only serve to crush your life. I believe that it does India no good to compete with Western civilization in its own field. India is no beggar of the West'.

Even though, Tagore was apolitical in nature, when the *Swadeshi* movement started at his doorstep in 1905 as a response to the British policy of partitioning Bengal, he was drawn towards the movement and started giving lectures and writing patriotic songs with great fervor. However, when he noticed the movement turning violent against innocent civilians especially the Muslims, who were in favour of partition, Tagore found it difficult to accept the violence and all kinds of loss happening around; he withdrew from the swadeshi movement. Tagore's withdrawal was seen as a

betrayal by many of the nationalists, but nothing could alter his decision. Tagore's experiences of violence, hijack of the movement by Bengali Bhadroloks (elites) and their vested interests found expression in his novels *The Home and the World* and *Four Chapters.*

It would be appropriate to mention that Tagore was a precursor of Gandhi in many ways and it was Tagore who gave Gandhi the title 'Mahatma' to Gandhi and in return Gandhi treated Tagore as 'Gurudev'. Despite of such mutual respect for each other, Tagore stubbornly refused to support the national movement against the British rule led by Gandhi. However, it cannot be understood as Tagore's love for British rule. Rather, he lamented the impersonal rule of England in India where there was no accommodative communication and social, sympathetic relation between the rulers and the ruled. With all its faults, the Mughal Empire in India cultivated social relationships between the rulers and the subjects. But the British, partly out of fear and partly perhaps actuated by a sense of racial snobbery, maintained a great distance between themselves and the Indian people. The sensitive soul of Raindranath reacted against this unhealthy situation and he expressed deep hostility to the impersonal rule of England (here it may be recollected that Tagore was knighted by the ruling British government in 1915, but within a few years he resigned the honour as a protest against the British policies in India). Hence he stood for India's right to political freedom. He acutely pointed out that lack of political freedom degrades the moral fibre of the people. Thus, Tagore was a champion of India' right of self determination.

At the same time he also opined that political freedom and attainment of a nationalist identity by driving the British out was not the right solution for India's problems. He held the view that what India needed was not a blind revolution or the miracle of freedom built upon the quicksand of social slavery, but a purposeful education that leads to one's evolution and constructive work coming from one's self. The one similar to that of Europeans experienced during the Renaissance, which broke up the feudal system and the unreasonable controls of the Latin Church.

The history of India had a special message for Tagore. He saw it not so much as a synthesis, as is generally said, but as a 'mixture of ideas' and an 'interpenetration of opposites'. To him it was not the history of Aryans and non-Aryans, not the history of Hindus, nor a history of Hindus and Muslims taken together. He did not see the

coming of the British as an accidental intrusion. His essays written during 1898 and 1904 convey an intuitive sense of history. He distanced himself as much from the colonialist historiography as he did from a Hindu nationalist view of the past. Tagore believes that India's social civilization was founded on 'an adjustment of races, to acknowledge real differences between them, and yet to seek some basis of unity'.

Tagore maintained that India's immediate problems were social and cultural but not political. India being a miniature of the world where several religions and races are being accommodated, it is important to constantly strive to resolve the problems associated with this heterogeneity. As a part of it India must address the caste issue first. As the caste system has become too rigid and influencing the minds of the people even to resort to cold blooded repression, the need of the hour was to bring the people out of the trance of the religion. This only can demolish the immovable walls existing in the current society and help Indian society to regain its past vitality and provide people with true freedom. Otherwise there is no point in attaining political freedom in a country or society where the elites exploit the lower classes and untouchables. At the same he stressed on the necessity of cultivation of strength for the realization of rights, both by the individual and the group. He earnestly wanted that the exploited and destitute humanity of India should cultivate moral force for their regeneration and should refuse to be exploited. He wanted that the tenants should be conscious of their rights. To obtain one's right is long and difficult path of constructive suffering and patient self sacrifice he said.

Thus Tagore insists on racial and religious unity persistently in his writings. He hoped for the equal status of various races and religious groups. The day India achieves it would become a model of unity for the rest of the world. Tagore was of the view that such unity and plurality of consciousness could be achieved only through proper education of the people, eradication of poverty through modernization and cultivation of freedom of thought and imagination. He believed that freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth and it was education and not the adulation of the Charka which would liberate India from the tyranny of the tyranny of the past and the growing unreasoned misery and orthodoxy. To break the spell of stasis through intellectual or cultural revival and find freedom, India ought to keep itself open to the West and not become insular from the rest of the world through appropriation of provincial nationalism.

2.4.4.3 Tagore on Freedom and Free India

As a theorist of freedom, Tagore pleaded for liberty of thought and action and liberty of conscience. He reacted against all concentration of power. He loved the free autonomy of the human spirit. Freedom is the sole antidote to mechanical conventions, arbitrary and tyrannical laws, priestly prejudices, and narrow social creeds. He revolted, against the pretensions of all organized institutions which smother the power of the human individual. These exist to safeguard and interests of the individual; the individual does not exist for them.

Tagore, like Vivekananda and Aurobindo, has a spiritual conception of freedom. The essence of freedom is illumination of the soul by a process of self-realization. It lies in the attainment of universality. Hence love is the pathway to freedom. Aloofness creates maladjustment in the world. Sympathetic co-operation, compassion and trustful understanding bring to man the blessings of freedom through the development of his faculties. Only a spirit of sympathy and compassion can release the hidden power of spiritual union. Freedom is attained only through consciousness.

Tagore's vision of a free India—free from the fetters of materialism, nationalism as well as religious and racial orthodoxy—actively seeking a common destiny with the rest of mankind, constantly evolving towards a global society, is most ardently and expressly expressed in the following poem in *Gitanjali*,

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

Thus to conclude, Tagore rejected the western construct of nation and nationalism as artificial ones and attempted to offer a more inclusive concept. He wanted all human beings to be treated equally regardless of the country or nation to which they belonged. He also did not want barriers between people even within the same nation—the barriers of caste, race, and religion. It is not uncommon for a person to believe in the equality of all men, and yet to regard his or her own country in an exclusionist sense. However, Tagore's strong faith in man led him to an inclusive approach and propagate ideal of comprehensive social and cultural growth of India. He was able to shake off all shackles of traditional Hinduism, and arrive at a non-parochial and inclusive concept of India. As Mohammad A. Quayum rightly observes, Tagore's vision might seem idealistic but it is not unattainable. It calls for a humanitarian intervention into present self-seeking and belligerent nationalism, through the introduction of a moral and spiritual dimension in the institution. It also requires us to step out of history to reinvent a new future for ourselves that respects human dignity and sees every individual and nation as equals, in a true democratic spirit. The risks for us not to take up Tagore's trajectory are too high. The current form of nationalism that works rationally within a "lunatic" doctrinal framework is threatening our very survival. Violence is spreading around the world like virus. Our vast killing power is multiplying everyday with the introduction of yet more sophisticated ammunition in our arsenal.

2.4.5 EXERCISE

1. Keeping Jyothba Phule's social and political ideas in mind describe the kind of social transformations he wanted to see in Indian Society.

2. Briefly discuss various initiatives Phule took through Satya Sodhak Samaj.

3. Gove a brief note on Phule's work for Women Empowerment.

4. Depict Naicker's idea of Nation and discuss what made him to propagate for Dravidanad?

5. Discuss various circumstances that led to the initiation of Self Respect Movement by Naicker.

6. Discuss the role played by Naicker as a member of Indian National Congress.

7. What were the main reasons for Naicker leaving the Congress Party?

8. Write a brief note on Naicker's Anti-Hindi Movement.

9. Discuss Rabindranath's critique of Nation and Nationalism.

10. Discuss on Rabindranath's view of Indian Nationalism.

11. Explain why Tagore considered that India's' problems were social more than political and how he wanted those problems to be dealt?

12. Do you think the philosophy of Rabindranath practical in today's world?

13. Discuss Tagore's arguments for the synthesis between the West and the East.

3.1 M.K. GANDHI : SATYAGRAHA AND NON-VIOLENCE

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- **Nirmal Singh**
</div>

STRUCTURE

3.1.5   Let us Sum Up

3.1.6   Exercise

3.1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand influence of Gandhi's life and education on the evolution of his political ideas;

- Comprehend how philosophical ideas such as god, religion, human nature, ends and means influenced Gandhi's political ideas;

    Acquainted with Gandhi's major political ideas, viz. Satyagraha, Non-violence, State, Democracy, Sarvodaya, Trusteeship, etc.;

3.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Those who want to understand Gandhian thought must always keep certain things in mind. First of all, Gandhi was not a system builder in an academic sense. He was not a political philosopher. For all his sayings were pouring from his deep feelings and sincere realization of the truth. Without going into disputes, it can be agreed that he was not committed to any exclusive school of thought. His speech and pen had generally come from responses from particular situation. Gandhi even at the fag end of his life spoke of himself that he had never ceased to grow and therefore, he had been learning from 'Experiment with Truth'. Thus Gandhi had revised his opinions from time to time though his conceptual framework remained the same. He had not altered from his basics.

Gandhi's political thought stems from different traditions, Eastern and Western. Though he had inherited many traditions he had not agreed in to with any one of them. He had picked up many traditional concepts from his immediate predecessors as well as from ancient texts. Gandhi did never claim to be an original thinker. But when we look into all his sayings we find a conceptual framework, common to a philosopher. Moreover, when we find that his theoretical formulations and practical pursuits are identical, we have every reason to accept him as a philosopher in the Indian sense. But unlike other philosophers and political scientists of both the East

and the West, only he could emerge not only as the man of destiny of the nation but also as the man of the millennium.

3.1.2 LIFE AND EDUCATION

Mahatma Gandhi is one of the great figures of the twentieth century. Even though, Gandhi was not a political thinker, in the true sense of the term, it cannot be denied that the ideas propounded by him exercised profound influence on Indian Nationalist Movement between 1919 and 1947. Further, in a century marked by the excesses of Nazism and Communism, the struggles against Colonialism, and two World Wars, his thought shined like a beacon of hope across the borders. Gandhian philosophy is so comprehensive that it has left no aspect of human life untouched. In his philosophy there are very clear indications of his love for individual and national freedom. Gandhi was a great social reformer. He had a many sided personality with clear vision and definite approach to the problems which faced India of his time. Gandhi was a practical thinker and as such it has righty been said about him that he was a great karmayogi. Gandhi was one of those philosophers who believed in self sacrifice, Satyagraha or Non-cooperation. He believed that violence brought with it hatred and feelings of revenge where as in non-violence there was no such danger. The foundations for each tenet of his thought and philosophy could be traced in his childhood and the people that greatly inspired Gandhiji, in his early life.

Mahatma was born as Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi on October 2, 1869 in the Porbandar city of Gujarat, to Karamchand Gandhi, the diwan of Porbandar, and his wife, Putlibai. Since his mother was a Hindu of the Pranami Vaishnava order, Gandhi learned the tenets of non-injury to living beings, vegetarianism, fasting, mutual tolerance, etc. at a very tender age. Mohandas was married at the age of 13years to Kasturba Makhanji and had four sons. He passed the matriculation exam at Samaldas College of Bhavanagar. In the year 1888, Gandhi went to University College of London to study as a barrister. He came back to India after being called to the bar of England and Wales by Inner Temple. In 1893, he accepted a yearlong contract from an Indian firm to a post in Natal, South Africa. There, he faced racial discrimination directed at blacks and Indians. Such incidents provoked him to work towards social activism.

Gandhi's activities and his writings and in South Africa had made him a transnational celebrity. His first biography, *M. K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*, by Joseph J. Doke, a Baptist missionary-friend, was published in 1909, with an Introduction by Lord Ampthill, a former Governor of Madras and Acting Viceroy. This biography is still regarded as a classic of its kind. It was during these years he wrote **Hind Swaraj** or *Indian Home Rule* and this work is universally regarded as the key document to understand his philosophy. It becomes clear from this book, that although he was working in South Africa, his mind was really in India. The book, immediately banned from India, advocates that India must cease to be a colony and become instead an independent country; but it must do so, not by using violent methods of any kind, but only with the aid of the newly discovered nonviolent methods of Satyagraha.

The South African interlude played a crucial role in the shaping of many of Gandhi's ideas, among them:

- Satyagraha as a method of settling political and social conflicts;

- the need for a common secular, civic space, if religiously and ethnically divided India is to have internal peace and cohesion;

- the need to have an economic philosophy that gives due importance to work ethic, a simpler life style, individual initiative and concern for the common good, and concern for the worst off of society;

- the importance of the arts to lighten the burden of daily chores and enhance the joys of collective living.

As a young barrister, Gandhi returned to India on the eve of first world war and decided to extend full support to British Government in the hope that they would do justice to India after the war. Gandhi received personal guidance from Gokhale, whom he considers as his guru and mentor, the knowledge and understanding of India and the issues confronting common Indians By 1920, Gandhi emerged as the leader of the Indian Independence Movement marking the beginning of the Gandhian era of satyagraha or nonviolent politics in India and rest became the history. Finally the inspiring life of Mahatma Gandhi came to an end on January 30, 1948, when he

was shot by Nathuram Godse. His ideas and thought blended with practice remain highly relevant and continue to inspire people in several ways.

3.1.3 PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR GANDHI'S IDEAS

3.1.3.1 GOD

The fundamental basis of Gandhism is the conception of an omnipresent spiritual reality which can be called God or simple Truth. For Gandhi God is a self existent and this supreme absolute ever-present spirit of God is the starting point of Gandhian Thought.

Gandhi spoke of truth not only as an ethical category but as a supreme being of the highest quality. It is not only a value or ideal, but is the highest concrete reality. God as truth is the eternally infinite consciousness. The spiritual truth, according to Gandhi, was not to be realized by dialectical skill or abstract thinking but by spiritual experience obtained through pure and disciplined holy life and by practicing non-violence in one's actions. The wickedness of human heart is the greatest hindrance to the realization of God. It is only through faith and purity that the realization of the God is possible. It is more of faith than reason that can help us in its realization.

3.1.3 .2 RELIGION

Gandhi was also a religious man. Religion signified, to him, the belief in the ordered moral governance of the world and this view of religion remains to be one among the strong philosophical foundations for his political ideas. He called himself a Hindu but he was not a narrow sectarian. He remained above the bounds of creeds, cults, rituals, and ceremonies. He accepted the moral essence of Hinduism which according to him was the essence of all the great religions of mankind. True religion, for Gandhi, implied an emphasis on the moral values of man as spirit. As soon as the moral basis was lost one ceased to be religious. Thus, religion provided the dynamic impetus to his actions and life.

Gandhiji believed that man's ultimate goal in life was self-realisation. Self-realisation, according to him, meant seeing God face to face, i.e., realising the absolute Truth or, what one may say, knowing oneself. He believed that it could not be achieved

unless man identified himself with the whole of mankind. This necessarily involved participation in politics. Politics is the means, par excellence, to engage with the world. Such an engagement is expressed in service. Gandhiji was clear in his mind that Truth could not be attained by merely retiring to the Himalayas or being bogged down with rituals but in actively engaging with the world, keeping oneself open to the voice of God and critically reflecting upon oneself and letting others to reflect on you. If Man's ultimate aim is the realization of God, all the activities of the humans whether they are social, political or religious have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God and immediate service of humanity becomes necessary part of this attempt. The best way to find God is by serving his Creation. It is only through the means of self-purification that one can attain self-realisation. The service to humanity, fasts, and prayers that Gandhi undertook were all directed towards such an end.

Thus, Gandhi saw a close relationship between religion and politics and sought to spiritualize politics. He condemned politics which was bereft of religion on the ground that it makes man corrupt selfish, unreliable, materialistic and opportunistic. For him the politics separated from was a politics of force and fraud.

3.1.3.3 Human Nature

Gandhi had a great faith in human nature and believed in the inner goodness of man. The human being has a sense of spiritual self consciousness and morality. Each individual has the possibility of spiritual growth. This individual conceived in moral and spiritual terms is the supreme consideration of Gandhian political thought. He believed that there was something inherently divine in human nature. However, the existing man is so imperfect and far from God. Hence, he should be raised to his higher ideal self. Towards this, he advocated for moral change of human heart and always stressed on the moral and spiritual side rather than on the intellectual and scientific side of man's nature. According to Gandhi, social betterment depends upon individual efforts for self-purification. Thus the revelation of moral powers of the individual is an important point in his political thought and one would find integral connection between the spiritual realization and social service across his thought. Gandhi traces the evil in man to his own evil tendencies than of the society. Hence, he felt that man can be cured of his evil tendencies by prolonged efforts. He considered

the religious remaking of human nature prior to social and political transformation. Thus, spiritualization of politics requires the fundamental remaking of Human Nature first. Thus, in order to realize human perfection, Gandhi laid emphasis on non-violence, truth and other virtues.

3.1.3.4 MEANS AND ENDS

Gandhi saw a very close relationship between the end and means and considered the means as more important than the end itself because the former grows out of the latter. He kept arguing that if we take care of the means the end will take care of itself. He linked the means to a seed and the end to a tree. This belief in means and ends becomes the main reason behind his argument that moral ends can be achieved only through moral means and no peaceful and disciplined society could be build through violence. Gandhi decisively rejected the view that an action could be separated into two parts—means and ends and so long as the end was good any means to achieve the end were justified. Gandhi said that means and ends are inseparable and they constitute an organic whole. He was not willing to diverge from his belief even for the attainment of country's independence when he says 'You might, of course say, that there cannot be non-violent revolution and there has been none know to history. Well, it is my ambition to provide an instance, and it is my dream that my country may win its independence through non-violence. I will not purchase my country's freedom at the cost of non-violence'.

These philosophical foundations remained to be the back bone and guided Gandhi in all the movements, endeavours he initiated and the political views he expounded. To understand his political ideas in a better manner, one must keep these philosophical foundations in mind and study those ideas.

3.1.4 POLITICAL IDEAS OF GANDHI

3.1.4.1 SATYAGRAHA

This idea is being considered the heart and soul of Gandhian philosophy. It inculcates moral pressure for the sake of truth. It is a technique of resisting all that is evil, unjust, impure or untrue love, self-suffering and self-purification and by appealing to the divine spark in the soul of the opponent. According to Vishnoo Bhagwan, Gandhiji

described it as a love or soul force. Satyagraha is vindication of truth by bearings witness to it through self-sufferings, in other words, love. It is contrary to coercion and is the weapon of *Satyagraha* by lifting these from the gross physical plane to the elevated spiritual and moral plane where they can be adjusted by the union of souls. As *Satyagraha* does not injure the opponent and always appeals either to his reason by gentle argument or to his heart but the sacrifice of self. *Satyagraha* not only blesses who practice it but also against whom it is practiced. In the Gandhian tradition, the theory of *Satyagraha* is based on sufferings and the sufferings serve following three purposes:

- It purifies the person who suffers.

- It intensifies favourable public opinion.

- It makes a direct appeal to the soul of the oppressor.

According to Gandhiji, no country has ever risen without being purified by the fire of suffering. Vishnoo Bhagwan says Gandhi prefers the term *Satyagraha* to passive resistance as the designation of his instrument for political transformation. He is prepared to suffer physical injury at the hands of opponent so that the spirit of self sacrifice may sway the conscience of the opponent and make him see the truth. A *Satyagrahi* has so much of spiritual power that he may disregard even death at the hands of the opponent. It will change the heart of the opponent and will aspire him to see the truth. A *Satyagrahi* has lot of patience. He fights the enemy with patience and sympathy. He pursues truth by making himself rather than the opponent suffer. Gandhi used the word *Satyagraha* in South Africa to explain the difference between his ideal and that of passive resistance. He started *Satyagraha* movement in February, 1919. To begin with the *Satyagraha* campaign was a mere constitutional opposition to the government. It was a sort of respectful appeal for certain urgent reforms. However, with the passage of time it assumed different forms suiting different occasions.

3.1.4.2 FORMS OF SATYAGRAHA

Vishnoo Bhagwan mentions seven major forms of *Satyagraha* which includes non-cooperation, civil disobedience, fasting, *hijrat*, peaceful picketing, strike and peace brigade. The forms are explained below:

1. ***Non-Cooperation***: Gandhiji started non-cooperation movement to ouster the British in 1922 and ended in 1923. It reflected mass consciousness and revival of Indian manhood. Gandhiji was of the view that the government can continue inflicting injustice on people because people cooperate with government. If people will not cooperate with the government, it will stand paralysed. Non-cooperation can be exercised through following ways:

   - *Hartal:* It implies stopping the business as a mark of protest. Its main object is to strike the imagination of the people and the government. The technique of *hartal* is voluntary and mostly non-violent and it is not routinely used.

   - *Social ostracism:* It means social boycott of those people who defy public opinion.

   - *Picketing:* Its literal meaning is strike, protest or blockade. It is not used to block the path of any person rather it is resorted to warn and shame the blacklegs.

2. **Civil Disobedience**: In the views of Gandhiji, civil disobedience is the breach of unmoral statutory enactments. He regarded it as a complete effective and bloodless substitute for armed revolt. It signified the resistors' outlawry in civil i.e. in non-violent manner. He was of the view that civil disobedience was to be practised with great caution. All possible steps should be taken to avoid violence during civil disobedience. Gandhiji mentioned following types of civil disobedience as discussed below:

   - *Offensive Civil Disobedience:* Offensive is also known as aggressive or assertive civil disobedience. It is symbol of revolt against the state. It means disregard of laws relating to revenue or regulation of personal conduct for the convenience of the state. It is wilful disobedience.

   - *Defensive Civil Disobedience:* it is undertaken to uphold one's self-respect and human dignity. It is involuntary and not deliberate. It refers to laws that are not people-friendly and therefore require change. It advocates formation of volunteer corps for peace, holding of public meetings, publication of articles not inciting violence in any form.

- *Individual Civil Disobedience:* it does not require particular atmosphere like mass civil disobedience. It involves participation of single individual.

- *Mass Civil Disobedience:* it involves masses and it requires particular atmosphere in which people in large number feel the need to join civil disobedience.

3. **Fasting**: It is an extreme form of *Satyagraha* and it is most effective and fiery weapon at the disposal of *Satyagrahi.* Gandhiji suggested some attributes for person who wants to go on fast such as spiritual fitness, purity of mind, discipline, humility and faith. Fasting is not physical act rather it shows spiritual potency. Taking moral positions of uprightness, Gandhiji himself took several fasts in South Africa as well as in India. He considered fasting both as prayers and penance and he was of the opinion that fasting is eyes of the soul. He advised the use of fasting only as a last resort. Fasting improves the wrong-doer without inflicting any physical or mental injury. *Satyagrahi* will not hesitate to die while fast against wrong-doings of government or any authority. However, it was not coercion in Gandhiji's view.

4. **Hijrat**: Hijrat is voluntary movement of the people from their permanent place of residence. People migrate in protest against oppression by the ruler or the government. To protect their self-respect and dignity people take to exile.

5. **Peaceful Picketing**: This form of *Satyagraha* was extensively used during the struggle for independence of India. Gandhiji felt that it was a very useful and valid form of *Satyagraha.*

6. **Strike**: This technique of *Satyagraha* is used by the workers to seek redressal of their grievances. Gandhiji did not find favour with Marxian ideology and hence did not support class war and overthrow of capitalism. Rather he considered both workers and owners of factories as trustees. By strike, workers seek to protest against corruption, injustice and exploitation by owners of capitalist enterprises. Gandhiji advised that strike should not involve any form of violence and demands and objectives of the striking workers should be lucid and reasonable.

7. ***Peace Brigade****:* Mahatma Gandhi supported the formation of peace brigade to work at social level. Members of peace brigade were to apply basic principles and techniques of *Satyagraha* and they were to be seen as substitute for the army and police to be ready for any sacrifice to control communal frenzy and violence by mob. The member of peace brigade, according to Gandhiji, should be local members who can enjoy trust of the citizens. The characteristics recommended for member of peace brigade by Gandhiji were as follows:

- They should be of unimpeachable character.

- They must have faith in compassion and majesty of God.

- They should have equal respect for all religions.

- They should wear distinctive dress.

3.1.4.3 NON-VIOLENCE

The greatest contribution to politics in particular and life in general was his interpretation of Non-violence and its applicability in the modern age of incessant wars and bloodshed. To Gandhiji, "non-violence is not a mere philosophical principle, it is the rule and breath of my life…It is a matter not of the intellect but of the heart." Vishnoo Bhagwan holds the view that his non-violence is rooted in the Indian doctrine of Ahimsa. Literally Ahimsa means non-killing but for Gandhiji, it had much wider meaning. It meant avoiding injury to anything on earth in thought, word or deed. A harsh speech is a form violence. To think bad of others is violence. A non-violent man does not consider anyone as his enemy. He bears no ill-will against anyone. An episode a few days before his assassination bears ample testimony to his interpretation of Non-violence. On January 20, 1948 a bomb was thrown during the evening prayers. It exploded at some distance from him and he ignored it. He pleaded with the police not to molest the youth who had thrown the bomb but to convert him through love and expression. It is said Gandhiji would not have suggested execution of Godse in case he had spared a few moments before his death and asked about penalty for his assailant. Gandhiji included in his definition of violence every act which could cause injury to an individual or the society. Comparing non-violence with violence, he stated, "Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of brute.

The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical force. The dignity of men requires obedience to a higher law-the struggle for the spirit. Non-violence is a perfect state. It is the goal towards which all mankind moves naturally, though unconsciously.

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. It is a soul force or truth force or truth-seeking force. It is in short *Satyagraha* which means resistance to evil with the moral and spiritual force that a person can command. It is the use of moral force of firmness in the vindication of truth. It is "the soul force or the power of God-head within us." It signifies conscious suffering, utter selfishness and universal love. According to Gandhiji non-violence is more positive than electricity and it constitutes a positive procedure for promoting worthwhile social change. Sometimes violence is not wrong. There are conditions in which one is justified in inflicting violence e.g. when one is confronted with a choice between doing so and acting in a cowardly manner. He said it is better to be a soldier than a coward.

Ahimsa is conterminous with Christian principle of love. It is synonymous to God himself. Ahimsa stands for the ultimate deliverance of man from the bondage of the flesh so that he may attain the state in which life is possible without the necessity of a perishable body whose sustenance inevitability involves destruction. He remarked that no-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of humans. Man lives freely by his readiness to die if need be at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity. Following are the requisites of non-violence explained by the Gandhiji:

- *Truth:* truth is the basic factor non-violence. Gandhiji would not keep himself confined to 'God is truth'. To him 'Truth is God'. In his words, "for me, truth is the sovereign principle which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only the relative truth of our conception but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal principle, that is God." Truth quenches untruth, love quenches anger, self-suffering quenches violence. This eternal rule is not the monopoly

of saints. It stands for all. A believer in non-violence will not shirk telling truth.

- *Inner Purity:* a true believer in Ahimsa is expected to observe inner purity as well. As non-violence is to be warfare of ascetic, he should prepare himself for it by self-discipline, civility and inner purity. In fact non-violence begins and ends by turning the searchlight inwards.

- *Fasting:* it is an agent of self-purification and in a national struggle, an instrument of national penitence. According to Gandhiji, " A genuine fast cleanses the body, mind and soul. It crucifies the flesh and to the extent sets the soul free. Mortification of the flesh is a condition of spiritual progress. A complete fast is a complete denial of self. It is potential weapon of a non-violent soldier. Gandhiji made use of it frequently to bring the erring country men on the right path. He made white masters to yield to his demands through resorting to fast unto death many a time. He believed that a fast if entered upon with pure selfless motives would cleanse his own heart, mind and might help him to see what more could be done that had not been attempted already.

- *Fearlessness:* fearlessness is another important requisite of votary of Ahimsa. Gandhiji pleaded for the heroic non-violent action of the brave and never stood for the non resistance offered by the weak. He wanted a non-violent soldier to develop in himself moral courage and strength. Fearlessness can be acquired by perfection of personal character and by deep faith in the existence of the God. Ahimsa means absolute fearlessness. It is the strongest and the 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.

- *Non-possession:* Non-violent soldier is to develop an attitude of non-attachment in a detached interest in the material things of life. According to Gandhiji, "So many of the so called comforts of life are not only not indispensable but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind. Non-possession is a principle applicable to thoughts as well as to things. Thoughts which turn us away from the God or do not turn towards him constitute impediments in our way.

- *Perseverance:* Non-violence does not yield fruits so promptly as violence does. Hence an advocate of non-violence and believer in Ahimsa should cultivate a divine patience and perseverance. He should be apprised of the fact that quick results yielded by violence are neither stable nor lasting. A non-violent person knows no defeat as he has infinite faith in God. A non-violent soldier realizes that repeated attempts and frequent failures are essential before good causes can succeed. Display of patience and perseverance, however, does not mean lethargy of fatalism. Gandhiji's Quit India Movement of 1942 and Do or Die policy bears an ample testimony to the fact that apostle of non-violence did not brook delay when sense of urgency demanded.

3.1.4.4 STATE

Gandhi opposed the present state because it was based on force and centralization of authority, which led to negation of individual freedom. Gandhi felt that the state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form; being a votary of non-violence he did not regard it as the actualization of reason and freedom. To some extent the brutalities committed by the South African Government and the atrocities committed by England in India can be considered as responsible for is hostile attitude towards the state.

Even though, Gandhi denounced the current form of state, he did not contemplate the destruction of the State he wanted to replace it by an ideal state, based on non-violence, in which individual would have maximum independence. While he refrained from painting a picture of that ideal state, he did provide a vague idea about that ideal state through some of his speeches and writings. While the creation of an Ideal state remained to be the ultimate goal, the immediate goal should be the moulding of the state according to the principles of non-violence. It may be said that Gandhi was a type of anarchist who wanted to establish "Ram Rajya" or the Kingdom of God on earth.

For Gandhi, Political Power means the capacity to regulate the national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representative becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler and he rules in such a manner that he

is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state therefore there is not political power, because there is no state. But the ideal state is never fully realised and the nearest approach to purest anarchy would be a democracy based on non-violence.

3.1.4.5 DEMOCRACY

Being a staunch believer in individual freedom, rights and equality, Gandhi also believed that the attainment of these things would be possible only in a Democracy. He strongly believed that power belongs to the people and for time being it is entrusted to those whom they may choose as their representatives. For him Parliaments have no power or even existence independently of the people. At the same time Gandhi opposed to the procedures and practice of British parliamentary democracy. For him the Western Democracies were dominated by the ruling classes which carried on the exploitation of its interests at the cost of the people. He rather went on to the extent of saying that the people of Europe have no doubt political power, but no swaraj.

Further, he did not believe in the majority principle of democracy. Rather, he suggests that, the way of approaching to a question is not to examine the numerical strength of those behind the opinion but to examine the soundness of the question. He wanted a democracy where even the minority would not be coerced, but persuaded, respected and any minority yielding to majority would be slavery. Thus, Gandhi's major contribution to the concept of Democracy is his attempt to provide a moral bulwark to democracy. He had an ethical approach to democracy. He wanted Democracy to be a bastion of autonomy and progress and he felt that courage and courage and resistance were only safeguards of democracy. He asserted that if Democracy becomes unresponsive to the public needs then it should be resisted through Satyagraha.

3.1.4.6 SARVODAYA

The idea of *Sarvodaya* given by Gandhiji is an apex of Gandhian socialism. Gandhiji believed that socialistic order could not be established in India without consistent and constant attempt for re-orientation by individuals. *Sarvodaya* does not only focus on majority rather it stands for growth and upliftment of each individual. It supports organic unity where all individuals have equal importance and the rise of everyone is dependent on rise of every other. It lays emphasis to individual capacity. It does not merge the entity of individuals in the state rather the state is to ensure provision

of all the necessities of life for all members of society without any discrimination on any basis. *Sarvodaya* is an attempt at rediscovery and enshrinement of the soul of India and its fulfilment at the social and political levels. It envisaged the re-building of the political and social structure on the basis of the reconstructed agrarian traditions and behaviour in India. The importance of *Sarvodaya* lies in emphasising ever-abiding value of self-abnegation. It seeks to substitute the law of mutuality and dominant altruism for party strife, jealousies and cut-throat competitions. It stresses replacement of majority voting by unanimity in the village panchayats thus enshrining the primacy of goodness and character in place of the skill of manipulation and self-assertion. It appeals to our mind and heart in terms of values and goals, embodied in our culture. It emphasises that corruption, and the decadence which infect the organised institutional mechanism can be removed by the reassertion of moral and spiritual values and their introduction in social, economic and political life. It suggests development of people's capacity to man their affairs with minimum governmental control and assistance. It proposed limitation of wants.

3.1.4.7 TRUSTEESHIP

Gandhiji believed in the divinity of man. It is difficult to draw distinction between man and man. It comes from this deep feeling of spirituality of man that Gandhiji derived his ethico-economic theory of trusteeship and inheritance. He was of the opinion that everything belonged to God and therefore it was for his people as a whole and not for a particular individual. When an individual had more than his proportionate portion, he became a trustee of that portion of God's people. Hence he laid stress of theory of complete equality and supported equal distribution of wealth. The rich did not need all their wealth for the satisfaction of their personal needs. Hence, they should utilise the surplus wealth for the benefit of the society at large. They should act as trustees of the surplus wealth. Gandhiji argued that if rich do not voluntarily become trustees of the surplus wealth and work for the social welfare, the poor can offer non-violent non-cooperation which could have prevented the rich from amassing wealth. The landlords and industrialists can amass wealth only if farmers and workers respectively cooperate with them. Non-violent non-cooperation is the suitable weapon in the hands of workers and farmers to prevent amassing of wealth and it will exert pressure on landlords and industrialists to become trustees and

guardians of the poor. He claimed that trusteeship is a peaceful way of eliminating class conflict and achieving class collaboration. If the landlords and industrialists would not stop exploitation, then they would have to face violent upsurge and perish. Following are the main features of trusteeship:

- Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the capitalistic order of society into an egalitarian one. It gives the capitalists a chance of reforming themselves. It is based on the faith that human nature is never beyond redemptions.

- It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property except in as much as permitted by society for its own welfare.

- It does not exclude legislative regulation of ownership property and use of wealth.

- An individual is not to hold or use his wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interest of society.

- Not only a decent minimum wage is to be fixed up but also a limit is to be fixed for the maximum income. The difference between the minimum and maximum incomes should be reasonable and equitable and variable from time to time.

- The character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.

3.1.5 LET US SUM UP

Even though, Gandhi did not provide a systematic and well worked out political philosophy in the western sense and merely provided empirical suggestions to deal with various social, economic and political issues, yet his contributions to the Indian Political Thought cannot be denied. He attempted to blend politics with ethics and emphasised the value of truth and non-violence for the solution of the national and international problems. He did not agree that religion should be separated from politics. He suggested that politics offers great opportunities to serve others and such service is an essential attribute of religion. While Gandhi believed in his own religion and thought highly of it, he had equal respect for all other religions, considered all

of them as true but not without shortcomings. He considered that ends and means are integral to each other. He did not subscribe to the idea that good ends justify appropriate means. He applied this principle to the pursuit of truth as well, which he considered as God himself. Truth as end and nonviolence as means are inseparable.

Gandhiji accepted the need for power in the absence of a fully self-regulated and self directed order, he never considered political power as an end; it is only a means to serve the people. He saw Democracy closest to his Ideal state. However, he never believed in majoritatianism. He was a staunch believer that trusteeship ensures creativity and initiative, ensures freedom while ensuring equal distribution of goods.

The critics of Gandhi have bitterly condemned Gandhi for his efforts to combine politics with ethics, especially with regard to his concept of non-violence in the existing context. Doubts were expressed about the effectiveness of non-cooperation as a weapon to bring about a change in the heart of the opponent and there is every possibility of such movement being suppressed with an iron hand. There is enough criticism on Gandhi's concept of primacy of means over the ends.

Despite of the criticism of Gandhi's ideas, it cannot be denied that many of his ideas have been practiced, tested and yielded results. They are worthy of emulation and can greatly contribute to save civilization from its complete eclipse. To conclude in the words of Lord Halifax "I suppose there could be few men in all history who by their own personal character and example have been able to deeply influence the thought of their Generation like Gandhi".

3.1.6 EXERCISE

1. Briefly explain the philosophical foundations of Gandhi's Political Ideas.

2. Bring out the philosophy underlying Gandhi's doctrine of Satyagraha.

3. Evaluate Gandhi's theory of Non-Violence.

4. Discuss Gandhi's criticism of state and the depiction of his Ideal State.

5. Write Gandhi's criticism of majoritarionism in Democracy.

6. Discuss the philosophy and main tenets of Sarvodaya.

7. Highlight the significance of the concept of Gandhi's Trusteeship.

3.2 J.L. NEHRU : SECULARISM AND LIBERAL SOCIALISM

- **Nirmal Singh**

STRUCTURE

3.2.0 Objectives

3.2.1 Introduction

3.2.2 Life and Education

3.2.3 Role in Freedom Movement

3.2.4 European Tour of Nehru

3.2.5 Political Ideas of Nehru

3.2.6 Secularism

3.2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- Nehru's role in India's freedom movement;

- Nehru's political ideas with special reference to socialism, democratic socialism, mixed economy and planning;

- Nehru's concept of secularism, unity and integrity and protection of minorities;

- Nehru's views about internationalism, world government, international peace through Panch Sheel.

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Jawaharlal Nehru, the great Indian political leader was the first prime minister of independent India. He was an upholder of some of the concrete political values. He believed in socialism, secularism, democracy and in the modern values of positivism. The contribution of Jawaharlal Nehru is rightly acclaimed as the maker of modern India. Having faith in the Indian people, he sought to build a democratic polity and economically modernised nation. He was both a thinker as well as a political practitioner. He was influenced by the developments of the 19th and 20th centuries. Though he belonged to life of comfort and luxury, his politics connected him to the masses.

The main intellectual influence on Nehru was the humanist tradition of the West. His democratic thought constitutes an amalgam of ideas of Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Bentham, J.S.Mill, Karl Marx, etc. Besides humanism and early liberalism, Nehur's emphasis on all-round development o individual in the society turned him into a true democrat. Nehru was also highly influenced by the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. The greatest influence of Gandhi on Nehru's political ideas was that he discarded materialist assumptions of the Marxism and began to see the importance of moral and spiritual aspects of democracy.

Indeed, Nehru has propounded no theory of democracy. He was more of an experimentalist in the science of democracy but wanted to consider all aspects of it in its actual working. To him, democracy is dynamic in nature and as it changes, its scope becomes more wider. Nehru had faith in democracy as a way of life. He was not in favour of giving a specific definition of the word 'democracy' apprehending that narrowing democracy to a definition would mean imposing limitations on its vast scope.

Nehru's faith in man and the absolute faith in the freedom of man made him a staunch democrat. However, he was not a protagonist of unrestricted freedom. In a debate in the Parliament, he once said, "In a democratic society, concept of individual freedom has to be balanced with social freedom and the relation of the individual with the social group. The individual must not infringe on the freedom of other individuals".

Political liberty, equality, progress through peaceful methods, tolerance, organized political parties, proper leadership and discipline in the individual and community are integral to Nehru's concept of democracy. Nehru described democracy as a structure of society in which social and economic equality was gradually attained. The democracy could be achieved only though establishing economic equality in the society.

Though Nehru did not evolve any new concept of political and economic sciences, such as dialectical materialism, but his writings and pronouncements bear the unmistakable impact of a leader trying to synthesize the legacies of different cultural backgrounds and to conglomerate them with cogency. Through his historic approach and his sociological understanding of India's history, he had tried to find out some deeper meaning of Indian political development and the evolution of society, amidst

the chaotic and bewildering cluster of details and political events. Although his ideas lacked theoretical originality, but a solid idealism and realism which pervaded all through provided a distinctive character of his political ideas.

3.2.2 LIFE AND EDUCATION

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on 14 November 1889, to a wealthy Kashmiri Brahmin family in Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh. His father Motilal Nehru was a renowned advocate and also an influential politician. The atmosphere in the Nehru family was different from that of other prominent families of that society. English was spoken and encouraged in the family. His father, Motilal Nehru had appointed some English and Scottish teachers at home. For higher education, young Nehru was sent to Harrow school and then later to Cambridge University in England. After spending two years at the Inner Temple, London, he qualified as a barrister. During his stay in London, Nehru was attracted by the ideas of liberalism, socialism and nationalism. In 1912, he returned to India and joined the Allahabad High Court as a Barrister but soon he began to feel dissatisfaction with the daily routine of the legal profession. Politics to him meant in those days an aggressive nationalist movement against the foreign rule, but he saw no scope for it in the Indian politics of those days. He joined Congress slowly and gradualy his conviction too grew to give his life to the cause of Indian Independence. For two years (1920-21) he devoted most of his time to the villages and there after he became deeply attached to the cause of developing villages.

Mahatma Gandhi, who by this time entered Indian politics, influenced Nehru deeply. Gandhiji named Nehru as his political successor. The coming years of Nehru's life were full of political activities.

3.2.3 ROLE IN FREEDOM MOVEMENT

In 1916, Nehru participated in the Lucknow Session of the Congress. There, after a very long time, member of both the extremist and moderate factions of the Congress party had come. All the members equivocally agreed to the demand for 'swaraj' (self rule). Although the means of the two sections were different, the motive was 'common' - freedom. In 1921 Nehru was imprisoned for participating in the first civil disobedience campaign as general secretary of the United Provinces Congress Committee. The life in the jail helped him in understanding the philosophy followed

by Gandhi and others associated with the movement. He was moved by Gandhi's approach of dealing with caste and 'untouchablity'. With the passing of every minute, Nehru was emerging as a popular leader, particularly in Northern India. In 1922, some of the prominent members including his father Motilal Nehru had left the Congress and launched the Swaraj Party. The decision, no doubt upset Jawahar but he rejected the possibility of leaving the Congress party. He was also elected as the president of the Allahabad municipal corporation in 1920.

3.2.4 EUROPEAN TOUR OF NEHRU

In 1926, he along with his wife Kamala and daughter Indira, travelled to the flourished European nations like Germany, France and the Soviet Union. Here, Nehru got an opportunity to meet various Communists, Socialists, and radical leaders from Asia and Africa. Nehru was also impressed with the economic system of the communist Soviet Union and wished to apply the same in his own country. In 1927, he became a member of the League against Imperialism created in Brussels, the capital city of Belgium. During the Guwahati Session in 1928, Mahatma Gandhi announced that the Congress would launch a massive movement if the British authority did not grant dominion status of India within next two years. It was believed that under the pressure of Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose, the deadline was reduced to one year. Jawaharlal Nehru criticized the famous 'Nehru Report' prepared by his father Motilal Nehru in 1928 that favoured the concept of a 'dominion status for India within the British rule'. In 1930 Mahatma Gandhi supported Nehru as the next president of the Congress. The decision was also an attempt to abate the intensity of 'communism' in the Congress. The same year, Nehru was arrested for the violation of the Salt Law. In 1936, Nehru was re-elected as the president of the Indian National Congress. Sources suggest that a heated argument between the classical and young leaders had taken place in the Lucknow Session of the party. The young and 'new-gen' leaders of the party had advocated for an ideology, based on the concepts of Socialism.

3.2.5 POLITICAL IDEAS OF NEHRU

3.2.5.1 SOCIALISM

Jawaharlal Nehru was an avowed supporter of socialism. Even before Indian independence Nehru was the first major Indian leader to reject capitalist development

as also bourgeois civilization perspective. Nehru's orientation towards socialism owed its origin to his contact with peasants between1920-21. His interest in Marxism and planned economic development was stirred by the Brussels Congress and his four-day visit to Moscow in 1927. In his presidential address to the Lahore Congress in December 1929, Nehru affirmed that he was 'a socialist and republican. In the post-independence scenario, he kept up his campaign for the spread of socialist ideas and popularised the aim of the fundamental transformation of Indian society in a socialist direction. Nehru could not build a socialist society. But he made many innovations while trying to develop socialism in India using Soviet experiences and Gandhian approach. With regard to conditions prevailing in India, socialist transformation for Nehru was a process rather than an event. His ideas of socialism need to be understood in terms of continuity, gradual change and a series of reforms which were termed as 'surgical operations' by Nehru. He held the view that civil liberty and voting democracy were basic to socialism. Socialism would develop, only when the majority wanted it and willed it. The most important aspect of Nehru's strategy- the core of his strategy was the belief that virtually the entire people should be carried behind them by the socialist forces. He wanted to carry all shades of public opinion and overwhelming majority of people with him. Nehru believed that socialist transformation would be slow or gradual process as it would take time to win active or passive consent of people and eliminating vested interests.

In 1930s, Nehru held the belief that coercion should be sued to remove ruling classes but later on Gandhiji's influence moulded his thinking, for instance he started believing that socialist society could be developed through non-violent and peaceful methods i.e. using democratic channels. Bipin Chandra says socialism according to Nehru was elimination of social and economic inequality and depression created by capitalism. Socialism would come when class distinctions and class domination would end and there would be large scale social ownership or control over the means of production. Nehru is considered one of the founding fathers of the socialism. He made efforts to establish socialism in India. He wanted India to be free of 'exploitation, degradation and subjection'. He was the main person behind the introduction of socialism in Congress Party as well as in the Indian development planning. D.K. Mohanty believed that he was not follower of orthodox socialism of China or Russia rather he blended liberalism and democracy with socialism.

Why socialism?

He believed that his socialism is not against individualism rather it frees individual of economic and cultural bondage. He thought that socialism was only remedy for all the ills of the economy. He was of the opinion that socialism is more scientific and useful therefore it was more acceptable. He held the view that planning undertaken in socialism could tackle poverty and unemployment in the country. He felt that socialism was more scientific because it is based on past. Socialism for him was an inevitable tool to bring social and economic change. He wanted Congress to become a socialist organisation. After independence, he made it sure to formally make socialism as part of the Constitutional mandate in the form of Directive Principles of State Policy. Development through planning was adopted by India under his primeministership. His ideas on socialism are mix of Gandhism, Marxism and liberalism. However, he had limited faith in the Marxian socialism. He believed in the inevitability of the class struggle and the belief that equality cannot be achieved if means of production remain in a few limited and private hands. Nehru felt that poverty can be removed and minimum standard of living can be ensured to all the people of the country without use of any violence even if it involves change of regime.

3.2.5.2 DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

As it has been discussed in the earlier paragraphs, Jawaharlal Nehru was very much concerned about the socio-economic conditions of the country. Immediately after the attainment of independence, he was convinced of the need for ushering socio-economic changes. Socialism adopted elsewhere could not be used in India in the views of Nehru as India had different socio-economic conditions than other countries. D.K. Mohanty says Nehru was very much influenced by liberal democratic ideas of the 19th century. Therefore he had deep regard for individual and his freedom. He considered political freedom to be prerequisite for solution of socio-economic ills of the country and ensuring human dignity. He saw political freedom as a means to achieve upliftment of masses as an end. According to him, democracy and socialism are complementary to each other. As an ideology, Democratic Socialism advocated and envisioned to customize to the Indian conditions is very much flexible. It was based on pragmatism not dogmatism. He did not subscribe to Marxian socialism and Gandhian concept of trusteeship. His socialism was based on social order. He

advocated a Socialist Pattern of Society in which individual freedom and human dignity can go hand in hand with social and economic justice. The Nehruvian ideology of Democratic Socialism stands for the following important tenets.

3.2.5.3 EQUALITY WITH JUSTICE

Nehru believed that socialism was not just an economic doctrine and it is deeply related to lives of the individuals and whole of society. D.K. Mohanty explains that he equated socialism with philosophy of life because he was convinced that individuals need to bring changes in their behaviours, attitude, instincts, habits and desires along with changes in social and political spheres. These changes would help to tackle exploitation, hunger and joblessness in the country. He envisioned new society in which cooperation, equality and justice would prevail instead of competition and conflict among individuals. He wanted each individual to develop socialist outlook i.e. 'to live and to let others live'.

3.2.5.4 MIXED ECONOMY MODEL

Nehruvian model of development is based on a mixed ideology i.e. socialism and capitalism. Therefore, it is blend of mixed economy. In the mixed economy system of Nehru, the state provides such environment in which both public and private industries can exist and equally flourish. The state keeps under its control important and big industries such as Railways and means of economic distribution like cooperatives and banks. He advocated keeping under state controls the main industries of the economy and leaving rest industries for the private sector. It strives to provide economic growth with social justice i.e. benefits of growth reach everyone on fair basis.

3.2.5.5 PLANNING AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

For ensuring development for everyone and effective utilisation of resources of the country, Nehru adopted planning system. D.K. Mohanty argues that he believed that peaceful method of development through planning was very useful to realise democratic socialism on the country. Instead of class war and violence of Marxian traditions and monopoly and competition of capitalism system, Nehru chose planning as a method to bring about change. Planning is very important process in socialist economy which helps to develop a classless society based on cooperative lines.

3.2.6 SECULARISM

Bipin Chandra says secularism meant to Nehru as giving of full protection to the minorities and removing their fears. He asserted that in a secular state and society it was the duty of the religious majority to accept responsibility for the maintenance of communal peace and to win the goodwill and confidence of the minorities by fair and even generous treatment. He was pained to say that quite often majorities not only forget minorities rather they also act in a very narrow-minded way. Bipin Chandra says Nehru argued that secularism was also in the interest of the minorities and that communalism harmed the interest of those it claimed to defend.

He was of the opinion that communalism harmed not only the country as a whole and the majority but also the minority itself. He felt that secularism is constant attack on all forms of communalism emanating from any religion. He believed that secularism can be only basic for unity of India. However, he sacrificed from a certain economic deterministic and reductionist bias. Resultantly, he underplayed the role of ideology and of ideological political struggle in the promotion of secularism in the minds of the people. Bipin Chandra argues that he believed that planning and economic development and the spread of education, science and technology would automatically weaken communal thinking and it would develop secular consciousness in people. But despite all this his commitment to secularism was total and his opposition to communal resolute.

Nehru is considered a secular person in thought as well as action. If makers of the Indian Constitution provided secularism nation, then Nehru attempted to develop a secular society by implementing processes and rules aimed at establishment of secular country. He laid foundation for a secular India. Nehru was of the opinion that secularism was the basic law of the country. D.K. Mohanty writes that he was convinced that through secularism India could achieve political stability, territorial integrity and national identity. His western education and scientific outlook helped him to have a secular orientation in his political life too which he implemented polity and administration of the country. He fought against social ills and made efforts to replace tradition with technology and superstition with scientific outlook. The concept of secularism was existence since the Vedic times when it was widely prevalent belief that God was one but he was remembered or revered by different names by

different communities, religions and in different geographical places. The church in Europe dealt a blow to secularism but emergence of liberalism and supremacy of state revived secular traditions. In India before Mughal Akbar, King Ashoka is example who strongly believed in secularism and upheld it by organising meetings of leaders of different religions. The British rulers attacked and damaged India's secular fabric by introducing communal electorates and policy of divide and rule. After attaining independence, Nehru made efforts to restore secular structure of the country and elimination of communalism. The Indian Constitution provided for a legal framework for establishment of secular state by giving religious freedoms on equal basis to all religions. However, the word secular was added to the Preamble to the Constitution in 1976 by 42nd Amendment daughter of the Nehru i.e. Indira Gandhi.

3.2.6.1 NEHRUVIAN DEFINITION OF SECULARISM

To Nehru, secularism was a private and individual matter and he wanted to isolate religion from state, politics and education. He fought communalism with the weapon of secularism. 'Nehru strongly opposed the religious practices which were infected with the virus of superstitions, credulity, irrationalism and intolerance. He suggested to not talking about the saints and he felt that we must be concerned about our fellow countrymen and country. He was of the opinion that each individual should develop scientific temperament and outlook and should abjure any type of religious dogmatism.

3.2.6.2 SECULARISM: SOCIO-RELIGIOUS HARMONY AND EQUALITY

Nehru knew that India is country of religious diversity. By including secular provisions, he wanted to ensure that harmony prevails among different communities and groups. It would lead to establishment of stable society. He wanted Uniform Civil Code to be made part of the Directive Principles. To him, secularism was meant to be equal respect for all faiths and religions alongwith equal opportunities. It would ensure political security to all the religious majorities as well as minorities. Democracy will be strengthened in such conditions.

3.2.6.3 NATIONAL UNITY AND INTEGRITY

India is country of diverse religions, faiths, ethnicities, castes, cultures and languages.

Nehru was of the opinion that secularism would lead to guaranteeing religious, social and political unity and integrity of the country. Secularism develops rationality and scientific outlook in the individuals and it frees the minds of the people of any religious fundamentalism or dogmatism. He wanted to fight communalism with secularism along with education, urbanisation and industrialisation.

3.2.6.4 PROTECTION OF MINORITIES

D.K. Mohanty feels that at the time of Nehru, the secularism was equally for majorities and minorities but after Nehru, secularism became minority-oriented concept. He was convinced that majority community Hindu were safe and protected in India. But minorities such Muslims were having apprehension because wounds of partitions were not properly heeled. He effected changes in Hindu code but he did not amend Muslim personal law. He argued that Hindus because of education were prepared to accept change but same was not true for Muslims and Christians. He wanted minorities to be given proper protection.

3.2.6.5 SECULARISM AS CONSTANT PHENOMENON

He believed that secularism is not any temporary process rather it is continuous process. He wanted Indians to make secularism as part of not only national thinking but also individual thinking. According to Nehru, secularism does not mean that there exist no religion rather all the religious values such love, compassion and humanity are well respected by the people of all religions.

3.2.7 INTERNATIONALISM

Nehru was having strong faith in internationalism. He considered internationalism as the bedrock of international peace and welfare of all the countries. He was a realist as far as international relations were concerned. He envisioned development of cooperation and inter-dependence among countries for their economic, scientific and technological progress. According to D.K. Mohanty, he was hopeful of survival of humankind through internationalism.

3.2.7.1 DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

Nehru was the first Congress leader who tried to give the Congress party an

international outlook. He did not want the party to become narrow and egocentric in its approach and functioning. He was of the opinion that after achieving independence, country should strive for for internationalism instead of nationalism. His nationalism was opposed to imperialism and colonialism and he believed in equality of nations. His ideas about democratic nationalism were truly reflective of his orientation for internationalism. Nehru tried to see and understand national events from international perspective. He put forward argument that no country can remain isolated from international events.

3.2.7.2 INTERNATIONALISM AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Nehru linked development of the country with international factors. Nehru believed that growth and development of the country is dependent on prevalence of international peace, goodwill and mutual cooperation among countries. For industrialisation, countries have to be inter-dependent. He argued that no nation is truly independent in real sense rather each country is dependent on other countries for various reasons. It can be seen that markets, transport and industrial production is linked and dependent internationally. Everything has gone global except human thinking which is still dogmatic.

3.2.7.3 HIS VIEWS ABOUT WORLD GOVERNMENT

Nehru had a great vision of international peace through internationalism. He envisioned world federation and world government of all countries. In such world system, each country would have free participation to resolve conflict and establish peace. He was quite hopeful of establishment of world government. He wanted each country of the world to take keen interests in world affairs and no country should strive to live aloof from the world. To avoid destruction of world peace in the times of scientific and technological advancement, there must be some sort of federation of countries of the world. He advocated judicious balance of nationalism and internationalism for international peace and unity. He wanted all countries to live peacefully by cooperating with one another. In this way world would progress on equal basis.

3.2.7.4 INTERNATIONAL PEACE THROUGH NON-ALIGNMENT AND PANCHASHEEL

He was at the forefront on NAM which was directed against as joining of blocs by different countries in the backdrop of Cold War between the United States of America (USA) and the erstwhile United Socialist States of Russia (USSR) for supremacy. He was founding member of NAM. He advocated NAM to assert independent status of countries like India which did not want to be a part of any power bloc. He proposed Panchasheel i.e. five cardinal principles to foster peace and cooperation with neighbouring and other countries. As a Prime Minister of free India, he played very effective role on resolution of various conflicts in different parts of the world such as Congo Crisis that went on for four years (1960-1964), Korean Crisis that also continued for three years i.e. 1950-1953. According to D.K. Mohanti, following were main principles under Panchasheel:

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

- Mutual non-aggression.

- Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

- Equality and mutual advantage.

- Peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation.

3.2.7.5 BASIS of INTERNATIONALISM

He considered United Nations (UN) as the basis of establishing world peace and ensuring peaceful coexistence of different countries by avoiding war. He made efforts for inclusion of China into the UN (UNO at that time). He wanted the UN to have universal character which was not possible if countries like China were not taken into its fold. That shows his sincere commitment for internationalism and world peace.

3.2.8 LET US SUM UP

Fifteen years after the Guwahati Session, on August 15, 1947, the Congress succeeded to overthrow the influential British Empire. Nehru became the first Prime Minister of independent India. The time had come to implement his ideas and construct a healthy nation. Following Gandhi's assassination in 1948, Jawaharlal Nehru felt very much alone. He was very much concerned about the issues pertaining to the economic sector of the country. In the year 1949, Jawaharlal Nehru made his first

visit to the United States, seeking a solution to India's urgent food shortage. In 1951, Jawaharlal Nehru launched the country's 'First Five-Year Plan' emphasizing on the increase in the agricultural output. In 1957, despite of the major victory attained in the elections, the Nehru-led central government faced rising problems and criticism. The election of his daughter Indira as Congress President in 1959 was viewed by many, as Nepotism. Jawaharlal Nehru was supporter of the anti-imperialist policy. He extended his support for the liberation of small and colonized nations of the world. He was also one of the prominent architects of the Non-Alignment Movement. Following the policies of NAM, India decided stay away from being a part of the global bifurcation. He advocated NAM to assert independent status of countries like India which did not want to be a part of any power bloc. He proposed Panchasheel i.e. five cardinal principles to foster peace and cooperation with neighbouring and other countries.

3.2.9 EXERCISE

1. Discuss the significant role played by Nehru in the Freedom Struggle.

2. Discuss the influence of Socialistic ideas on Nehru.

3. Explain Nehruvian conception of Democratic Socialism with its various tenets.

4. Nehru strongly asserted that secularism is constant attack on all forms of communalism emanating from any religion. Discuss his concept of Secularism.

5. In the light of the statement 'internationalism as the bedrock of international peace and welfare of all the countries' discuss various beliefs of Nehru pertaining to Internationalism.

3.3 AMBEDKAR: CRITIQUE OF HINDUISM AND CONSTITUTIONALISM

- **Nirmal Singh &**

Mamta Sharma

STRUCTURE

3.3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to understand:

- How B R Ambedkar's life and education influenced his political ideas;

- Ambedkar's political activism, involvement with dalit politics, his religious views in general and with regard to Buddhism in particular;

- Ambedkar's political ideas , particularly his critique on Hinduism, his perceptions on caste, denouncement of untouchability; and

- Ambedkar's reformist activities with specific reference to reservations and planning.

3.3.1 INTRODUCTION

The political philosophy of Ambedkar may help in renegotiating the crisis of western political theory in particular and leading the struggles of the masses in general. One can see Ambedkar's association with the grand political streams such as liberal, radical or conservative through his writings. At the same time he differentiates himself with these three dominant political traditions. Ambedkar's philosophy is essentially ethical and religious. For him, the social precedes the political. Social morality is central to his political philosophy. He is neither a fierce individualist nor a conservative communitarian. His conceptions of democracy internalises the principles of equality, liberty, and fraternity in their true spirit. Though there are many attempts but one may find difficulty in locating him in dominant political traditions. Often this may lead to misunderstanding of the essence of Ambedkar. Ambedkar's political thought demands a new language to understand the complexity of his thoughts.

3.3.2 BHIMRAO RAMJI AMBEDKAR: LIFE AND EDUCATION

Bhim Rao Ambedkar was born on April 14, 1891 to Bhimabai Sakpal and Ramji in Madhya Pradesh. He was the fourteenth child of his parents. Ambedkar's father was a Subedar in the Indian Army and posted at Mhow cantonment, MP. After the retirement of his father in 1894, the family moved to Satara. Shortly after, his mother

passed away. Four years later, his father remarried and the family shifted to Bombay, where he cleared his matriculation in 1908. Being a very bright student later he went on to study at the Columbia University in the City of New York and at the London School of Economics. He also studied economic at Bonn. As a postgraduate student, he had done advanced studies in the field of economics. His works on the Indian rupee as well as on Provincial Finance and Currency are notable. Further, being a renowned Jurist he could emerge as one of the architects of the Indian Constitution.

Ambedkar championed the aspirations and claims of the so-called Untouchables. His efforts to eradicate the social evils like untouchablity and caste restrictions brought him undying recognition. The leader, throughout his life, fought for the rights of the dalits and other socially backward classes. Ambedkar was appointed as the nation's first Law Minister in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru. He was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna India's highest civilian honour in 1990. Ambedkar was a victim of caste discrimination. His parents hailed from the Hindu Mahar caste, which was viewed as "untouchable" by the upper class. Due to this, Ambedkar had to face severe discriminations from every corner of the society. The discrimination and humiliation haunted Ambedkar even at the Army school, run by British government. Fearing social outcry, the teachers would segregate the students of lower class from that of Brahmins and other upper classes. The untouchable students were often asked by the teacher to sit outside the class.

After shifting to Satara, he was admitted to a local school but the change of school did not change the fate of young Bhimrao. Discrimination followed wherever he went. In 1908, Ambedkar got the opportunity to study at the Elphinstone College. Besides clearing all the exams successfully Ambedkar also obtained a scholarship of twenty five rupees a month from the Gayakwad ruler of Baroda, Sahyaji Rao III. Political Science and Economics were the subjects in which he graduated from the Bombay University in 1912. Ambedkar decided to use the money for higher studies in the USA. After coming back from the US, Ambedkar was appointed as the Defence secretary to the King of Baroda. Even, there also he had to face the humiliation for being an 'Untouchable'. With the help of the former Bombay Governor Lord Sydenham, Ambedkar obtained the job as a professor of political economy at the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay. In order to continue

his further studies, in 1920 he went to England at his own expenses. There he was awarded honour of D.Sc by the London University. Ambedkar also spent few months at the University of Bonn, Germany, to study economics. On 8 June, 1927, he was awarded a Doctorate by the University of Columbia.

3.3.3 DALIT MOVEMENT AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

After returning to India, Bhimrao Ambedkar decided to fight against the caste discrimination that almost fragmented the nation. Ambedkar opined that there should be separate electoral system for the Untouchables and lower caste people. He also favoured the concept of providing reservations for Dalits and other religious communities. Ambedkar began to find ways to reach to the people and make them understand the drawbacks of the prevailing social evils. He launched a newspaper called "Mooknayaka" (leader of the silent). It was believed that, one day, after hearing his speech at a rally, Shahu IV, an influential ruler of Kolhapur dined with the leader. The incident also created a huge uproar in the socio-political arena of the country.

In 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labour Party. In the 1937 elections to the Central Legislative Assembly his party won 15 seats. Ambedkar oversaw the transformation of his political party into the All India Scheduled Castes Federation, although it performed poorly in the elections held in 1946 for the Constituent Assembly of India. Ambedkar objected to the decision of Congress and Mahatma Gandhi to call the untouchable community as Harijans. He would say that even the members of untouchable community are same as the other members of the society. Ambedkar was appointed on the Defence Advisory Committee and the Viceroy's Executive Council as Minister for Labour. His reputation as a scholar and eminent jurist led to his appointment as free India's first, Law Minister and chairman of the committee responsible for drafting Indian Constitution.

3.3.4 CHANGE OF RELIGION TO BUDDHISM

In 1950, Ambedkar travelled to Sri Lanka to attend a convention of Buddhist scholars and monks. After his return he decided to write a book on Buddhism and soon, converted himself to Buddhism. In his speeches, Ambedkar lambasted the Hindu rituals and caste division. Ambedkar founded the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha In

1955. His book "The Buddha and His Dhamma" was published posthumously. On October 14, 1956 Ambedkar organized a public ceremony to convert around five lakh of his supporters into Buddhism. Ambedkar travelled to Kathmandu to attend the Fourth World Buddhist Conference. He completed his final manuscript, "The Buddha or Karl Marx" on December 2, 1956.

3.3.5 POLITICAL IDEAS OF AMBEDKAR

3.3.5.1 CRITIQUE ON HINDUISM

It is a very well known truth that Ambedkar had renounced Hinduism and had adopted Buddhism as his mark of protest against the prevalent Caste system in Hindu society, which he believed was the original religion of his ancestors. In fact, he even paved a way for many of the Dalits to adopt Buddhism as well. Ambedkar was against a phenomenon called Brahmanism, which he believed is one of the components of Hinduism and not its essence. He is a staunch critique of the caste system which according to him is nothing but, Brahmanism incarnate. It is one of the components of a large cultural unit that is the Hindu culture. Brahmanism can be easily understood as the desire of those in the Brahmin caste, or those appropriating that status, to assert themselves so as to be at the top of the social hierarchy. Ambedkar was aware of this fact. Ambedkar in his works did not condemn the people born in particular castes (therefore much against what many contemporary ideologues claim), but the tendency within the caste ideology, spearheaded by the status of the Brahmin caste to oppress the lower orders in accordance to the given graded hierarchies. He vehemently critiques Hinduism and calls this religion a myth, a set of rules. The fact that he calls it a myth arises out of the sources which convinced him that the word Hindu never existed in Shastras.

Ambedkar was of the view that Hindu religion was based on caste system, so it could not do any justice to depressed classes such as Dalits. Thus, he went on to articulate that Hinduism has been the cause of perpetuation of injustice towards poor and toiling masses of India who had been denied dignified life for centuries. D. K. Mohanty says Ambedkar argued that the religion which maltreats its followers nothing less than animals and cripples them from all aspects was not at all a religion. He was opposed to Hinduism because it did not support social unity rather it promotes discrimination and

societal isolation of some communities considered as untouchables. He believed that Verna system is the root cause of the emergence and perpetuation of untouchability in India for centuries together and continuing till now. He criticised the notion of Hindu religion in which virtue is caste-ridden and morality is caste bound. The Hindu religion is a means for the exploitation of Shudras by Brahmins. Ambedkar attacked theoretically on Hindu religious books from a rationalist and humanist point of view, as he felt that caste would only be annihilated if Hindus lost faith in the religious books which sanctify the Varnashrama-dharma and caste system. It is insignificant whether his analysis right or wrong, but what remains significant is his objectiveness he adopted in the criticism of the holy books. He hated Hinduism because it inherently institutionalizes the discrimination by the caste system in most inhuman ways. One cannot be a Hindu until he/she belongs to a certain caste. Ambedkar tried to reform Hinduism in his younger days, but he realized that his efforts are futile as upper caste Hindus feel pride for their caste and not ready to give up their caste and socioeconomic privileges derived from their caste. So he studied various religions and found flaws and vulnerabilities in almost every one of them. He got influenced by Buddhism because it preached non-violence, peace and equality. It was also a simple and logical religion. Ambedkar revived old Buddhism in a new form called 'navayana' or 'neo-Buddhism' which was distinct from other varieties of East Asian Buddhism which was riddled with idol worship and blind faith.

Therefore, he was determined to reform and 'restructure the Hindu social system which was based on faulty Hindu religion' and also further grounded in Verna system. He supported the social system in which human beings live a human life based on the liberty, equality and fraternity. He stressed the preferential treatment for socially oppressed and economically exploited masses of the country.

3.3.5.2 PERCEPTIONS ON CASTE

Ambedkar's perception of caste and its critical analysis from the historical and social perspective can be found in his works such as Caste in India, Annihilation of Caste and Who Were Sudra? For Ambedkar Caste System is part and parcel of the Hindu Society. It has been coming through the ages and it will remain with the Hindu society for ever. Ambedkar, denounced the caste system as totally unscientific as it has no scientific origin. According to Ambedkar, caste system is not merely a

division of labour. It is a hierarchy in which one labourer is graded above the other. This division of labour was not spontaneous; it was neither based on natural aptitudes nor on choice. Individual's sentiment had no place in it. It was based on the dogma of predestinations. He felt, in no civilised society, there is unnatural division of labour into water-tight compartment. Social and individual efficiency requires us to develop the capacity of an individual to the point of competency to choose and to make his own career. This principle is violated in the caste system in so far as it involves an attempt to appoint tasks to individual in advance, selected not on the basis of trained original capacities but on that of the social status of the parents.

He said, unemployment among Hindus is due to the caste system because there is no readjustment of occupations. Caste, thus, does not result in economic efficiency; it cannot and has not improved race. It has completely disorganised and demoralised the Hindus. It prevents common activity and by doing so, it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a united society. But how to abolish caste? Ambedkar said, caste cannot simply be abolished by forced inter-caste marriage and inter-dining. What is needed is notional change. Hindus observe caste not because they are inhuman, but because their religion and religious shastras (scriptures) have taught them so. People being religious minded observe it blindly. Hence he said, make every man and woman free from the thraldom of the shastras, cleanse their minds of the pernicious notions founded in the shastras and he or she will inter-dine and inter-marry, without any body telling him or her to do so. He called upon the people to disobey the unscientific, inhuman and unsocial rules of the shastras. People must also deny the authority of the shastras like Buddha and Nanak.

Vishnoo Bhagwan says Ambedkar "…was of the opinion that the Hindu society based on caste system led to exploitation and perpetuation of inequality. Due to Varna Vyawastha, a class of untouchables has emerged. In this system Brahmins acquired supreme position and indulged in highhandedness and extreme cruelty towards the untouchables. Unfortunately the nasty system was strongly supported by the Brahmins, torch-bearers of the Hindu religion and advocates of Manusmriti. Hence, he felt the end of Varna Vyawastha, a stiff opposition of traditional religion and burning of holy books like Manusmriti also could help reforming the untouchables and subsequently the Indian society. He himself burnt Manusmriti in bonfire on September 29, 1927 at Mahad and told people to do so. This prompted even Gandhiji

to consider Baba Sahib a challenge to Hindu religion. In fact, Baba Sahib was not opposed to Hindu religion as such. However, he was against misinterpretation of religion which taught a section of Hindus to hold another sizeable section to ridicule. He discovered that equality has always been a casualty in Hindu religion. Hence at the fag end of life, he ultimately embraced Buddhism which stands for equality, humanism, compassion and fellowship. His personal experience from a school student to barrister and in Maharaja's service made him realise that low caste shudras were not treated as human beings. Hence caste system was slur on the fair name of Hindu religion. It must be destroyed. His books exposed the ills of the Hindu society and suggested abolition of caste system. He dwelt at length on evils of caste system.

He believed that caste system caused downfall of the Hindus and Hindu society based on four castes is mere exploitation of the lowest rung. It is harmful as it demoralises untouchables and deny them education. Such society is devoid of liberty, brotherhood and equality. He suggested completely destroying of religious consciousness, strengthening caste and class system and abolishment of the godly base of the shastra. He firmly believed that the upliftment and development of Hindu society is not possible without eradicating the caste system. Socialism could not be established and democracy could not be attained successfully in India in the presence of caste system. Even peace and integrity in the country depends on abolition of caste system. He stressed that that there is a need of a social revolution along with social improvement for a fundamental change in social organisation.

He traced the root cause of the caste system in the holy shastras as well. Hence he exhorted each man and woman to come out of the grasp of shastras and efface from mind their holiness in order to wipe out caste system. He suggested promoting inter-caste marriages as the blood mixture would generate feeling of self relations with others and result in the destructions of separatist feeling of caste system itself. He advocated the abolition of Brahmanism as well if Hindu Religion was to be salvaged. He exhorted the people of his caste to stop performing of these activities which make them untouchables and low. The shielding of inferiority complex will help the untouchables to consider themselves at par with high castes. Such steps were certainly creative and effective for eradicating the caste system. Even Gandhiji despite his differences with Ambedkar agreed on the abolition of caste system.

3.3.5.3 Denouncement of Untouchability

Ambedkar made all out efforts to eliminate untouchability from the country. D. K. Mohanty feels "Ambedkar himself belonging to the group of untouchables, dealt with the problem from both historical and social perspective. He made a detailed analysis of the origin and the practice of untouchability in his book entitled The Untouchables: Who were they and why they became Untouchables published in 1948. He repudiated "the racial ethnic or occupational theory for the origin of untouchability using anthropometric and ethnographic evidence. His conclusion was that untouchables clung to the faith and practice of Buddhism and Brahmanism which had completely moulded the history of India." Ambedkar's theory rejected the idea of pollution attached to the untouchables. He argued that there was no racial difference between Hindus and untouchables. Thus he condemned all the misconceptions and the practice of untouchability as baseless. Purification and defilement attached to untouchability can neither be applicable to a group nor can it be hereditary basis. Impurity or defilement is observed in case of birth, death etc. It cannot be imposed over any group or race. Hence, Ambedkar demanded total abolition of untouchability. That can be possible by both social and legal ways. Socially the untouchables themselves should rise to the occasion. They should give up traditional occupations like carrying dead cow out of the village and should give up drinking alcohol. They should be educated. Secondly he fought for the cause of representation of all the untouchables at all levels of government. As a result, by Poona Pact, agreement was made for reservation of seats in general electorate. According to Ambedkar, untouchables must be seen as a minority as a separate people so long as they are treated as a separate people. And so long as they have special needs, those needs must be represented in the government by the untouchables themselves. The government must initiate welfare measures for the untouchables.

The untouchability old age curse of Hinduism is in fact corollary of the nasty caste system. Vishnoo Bhagwan says Ambedkar said "the root of untouchability lies in caste system." while sending a message to the first issue of Harijan weekly of Gandhi he remarked, "….The out caste is a by-product of the caste system. There will be outcastes as long as there are castes and nothing can emancipate outcaste except the destruction of the caste system." Hence he opposed caste system vehemently and

took cudgels to fight for the by-product of caste system. Hence the untouchables who had no right to pull water from the well, no right to enter the temple, no right to get education and no right to enjoy socio-political-ritual rights, got a new direction from Ambedkar. He established a Bahiskrit Hitkarini Sabha on July 20, 1924 in Bombay (present Mumbai) for the upliftment of the untouchables. Its aims were as following:

- To establish hostels for the spread of education for the down-trodden.

- To start reading and spiritual centre for the cultural development.

- To open industrial and agricultural school for economic development.

- To start movement for eradicating the untouchability.

- To remove the bad tradition of higher classes.

He headed a movement of 500 untouchables to use the water of Chawtar tank in Mahar village of district Kolaba (Bombay) on March 20, 1927. Addressing the untouchables from Vireshwar Pandal he remarked, "You have to establish your right. If you do not do so then there will be no difference between you and the cattle." He himself drank water of the tank and subsequently tank was declared a public tank. Again on March 2, 1930 he started famous movement at Nasik i.e. the movement of entering the temple by untouchables. The down-trodden under his leadership eventually succeeded in procuring the facility of entering the temple since October, 1935. Later he participated in the first Round Table Conference in London to represent the point of view of depressed classes. He demanded equal rights, safeguard against differential behaviour, reservation in government services, a separate department for their development and a new code as a substitute of Manusmriti. All this reflects that he was in the true sense messiah of the down-trodden, a social revolutionary who shook the very foundation of rigid caste structure, deeply entrenched in Hindu society.

The steps that Ambedkar took for improvement of lives of untouchables which is a saga of incessant struggle by a social revolutionary to bring his brethrens out of the quagmire of degradation, perpetual humiliation and inhuman subjection to Brahmanical brutalities are as following:

- The presentation of the case of the depressed classes before Simon

Commission and in Round Table Conferences.

- MacDonald Award assuring the untouchables separate electorates and Poona Pact undoing the MacDonald Award to save life of Gandhiji and allowing the depressed classes reservation of seats, but undoing separate electorates.

- Coining of a dignified name Harijans for the untouchables by Gandhiji

- Establishment of Scheduled Castes Federation to bring Scheduled Castes in national politics.

- Ambedkar safeguarding the rights of untouchables in the Draft of the Indian Constitution, the legal abolition of untouchability in free India.

Eventually, the sixteen sections incorporated in the Constitution act as stationary light pillars to direct politics of the downtrodden. The abolition of caste system and the eradication of untouchability was apt to usher in era of social justice. Hence, as chairman of Drafting Committee of the Constitution of free India, he accorded special importance to the dreams and aspirations of the ordinary men in relation with social and economic justice. Assurance of opportunities for a rightful place in the national polity through Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles was his aim when he got the honour of heading the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution. But the bitter truth is that despite being highly educated, he himself had to face humiliation at the hands of Hindus. He was convinced that the dalits would never be given fair and just treatment in the Hindu religion.

3.3.6 AMBEDKAR ON RESERVATIONS

Caste based reservation in India started in 2nd Century BC. In Manusmriti, the law book of Brahmins, all the laws were based on caste and no merit was ever considered. It divided people into high and low castes on the basis of their birth and not on the basis of merit. Wealth, political power, spiritual leadership, education, ownership of land, trade and all lucrative aspects were reserved purely to the higher castes. The correct term used for reservation in the Indian Constitution is representation. It is not given to anyone in his individual capacity. It is given to individual as a representative of the underprivileged community. The beneficiaries of reservations are in turn expected to help their communities to come up. Reservation is a democratic

principle to provide representation to the castes hitherto remained unrepresented in the governance of the country. The reservation policy has no doubt played an important role in the advancement of SC/ST's. Most of the beneficiaries of the reservation are busy in their daily routine work i.e. office and home. They don't even have time to think about their community as such. Their children are well off, some taking education in best engineering colleges even in payment seats, best management colleges, some working abroad in MNC's.

During the British rule of India in twentieth century, Ambedkar demanded separate electorates for untouchables on the pattern of Muslims. He wanted that untouchables should be elected by the untouchable electorates only. He asked for reservation of seats for untouchable masses according their share or proportion of population. But the British accepted only nomination of untouchables. He argued that untouchables are distinct and individual entity; therefore there should be reservation of seats for them in legislatures. He wanted abolition of the practice of nomination of a few seats for the dalits. He also strongly advocated introduction of adult franchise system. He said that untouchables are not Hindus and they should be called as non-caste Hindus, Protestant Hindus or non-conformist Hindus. He said that untouchables are given just treatment by Hindus so they are separate. He wanted consideration of depressed classes as a separate community for electoral purposes. In August 1932, the British announced Communal Award through Ramsay MacDonald. The Award gave recognition to depressed classes as a minority community so it deserved separate electorate. Following two benefits were given to untouchables through Communal Award by the British:

- A fixed quota of seats to be elected by a separate electorate of untouchables.

- A double vote one to be used through separate electorates and the other to be used in general electorates.

He wanted to secure maximum participation of minorities in the legislatures. But he wanted to ensure that there would not develop absolute majority of either of majorities or minorities. He stressed that the depressed classes formed a distinct and independent entity. Accordingly he demanded/suggested that the Hindus should be given 40 percent representation, 32 per cent to Muslims, 20 per cent to SCs, 4 per cent to Sikhs,

3 per cent to Christians and 1 per cent to Anglo-Indians in the legislatures. He asked for election of untouchables by the untouchables only. During the representation of Wavell Plan, he demanded for untouchables three seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council in accordance with the population of lower castes. He asked for 22 seats of total 140 seats in the Bombay Legislative Council. The invitation to Ambedkar to represent depressed classes in the Round Table Conference in 1930 was recognition by the British of separate and independent identity of untouchables. He suggested that the untouchables should be designated as non-caste Hindus. He submitted memorandum to Cabinet Mission in April 1946 demanding separate electorates for SCs as also adequate representation in the legislatures, executives and services. Before the attainment of independence, he pleaded for special constitutional safeguards for untouchables from British government. He argued for equal rights for SCs. While framing the Constitution, he ensured inclusion of safeguards for depressed classes.

Bidyut Chakrabarty and Rajendra Kumar Pandey are of the opinion that Ambedkar was a protagonist of the idea of social justice as an inalienable part of the constitutional democratic framework in India. He was of the firm opinion that the provisions for securing only political justice would not suffice to bring about the desired level of socio-economic upliftment of untouchables so as to enable them to enjoy a life of social equality in the country. Thus, he vehemently supported the idea of social justice as the complex and comprehensive set of socio-economic and political preferential and supportive policy measures to uplift the status of depressed classes in the society. Ambedkar was convinced that the operationalisation of the idea of social justice could be carried on by putting in place a set of constitutional provisions in the nature of both protective and promotional measures.

Along with distinct and autonomous political representation of the depressed classes in the institutions of Indian polity, Ambedkar also argued for reservation for the depressed sections of society in public employment provided their eligibility for a particular job is complete. Ambedkar presumably envisioned that such a move would serve two utmost purposes instrumental in securing a comprehensive amelioration in the conditions of the disadvantaged groups of people. First, with the increase in their share in public services, a wider majority of people belonging to the depressed classes would gain social recognition and some degree of preponderance power that

the public services carry in the feudal mindset of the majority sections of Indians. Second, such an assured employment would probably also contribute to the economic upliftment of the depressed groups as regular and fairly sufficient source of income in a family might add to the amelioration in the hitherto miserable economic conditions of the family. Thus, combined together, the idea of reservation in public services was considered to be a crucial component in the scheme of social justice envisioned by Ambedkar for the depressed sections of Indian society. Ambedkar showed an enormous degree of clarity by conceptualising that the preferential treatment to the disadvantaged sections need not be construed as a reflection of the benevolence of the majority, viewpoint quite probable given the reticence of such people in accepting the rational imperative of the policy. Moreover, he argued that such a conceptual understanding of the notion of preferential treatment would inspire the depressed classes to fight for these measures if the government showed any leniency in affording them to the people.

3.3.7 AMBEDKAR ON PLANNING

Most people rightly remember Baba Saheb Ambedkar as the principal architect of the Indian Constitution and as an emancipator of the poor and deprived. But he was also an eminent economist. He contributed substantially to the formulation of postwar economic development plan in general and labour, water resources and electric power development plans in particular. In all his earlier writings, such as 'The problem of the rupee – its origin and its solution', 'Administration and finance of the East India Company', 'Evolution of provincial finance in British India and Small holdings in India and their remedies', Ambedkar made a realistic assessment of economic problems faced by the country during the British Rule and had expressed his views very boldly about the administration of public finance, sharing of taxes between the centre and the provinces and decentralization of financial powers to the provinces. He also advocated that as India depends almost wholly upon agriculture, and has surplus landless labour, it was necessary to divert the surplus labour from agriculture to industry. In his thesis which had obtained for him Ph.D. of the Columbia University in 1917 'National Dividend of India - A Historic and Analytic Study' wherein Ambedkar had traced the growth of the financial arrangements from the charter of 1833 granted to the East India Company by the British Parliament and

critically examined the nature and growth of the provincial finances. He held the British bureaucracy responsible for the financial ills of the country. His thesis speaks volumes about the courage, and conviction of Ambedkar to criticize the British administration so bluntly, while he was so young and India was still under the British rule. Ambedkar knew clearly the problems in levying of taxes. He pointed out that it is very difficult to have proper taxation policies, as the governments which depend on the peoples' vote to govern, would be always hesitant to mobilize the needed resources through requisite taxation and at the same time the government cannot take measures to reduce public expenditure by enforcing administrative economies. The following are the important components of the taxation policy advocated by Ambedkar:

- A personal tax should be based on taxable capacity of the individual and not on his gross income,

- The rates should be progressive, meaning the rich should be taxed more and the poor less,

- There should be exemptions subject to a limit of income tax for tax payers. Ambedkar also argued for a strategy of transferring labour from agriculture to other sectors of the economy.

Ambedkar had argued for an important place for labour and the depressed classes in the planned economic development of the country. He was particularly concerned that planned economic development should not only develop programmes but also translate them in terms which the common man could understand, namely, food, housing, clothing, education, good health and above all the right to work with dignity. He laid the foundation of water resources and power development of the country and a major achievement of Ambedkar was the establishment of two technical organizations, presently known as Central Water Commission and Central Electricity Authority (CEA) that have contributed substantially for the development of irrigation and power in the country.

3.3.8 AMBEDKAR ON CONSTITUTIONALISM

B. R Ambedkar is usually projected as a protagonist of social justice. But equally important was his role in constitutionalizing India, evident first in his witness to

the 1919 Southborough Committee on Franchise, followed by his intervention in the 1930 Round Table Conference in London, where he defended compensatory discrimination for the untouchables in opposition to the Gandhi.

Ambedkar's approach to constitutionalism is both context-driven and derivative. He was persuaded to accept the significance of a codified rule of law to address social-imbalance, perhaps because of the experience of being born a Mahar in the absence of meaningful legal protection for untouchables. For him, the liberal ideologies associated with British colonialism created normative spaces in which historically disadvantaged sections of India's population were given opportunities for self-actualization. This is evident in a statement defending colonial rule, because it was 'meant to provide equal opportunities for all, and that in transferring a large share of the power to popular assemblies, arrangement should be made whereby the hardships and disabilities entailed by the social system should be entirely removed'.

Ambedkar's commitment to constitutional liberalism was codified in the Constitution of India, which he drafted along with other members of the Drafting Committee. The twin influences of John Dewey and George Grote remained critical to Ambedkar as he defended his distinctive liberal approach to democratic experimentalism in India. It was possible for Ambedkar to pursue liberal values when he was involved in the drafting of the constitution since neither Gandhi nor his staunch followers in the Constituent Assembly posed any threat to the formation of a liberal state. This was presumably because (a) they were outnumbered by opponents and (b) they seemed to have endorsed the idea of creating an inclusive society. This also means that in the changed circumstances of the post-independence period, they had different kinds of ideological priorities, more in line with the liberal principles expressed by Ambedkar. The 1950 Constitution of India was thus not merely a text, but an endeavour to produce a Deweyan form of robust democratic liberalism, by evolving an inclusive public space for effective political participation, regardless of caste or any other socio-economic criteria, and also to instill Grote's constitutional morality as a guarantee towards fulfilling Ambedkar's liberal dream. According to Babasaheb, what prevented India from achieving democracy in its unalloyed form was the absence of equality and fraternity. Ambedkar was suspicious of caste society, held together by a Hindu order which he understood as a clear impediment to a liberal

society based on individual freedom. Because the socially marginalized subject was also politically weak, a constitutional resolution to the caste question was required.

Unlike Gandhi who argued that the transformation of modern India had to be effected through change in 'society', what was unique in Ambedkar's constitutional project was that he sought to transform 'society' through 'politics', because, according to him, 'it was only through politics and the specific kind of power it sanctions that the nation can be imagined, administered and made just'. It was not therefore surprising that in the first Round Table Conference, Ambedkar insisted that 'we must have a government in which the men in power … will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for', and, he further added, 'that we feel that nobody can remove our grievances unless we get political power in our hands'. The implication of such a claim is very significant. For Gandhi, social discrimination was necessarily 'a social evil' which could be easily mitigated through 'moral re-education of the upper castes'; while, for Ambedkar, it was embedded in the structured violence and coercion that could be effectively addressed by stern political action, including legally endorsed compensatory discrimination . Ambedkar's perception thus enables us to conceptualize 'various challenges to homogeneous national identity posed by struggles around various markers of identity (caste, gender, region and so forth) which have contributed to a differentiated entry into the domain of citizenship'. By strongly defending 'differentiated citizenship' as perhaps the most effective means to establish equality and fraternity in the liberal sense, Ambedkar thus argued for a political scheme whereby 'universalist ideas of rights had to give way to positive discrimination in favour of the oppressed'. He was the first Indian thinker to have advocated group-differentiated rights by seeking to institute 'special cultural rights for religious minorities, legislative quotas or the downtrodden castes and tribe, and preferential treatment in education and government employment for backward groups'. Ambedkar's argument for differentiated citizenship was appreciated by his colleagues in the Constituent Assembly, particularly when he insisted on provisions for reservation in public jobs for the scheduled castes and tribes. Ambedkar was in this sense a powerful voice in favour of 'a liberal egalitarian framework for addressing group-based inequalities', advocating constitutional governance as the most useful tool for leveling prevalent socio-economic imbalances.

By rejecting 'tradition' and 'holy texts' endorsing blatant discrimination, Ambedkar set in motion a critique that, despite being ridiculed at the outset, had created an ambience in which the ideas of social justice gained ground. This was most explicit in the 1950 Constitution of India, which became a cornerstone of a nation that sought to establish equality and fraternity as significant constitutional values, in opposition to the well-established birth-driven social discrimination. Recognizing group-differentiated rights to a significant extent, the Constitution defended 'special cultural rights for religious minorities, legislative quotas for the downtrodden castes and tribes and preferential treatment in education and government employment for backward groups'. Ambedkar expected that the Indian constitution, as a moral text, would create 'spaces that would enable the Dalit to acquire self-description as subjective agents, and liberal institutions would help them reject the negative description of servile objects that had long been imposed on them. It is not therefore surprising to find that there are elaborate provisions in India's constitution for state protection of minority rights, reinforcing the idea that in order for constitutional liberalism to strike roots against the odds, institutional protection was a necessity. Ambedkar's contribution to the formatting of the Constitution in a liberal mould was then reflective of a sustained endeavour aimed at making a caste-ridden society sensitive to the basic liberal values of equality, fraternity and the codified rule of law as supreme principles governing inter-personal relations.

3.3.9 LET US SUM UP

Ambedkar was of the view point that Hindu religion was based caste system so it has not served any justice to depressed classes such as dalits. He was opposed to Hinduism because it did not support social unity rather it promotes discrimination and societal isolation of some communities considered as untouchables. He believed that Verna system is the root cause of the emergence and perpetuation of untouchability in India for centuries together continuing till now. Therefore, he stressed the preferential treatment for socially oppressed and economically exploited masses of the country. To Ambedkar, caste is not only unnatural division of labour, it is also an undemocratic system in which division of labourers are graded one above the other. It prevents common activity and by doing so, it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a united society. People being religious minded observe the caste system blindly in

their lives. Ambedkar exhorted the untouchables to not obey the authority of shastras. He felt the end of Varna Vyawastha, a stiff opposition of traditional religion and burning of holy books like Manusmriti also could help reforming the untouchables and subsequently the Indian society. He himself made bonfire of Manusmriti. He discovered that equality has always been a casualty in Hindu religion. His personal experience from a school student to barrister and in Maharaja's service made him realise that low caste shudras were not treated as human beings. Ambedkar rejected the idea of pollution attached to the untouchables and declared that there was no racial difference between Hindus and untouchables. He argued that purification and defilement attached to untouchability could neither be applicable to a group nor could it be hereditary basis. He asked for reservation of electoral seats for untouchable masses according their share or proportion of population. Alongwith distinct and autonomous political representation of the depressed classes in the institutions of Indian polity, Ambedkar also argued for reservation for the depressed sections of society in public employment provided their eligibility for a particular job is complete. That is why he is rightly called as Messiah of poor and untouchables.

3.3.9 EXERCISE

1. Ambedkar felt, 'Hindu religion is a means for the exploitation of Shudras by Brahmins'. Discuss Ambedkar's critique of Hinduism.

2. 'Ambedkar had renounced Hinduism and had adopted Buddhism as his mark of protest against the prevalent Caste system in Hindu society'. In the light of the given statement, critically examine Ambedkars views on Caste System.

3. Highlight the key arguments of Ambedkar on Reservation Policy.

4. In light of the important components of Taxation policy advocated by Ambedkar, Discuss Ambedkar's views on Taxation.

3.4 VALABH BHAI PATEL : NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND SECULARISM

- **Nirmal Singh**

STRUCTURE

3.4.0 Objectives

3.4.1 Introduction

3.4.2 Patel: Life and Education

3.4.3 Participation in Indian National Movement

3.4.4 Influence of Gandhi on Sardar Patel

3.4.5 Patel's Views on Nationalism

3.4.6 Patel on National Integration

3.4.7 Patel's Perceptions on Secularism

3.4.8 Patel on Indian Economy

3.4.9 Let Us Sum Up

3.4.10 Exercise

3.4.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Know the life and education of Sardar Patel and his participation in Indian nationalist movement;

- Understand his political ideas of nationalism, national integration and

secularism;

- Comprehend his economic thoughts in general and his opinions about Indian economy.

3.4.1 INTRODUCTION

Sardar Patel dominated the Indian political scene from 1917 to 1950 and dedicated himself to the freedom struggle and reorganised the Indian National Congress. After Independence, he managed sensitive portfolios such as Home and the States. Following the Partition, he restructured the bureaucracy and integrated the princely States. Patel laid the foundation of political democracy by being an important member in the drafting of the Indian Constitution. Thus, he emerged an astute leader and a sagacious statesman acknowledged as the 'Iron Man' and a founder of modern India.

As a fiery champion of fundamental rights and liberty, Patel was convinced that these values were essential pre-requisites for the development of the individual and a nation. He always raised his voice on several issues against exploitation and criticised the high-handedness of authority, the exploitative revenue policy of the Government and maladministration in the Princely states.

Patel not only criticised the arbitrary policies of confiscation of movable and immovable properties, but also insisted on guarded regulations on land reforms and nationalisation of key industries. His efforts to reform the Hindu religion and protect the people of other faiths reflected his longing for the right to religion. He encouraged the duly elected authority to bring restrictions through various legislative measures to freedom for all. Thus, his political value system was a fine synthesis of liberalism, conservatism and welfarism.

Patel's vision of State was in tune with the pattern of his political values. In his concept, the State was founded and held together by a high sense of nationalism and patriotism. Individual liberty was to be in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, to create a Nation-State, he pressed for the emancipation of backward communities and women and bring about Hindu-Muslim unity through the Gandhian constructive programme and skillfully utilised the higher castes for social integration

and political mobilisation. Thus, he strengthened the plural basis of the nation-state by bringing electoral participation as effective political mobilisation. He saw a nation as 'democratic in structure, nationalistic in foundation and welfarist in spirit and function'.

3.4.2 PATE: LIFE AND EDUCATION

Vallabhbhai Patel was born on October 31, 1875 in Gujarat to Zaverbhai and Ladbai. His father had served in the army of the Queen of Jhansi while his mother was a very spiritual. Starting his academic career in a Gujarati medium school Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel shifted to an English medium school. In 1897, Vallabhbhai passed his high school examination and started preparing for law examination. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel went to England to study law in 1910. After finishing his law studies in 1913 and came back to India and started his law practice. Vallabhbhai was offered many lucrative posts by the British Government but he rejected all. He was a staunch opponent of the British government and its laws and therefore decided not to work for the British. He later started practicing at Ahmedabad. After a meeting with Mahatma Gandhi, at the Gujarat Club, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel got influenced by Gandhi's words. Later, Patel became an ardent follower of Gandhiji inspired by his work and philosophy.

Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the great social leaders of India. He played a crucial role during the freedom struggle of India and was instrumental in the integration of over 500 princely states into the Indian Union. Despite the choice of the people, on the request of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel stepped down from the candidacy of Congress president. The election on that occasion eventually meant for the election of the first Prime Minister of independent India.

3.4.3 PARTICIPATION IN INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

In 1917, Sardar Vallabhbhai was elected as the Secretary of the Gujarat Sabha. The next year, when there was a flood in Kheda, the British insisted on collecting tax from the farmers. Sardar Vallabhbhai led a massive "No Tax campaign" that urged the

farmers not to pay their land tax. The peaceful movement forced the British authority to return then land taken away from the farmers. His efforts to bring together the farmers of his area brought him the title of 'Sardar'.

In 1928, the farmers of Bardoli faced a similar problem of "tax-hike". After prolonged summons, when the farmers refused to pay the extra tax, the government in retaliation seized their lands. Vallabhbhai Patel launched agitation for the farmers. The agitation took on for more than six months and after a deal was struck between the government and farmer's representatives and the lands were returned to farmers.

In 1930, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was imprisoned for participating in the famous Salt Satyagraha called by Mahatma Gandhi. His inspiring speeches during the Salt Movement transformed the lives of numerous people, who later played a major role in making the movement successful. Sardar Patel was freed in 1931 following an agreement signed between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India. The treaty was popularly known as the Gandhi-Irwin pact. The same year, Patel was elected as the president of Indian National Congress Party for its Karachi session. In the Karachi session, the Indian National Congress Party committed itself to the defence of fundamental rights and human rights and a dream of a secular nation. An agreement regarding this was also sanctioned. In 1934, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel led the all-India election campaign for the Indian National Congress. Though he did not contest a seat for himself, Sardar Patel helped his fellow party mates during the election. Sardar Patel was annoyed at Jawaharlal Nehru for the latter's declarations of the adoption of socialism in 1936.

3.4.4 INFLUENCE OF GANDHIJI ON SARDAR PATEL

Sardar Patel had great influence of Gandhiji. He always supported ideas, policies and actions of Gandhiji. While senior leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru, Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari and Maulana Azad criticized Mahatma Gandhi's concept that the civil disobedience movement would compel the British to leave the nation, Patel extended his support to Gandhi. Despite the unwillingness of the Congress High Command, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel strongly forced the All India Congress Committee to ratify the civil disobedience movement and launch

it without delaying it further. Acting under the pressure, the All India Congress Committee sanctioned the drive on 7 August 1942. One important episode that could change the political lines of the country had shaped up just a year ahead of attaining independence. During the election for the Congress presidency in 1946, thirteen of the sixteen states proposed Sardar Patel's name for the post. It was a very crucial election, as the elected president of the congress party would be later considered as the first Prime Minister of independent India. Just a few days, before the all important election, Mahatma Gandhi requested Sardar Patel to leave the candidacy and support Jawaharlal Nehru. Sardar Patel, without pondering twice, stepped down.

3.4.5 PATEL'S VIEWS ON NATIONALSIM

Popularly known as the Iron Man of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the founding fathers of the Republic of India. A statesman of integrity, he played a quintessential role in helping India garner independence from the British rule. Sardar Patel was a staunch nationalist. He fought for the independence of the country. Patel's involvement in politics grew astronomically. As a fiery champion of fundamental rights and liberty, he was convinced that these values were essential pre-requisites for the development of the individual and a nation. He always raised his voice on several issues against exploitation and criticised the high-handedness of authority, the exploitative revenue policy of the Government and maladministration in the Princely states.

He fought against servitude of Indians to Europeans, organized relief efforts during plague and famine in Kheda and took a leading role in the non-violent Civil Disobedience Movement against the payment of raised tax, levied by the British. His leadership activities earned him the title of 'Sardar'. He travelled village to village, garnering support from peasants and other villagers for a state-wide revolt in Gujarat by refusing the payment of taxes. He laid emphasis on unity and non-violent demeanour despite provocation and also briefed the villagers of the potential hardships that they might have to face in the process. When the revolt was launched, the British government responded by conducting raids at the holdings of the farmers. They even imprisoned thousands of villagers. The revolt had attained a national

status and earned empathy from people across the country.

Though once Patel was a follower of Western fashion, he switched to khadi with the influence of Gandhi and nationalist movement. He even organized several bonfires of British goods in Ahmedabad. Apart from these, Patel supported the empowerment of women and worked for abolishing alcoholism, untouchability and caste discrimination from the society. In 1928, the village of Bardoli suffered from famine and steep tax hikes. To curb the problem, Sardar Patel organized a struggle, which called for non-violent unity from the villagers and a demand for complete denial of the taxes to the Government. The fate of the Satyagraha started in Bardoli was similar to that of Kheda as the British government agreed on repealing the tax hike. The victory brought Sardar Patel into limelight and highlighted his role as a typical 'Sardar' or 'leader'. Due to this, more and more people started addressing him as Sardar Patel.

Vallabhbhai Patel took active participation in the Gandhi-led Quit India Movement. He believed that the mass civil disobedience would compel the British to leave the nation like in Singapore and Burma. Under the pressure of Gandhi and Patel, the All India Congress Committee launched the mass civil disobedience in the form of Quit India Movement on August 7, 1942. Patel influenced the large crowd that had assembled to take part in the civil disobedience, which included forced shutdown of the civil services and refusal to pay taxes. It was his powerful speech that electrified nationalists even those people who were sceptical about the rebellion. Vallabhbhai Patel was arrested two days later on August 9 and was released after three years on June 15, 1945. Strikes, protests and revolutionary activities ruled India and Indians during this time with the result turning out in the country's favour, as British decided to leave India and transfer the power to Indians. He remained the president of the Indian National Congress. Under his presidentship, the Congress passed resolution for fundamental rights at Karachi session in 1931. During his term, Patel committed to protecting the fundamental rights and human freedom and envisioned India as a secular nation.

He strongly opposed and condemned the execution of Bhagat Singh. He was in

favour of helping British in Second World War not unconditionally but rather on certain conditions. Patel was opposed to the Indians helping Japan in the World War as Japan was an imperialistic country in his views. After failure of Cripps Mission, he advocated agitation and violence in the form of inflicting damage to telephone lines and other means of communication. He extensively campaigned in the 1946 elections and exhorted people to vote in the last elections under the foreign yolk. He was in favour of united and strong India. As a Home Minister of India, he worked for the consolidation and integration of the country. He was instrumental in the founding the Indian Administrative Service and the Indian Police Service and is therefore known as the 'Patron Saint' of India's services. After assuming office of the States Department, Sardar defined the policy of the Government of India with regard to the Princely states and persuaded them to accede to the Dominion of India on the subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. He assured the States that the policy of the government was to create harmony and to work for mutual interest. He pointed out that the Indian states should not forget that the only alternative to co-operation in the general interest was alike. In his concept, the State was founded and held together by a high sense of nationalism and patriotism.

In foreign relations Patel took such a strong stand in favour of sanctions against Pakistan after partition that he earned the displeasure of Gandhi. He took a position opposite to that of Nehru in relation to Tibet and China, adopting an attitude of distrust towards China in general, condemnation of the Chinese invasion of Tibet in particular, and a willingness to provide Indian diplomatic support to Tibet. He favoured strong condemnation of North Korea's aggression against South Korea in June 1950. Nor did he share the mistrust of Nehru and others on the left in Indian politics of the United States and their reluctance to accept the US aid. Patel also supported strongly the maintenance of India's membership in the Commonwealth.

3.4.6 PATEL ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION

At the time of independence, Indian territory was divided into three parts. First, there were territories which were under the direct control of the British government. Second were the territories over which the hereditary rulers had suzerainty. The

regions, which had been colonized by France and Portugal, formed the last. Patel knew that India, without the integration of these different territories under one fold, could not be considered as a unified and total country. It was a stupendous task for the ruling party, to persuade the rulers of these states to join. According to British government, the province rulers had the liberty to choose how they wanted to be ruled. They were given two choices. They could join either of India and Pakistan or stay independently. The stance of the British government had made the task much difficult for India. At this point many leaders of the Congress approached the rulers but they failed to convince. At last, they all made a request to Vallabhbhai Patel to think some other options to bring the Princely rulers under Indian control. Sardar Patel eventually dealt with the tough situation and came out successfully. He had secured their accession. Therefore, the state of India we see today was a result of the efforts put in by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Blessed with practical acumen, great wisdom and political foresight, he took up the uphill task of unifying India.

At the time of the withdrawal of the British power in India, one possibility was that the states might become completely free and independent sovereign states without having any control exerted over them by the two newly formed states of India and Pakistan. Such a possibility was very much dangerous since the result would have been that the country would have divided into a number of states which would not have sufficient resources of their own for their liabilities. Such a proposition would have led to the complete Balkanization of the country. The immediate fallout of the freedom of the country was the creation of two distinct nations, namely, India and Pakistan. The native princes were allowed to join either of the two proposed countries according to their choice. A country, invested with such a large number of free states, could not have dreamt of political consolidation in such an environment.

Sardar's Patel task was to create political consciousness in the minds of the people of those states and simultaneously to persuade their princes to merge with the union of India so as to form a strong united India after the departure of the British. Sardar had close contacts with the princes. He explained that by acceding to the Indian Union the future of the country, and simultaneously the future of the princely states,

would be brighter; even peace would return to the country. Sardar appealed to the princes for their good-will and for peaceful accession of their States to India. He tried to impress upon the princes that for the integrity of the country, the princes should co-operate with the Congress to form a United India.

As a Home Minister of independent India, he faced uphill task of integrating hundreds of princely states with India. He opened talks with chiefs of royal states and negotiated terms with them. With sincere and dedicated efforts of Patel, total of 562 princely states agreed to be integrated with independent India leaving the three states of Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh, and Hyderabad. According to Vishnoo Bhagwan, "Some of the petty states were merged with provinces; some were brought in the union fold through the instrument of accession, and given new names. Some states like Hyderabad were brought to knees through military action." Patel used the tactics of invoking patriotism in the Indian rulers and proposed favourable terms for the merger. Junagadh on the other hand had acceded to Pakistan. With more than 80% population as Hindu and its distance from Pakistan, Patel demanded Pakistan to annul accession and forced the Nawab of Junagadh to accede to India. Hyderabad too joined the Indian Union by force, after tha Razakar forces failed to match up to the Indian army. As for Kashmir, it was during the Pakistani invasion of Kashmir in September 1947 that Kashmir's monarch acceded to India. Patel then oversaw India's military operations to secure Srinagar and the Baramulla Pass. In the days to follow, Indian forces retrieved much territory from the invaders.

It is worth to mention here that it was a really a Herculian task to convince these princely states as most of them were loyal to the British and they were enjoying life of utmost comfort and luxury. Sardar, thus, realized that in order to counteract any evil design by the Princes, the Congress and the Constituent Assembly, should hold full powers. Sardar did not like to have confrontation with the rulers unless otherwise compelled. The situation, prevailing at the time of independence, was extremely critical due to innumerable problems resulting out of positions which needed a careful handling to bring stability into the administration and the social conditions. In such circumstances, it was not desirable to have any additional problem as the situation

would have gone completely out of control.

Having done integration of these states, the next priority of the Patel was democratisation of formerly princely states. Sardar Patel wanted that democratic governments should be established in the states and the princes should join the Union of India as the federating units. In the process of nation-building, he wanted the citizens of the states to join him. He believed that the will of the people is supreme, and sovereignty rested not with the king but with the people only. The process of integration did not create any bitterness or ill feelings among the princes at that time and credit for it certainly goes to Sardar Patel. Whole of this process was nothing less than a bloodless revolution carried out by Patel. After independence, he opposed the demands for the reorganization of the internal boundaries of the Indian states on linguistic grounds as a potential threat to Indian unity, and favoured the adoption of Hindi as the official language of the country. As home minister he used his powers of arrest to stave off militant Sikh demands in Delhi for a special status for the Sikhs in Punjab.

3.4.7 PATEL'S PERCEPTIONS ON SECULARISM

The secular attribute of Sardar Patel remained a matter of doubt. He was seen as a strong Hindu and anti-Muslim. At some time after independence, he was also portrayed as against Mahatma Gandhi. But in reality, he was always in favour of Hindu-Muslim unity and its consolidation. He also remained chairman of the Sub-committee on Minorities and he favoured removal of differences between majority community Hindus and minority Harijans. He saw caste system of the Hindus as weakness of the Hindu religion. He was in favour of united India and single identity of its people as Indians. He recommended legislative protection to untouchables but only for the period of ten years from the implementation of the Constitution. He wanted to create homogeneous society and for that he contacted each community that was accorded special treatment by the British. For the safety and security of Anglo-Indians, he advocated nomination of atleast two members of Anglo-Indian community to legislative houses both at the central and state level. He was of the opinion that separate electorate for the Muslims should be scraped as it would

continue to foster hatred between the Hindus and Muslims. He called India a secular state not a Hindu state. It clearly shows that he was having secular bent of mind not fanatic. At the time of independence of the country, the problems of minorities, though at the first instance seemed of minor nature, came out to be crucial. And, Sardar Patel with his extraordinary calibre wisdom and capacity, could arrive at an acceptable solution to restore confidence in them; thereby leading them towards the common goal of national solidarity.

Bipin Chandra says it is grossly misunderstood and false propaganda is spread that Patels's secularism was closer to that of Hindu communists. The RSS and the BJP are even staking a claim to Patel as one of their ancestor. However, it is hard truth that Patel was strongly committed to secularism and opposed to communalism. At the Jaipur Session of the Congress on December 1948, he said that the Congress and the government were determined to make India a truly secular state. He termed "Hindu Raj" as nothing but a mad idea. He demanded in 1946-47 from the Britishers' ruthless action against communal rioters. He termed massacre of 1947 as "the blackest chapter in the history of India." Patel was pragmatic secular nationalist while Nehru and Gandhi were concerned about the woes, feelings and psychology of Muslims after the Partition. But Patel's mind was agitated over Hindu communal backlash. Patel's viewpoint was that "some of the pain of the Muslims was self-inflicted as they supported the two-nation theory. At the back of the mind of Patel was giving only physical protection to Muslims."

However, Bipin Chandra says, Patel was not fully secular as he was not completely free from some communal ideological elements. He was having overwhelming emotional support for the Hindus and Sikhs than Muslims whom he confused with communalism because of their association with Muslim League. Although he declared his belief in the secular ideology of the Indian state, he adopted a patronizing attitude towards the Muslims who remained in India after partition, while on the other hand accepting as patriotic Indians the members of the militant Hindu organization, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). He disputed the complicity of this organization in the murder of Mahatma Gandhi and urged an early removal of the ban imposed

on it after Gandhi's assassination.

3.4.8 PATEL ON INDIAN ECONOMY

Vishnoo Bhagwan is of the opinion Patel is regarded as supporter of capitalism. He was concerned about rising influence of socialists and left-wing people in the Congress party of his time. He was in favour of capitalists taking up the role of the trustees of the wealth of the country. He was in favour of helping the poor to rise to higher level. He was equally supportive for landlord and princes. He was opposed to British socialism or Marxian socialism but he favoured Gandhian socialism. He wanted Indian socialism to develop on cooperative lines. He believed that socialism should neither be state-sponsored nor forceful. Following Gandhian line of thinking, he supported small scale industries and as also small machinery which provide gainful employment to people. He was cautious about large scale industry and highly industrialised economy as mass production associated with it might result into many other problems. He believed that it would create greed for political power which in turn would cause heavy build up of armed forces. He was strongly pro-farmer leader who wanted development of rural industries which would be helpful for farmers as it would increase their incomes. He was against strike by the workers as also rise of the workers against their landlords and capitalists. He wanted the workers and labourers to consider landlords and capitalists as their family and exhorted workers to work for the development of the country.

Patel was of the view that development of the country depends on the hard work of the workers and the workers should realise their importance for the country. Though he worked for the poor and workers and raised voice for them but he was not in favour of traditional socialism as advocated by Karl Marx and others. He supported justice and equity and wanted development of the poor but not at the cost of the rich. He did not support nationalisation of the industries of the country. Bipin Chandra says he wanted the abolition of land reforms, he was for inclusion of the Right to Property in the Constitution of India. He not only criticised the arbitrary policies of confiscation of movable and immovable properties, but also insisted on guarded regulations on land reforms and nationalisation of key industries.

Patel stood for the transformation of India into a major industrial power, which he thought could be achieved only by a strong, centralized state. Although not averse to a governmental role in industrial development and agrarian transformation, he did not support assaults against private industrial and commercial enterprises. He was sharply critical of and opposed politically to the communist and socialist parties and their leaders, whose ideas he considered unrealistic and irrelevant to Indian society and economy. In agriculture he supported the rights of peasant proprietors against both the former landlords and the state. He favoured industrialization because he believed that without it, rural and agriculture development could not be possible. He advocated industrialization as a means of proper use of our resources. This clearly reveals that Sardar Patel was not in favour of nationalised industrial system having pattern of socialist culture. He favoured private players and liberal economic policies. In short the economic model of Sardar Patel would have three pillars: Industrial Growth, Promotion of Private Entity, and Liberal Government Policies. The above phrases depicts that Sardar Patel was having a bold view on domestic Industrialization. He advocated self sufficiency of the nation towards fulfilling the basic needs of the population. He also suggested increasing savings and converting it into investment on assets which contribute towards development of the nation.

3.4.9 LET US SUM UP

As a fiery champion of fundamental rights and liberty, he was convinced that these values were essential pre-requisites for the development of the individual and a nation. He always raised his voice on several issues against exploitation and criticised the high-handedness of authority, the exploitative revenue policy of the Government and maladministration in the Princely states.

Patel vision of State was in tune with the pattern of his political values. In his concept, the State was founded and held together by a high sense of nationalism and patriotism. Individual liberty was to be in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, to create a Nation-State, he pressed for the emancipation of backward communities and women and bring about Hindu-Muslim unity through the Gandhian constructive programme and skilfully utilised the higher castes for social integration and political mobilisation. Thus, he strengthened the plural basis of the nation-state by bringing electoral participation as effective political mobilisation. He saw a

nation as 'democratic in structure, nationalistic in foundation and welfarist in spirit and function'.

As a nation-builder, Patel was a key leader in the framing of the Constitution, consolidated the nascent state by integrating the Princely states and reorganising the bureaucracy. As Sikata Panda puts it "Liberal-democratic ideology with due emphasis upon conservatism, pragmatism, welfarism and nationalism seems to characterize the mindset of Vallabhbhai Patel which is perfectly in tune with Integral Humanism."

Bipin Chandra says that Sardar Patel "has been much misunderstood and misrepresented both by admirers and critics." Both "have used him to attack 'Nehruvian Vision' polices." Patel was a basically a political fighter and organiser and not an ideologue as Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru were. He emerged as a major leader in his early political career much like Gandhiji because he was able to link local issues with freedom struggle. Almost all movements he organised and political positions he adopted, says Bipin Chandra, were based on hard facts not on populist grievances. He always demanded independent inquiry. As part of the Gandhian strategy, Patel learnt to look for an opportunity to settle with the opponent even at the height of the struggle. Patel played very important role in keeping nationalist trends united despite political and ideological differences with Nehru and Gandhi. He was strongly opposed to the socialists and communists. In this regard, he made efforts to reduce their role in the Congress organisation. However, he never wanted their exclusion from movement and leadership. He had a great hold on the masses. Especially, the people in Gujarat had great regard for him and considered him to be an excellent leader of the country. Sardar also tried his best to look after the welfare of the citizens of the states. Till today, the sections of the people believe that Sardar Patel would have proved to be better Prime Minister than Nehru.

3.4.10 EXERCISE

1. In the light of the statement "Sardar patel was a fiery champion of fundamental rights and liberty for both the individual and the nation", discuss his concept of nationalism.

2. Analyse Patel's views on Secularism.

3. Examine Sardar Patel's economic views.

4.1 COMMUNIST THOUGHT : M N ROY AND EMS NAMBOODIRIPAD

- Rajesh Kumar

STRUCTURE

4.1.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Comprehend the basic propositions of Indian Marxist thought;

- Understand MN Roy's contribution to Marxism in India, his humanist critique of Marxism and his thoughts on Radical Humanism;

- Know the significance of EMS Namboodiripad in India's Left movement, his Marxist-Leninist views, his understand about caste and his critique on agrarian issues in India.

4.1.1 INTRODUCTION

Marxism has played a central role in Indian political thinking since the time of the foundation of an independent, if truncated, Indian 'nation-state' in 1947. And indeed Marxist ideas became highly influential within the nationalist movement from the 1920s. This was not especially related to the role of the communist party or parties, whose electoral strength has been largely confined to one of two regions of the country (although their political and intellectual influence has often been far greater than their numerical size), but to the much wider sway held by Marxist thought amongst other political parties and institutions in post-independence India. Many thinkers significantly contributed to advance Communist thinking in India from the early twentieth century. In this lesson, two thinkers were introduced to provide a glipse of Communist thought: one is M.N. Roy, the other is E.M.S. Namboodiripad. While M.N.Roy introduced Communist ideology to India, Nambodiripad significantly contributed in the practice of the same among the Indian masses.

4.1.2 M N ROY

Manabendra Nath Roy (1887–1954), born Narendra Nath Bhattacharya and popularly recognized as M. N. Roy, was an Indian nationalist revolutionary and an internationally recognized radical activist and political theorist. Roy was a founder of the Communist Parties in both Mexico and India and was a delegate to congresses of the Communist International. He began his political life as a militant nationalist, believing in the cult of the bomb and the pistol and the necessity of armed insurrection. The futility of this path made him a socialist and then a communist. He joined the Communist International, but was thrown out of it as he differed with its aim of' being a movement all over the world. According to V P Verma, Roy passed through three phases in his career. In his first phase, which lasted up **to** 1919, he was a national revolutionary, smuggling arms for the terrorists of Bengal. In the second phase, Roy was a Marxist engaged in active Comintern first in Mexico and then in Russia, China and India. In the last and final phase, Roy emerged as a

radical humanist, completing his journey from Nationalism to Communism and from Communism to Radical Humanism. He was in his student life, a revolutionary as well as an intellectual. He had a zest for new ideas and a quest for freedom. This is how he drifted from Marxism towards Radicalism. Marxism and Radicalism constitute the characteristics of his philosophy.

4.1.3 M N ROY AND MARXISM

M.N. Roy, quite often regarded as one of the founders of communist movement in India, was one of those early Marxists who attempted a radical understanding of the issue of social transformation of Indian civilization as separate from the framework of nationalism. In his early stage (extending up to the late 1920s) Roy's understanding suggested that the social emancipation of the Indian masses was possible only by effecting a socialist revolution in the country under the leadership of the working class, since he understood that in India nationalism was a spent force and that the nationalist movement was virtually aimed at ultimate consolidation of the interests of the middle class which spearheaded it. This hostility towards and cynicism relating to the nationalism made Roy an uncompromising critic of the leaders of the Indian National Congress like Gandhi and Nehru. Moreover, Roy's optimism in relation to the prospects of a socialist revolution in India was mainly guided by his understanding that industrialization had proceeded quite rapidly in the country with the result that a strong working class had appeared with the potentiality to unleash a revolution. Subsequent research has proved that this understanding was totally at variance with reality, since the British were not at all interested in any real and effective industrialization of India.

M.N. Roy, as we know, later returned to India following his dissociation with the Communist movement and this second stage, broadly recognized as the era of 'radical humanism', witnessed Roy's reinterpretation of Marxism in a new perspective. Throughout this era, while he maintained his earlier critique of nationalism and thereby sustained to aloofness himself from the Congress Party, his views underwent a change in regard to the earlier understanding of Marxism as presently a political instrument for violent overthrow of the exploiter class. Roy now came round to the location that for a real social revolution in India what was primarily necessary was the assertion of a new type of ethical consciousness with which the people

would have to be imbued. The emphasis now shifted in his thought from political confrontation to a type of abstract humanism which, though, was of little practical use. As a transition took lay in his writings from focusing on the masses to that on the individual and from political action to abstract humanism, his perspective of social revolution became blurred and virtually unworkable

According to Sudipta Kaviraj, Roy stands apart because of his attempt in conceptualising nationalism from the Marxist point of view. Apart from his ideological conviction, the larger colonial context seemed to have obviously cast significant influences on Roy's radicalism that sought to redefine the ideological goal of the national bourgeoisie in India. So, Roy was significantly different from other radicals because of his attempted mix of nationalism with what he drew from Marxism. This also gave a peculiar theoretical twist to Roy's conceptualisation of radicalism underlining the impact of both nationalist and Marxist ideas.

M N Roy was opposed to the ideology of the Indian National Congress (INC). He suggested that the future of Indian liberation movement depended on the participation of the neglected sections of society. While commenting on the new basis of the national struggle, Roy thus exhorted, 'the future of Indian politics (of national liberation) will be determined by the social forces which still remain and will always remain antagonistic to Imperialism even in the new era dominated by the "higher ideals of Swaraj within the Empire". He was convinced, as his draft thesis on national and colonial question demonstrates, that 'the mass movements in the colonies are growing independently of the nationalist movements and the masses distrust the political leaders who always lead them astray and prevent them from revolutionary action'.

While pursuing this argument further, Roy also underlined the growing importance of the proletariat in political movements against imperialism. Critical of 'the bourgeois national democrats in the colonies', Roy was in favour of supporting the: revolutionary mass action through the medium of a communist party of the proletarians that will bring the real revolutionary forces to action which will not only overthrow the foreign imperialism but lead progressively to the development of Soviet power, thus preventing the rise of native capitalism in place of the vanquished foreign capitalism, to further oppress the people.

4.1.4 HUMANIST CRITIQUE OF MARXISM

Differing with Gandhi, Roy outlined the programme of a revolutionary nationalist party in the following ways:

1. Nationalist independence: complete break from the empire; a democratic republic based on universal suffrage.

2. Abolition of feudalism and landlordism.

3. Nationalisation of land; none but the cultivator will have the right of landholding.

4. Modernisation of agriculture by state aid.

5. Nationalisation of mines and public utilities.

6. Development of modern industries.

7. Protection of workers, minimum wages, eight-hour day, abolition of child labour, insurance and other advanced social legislation.

8. Free and compulsory primary education.

9. Freedom of religion and worship.

10. Rights of minorities.

As the programme suggests, Roy provided a critical alternative to the Congress-led nationalist movement that was more 'reconciliatory' and less 'revolutionary'. These programmes are mere reiteration of what he wrote in his *India in Transition* in 1922 while outlining the meaning of *swaraj*. In the aftermath of the Non- Cooperation Movement, the Congress, as Roy believed, appeared to have lost its revolutionary potentials because of two reasons: (*a*) the Congress lacked a revolutionary leadership, and (*b*) it had lost support of the masses. While suggesting the means to strengthen the Congress, Roy recommended that in order to regain its strength, 'the Congress should go to trade unions and the peasant *Sabha*s (meetings), listen to the grievances discussed there and incorporate them into a truly constructive programme which will draw the wide masses once more within the folds of the Congress party to fight under its command for *Swaraj*'. Critical of Gandhian *swaraj* as it evolved in the

aftermath of the 1919–21 Non-Cooperation Movement, Roy was convinced that this Congress-led movement was bound to fail since it aimed at protecting exploiting classes ignoring 'the political rights of the workers and peasants' ('Appeal to the Nationalists', reproduced in Ray 2000b: 324). As a Marxist, he also felt the need to join hands with the proletariats elsewhere otherwise these movements would remain just ripples. He, therefore, suggested that 'the revolutionary nationalists should, therefore, not only join hands with the Indian workers and peasants, but should establish close relations with the advanced proletariat of the world'.

4.1.5 ROY AND RADICAL HUMANISM

In the later years of his life, Roy became an exponent of "New Humanism". He distinguished this from other humanist philosophy and termed it radical. Though Roy is influenced in his approach by the scientific materialism of Hobbes, Ethics of Spinoza and Secular politics as propounded by Locke, he reconciled all these to propound a rational idea of freedom with the concept of necessity. The central purpose of Roy's Radical humanism is to co-ordinate the philosophy of nature with social philosophy and ethics in a monistic system. "It is for this reason that Roy claims it as humanist as well as materialist, naturalist as well as emotionalist, creativist as well as determinist".

Vishnoo Bhagwan and V.P. Verma have summarised M.N. Roy's views regarding Radical Humanism as following: Roy's idea revolves around Man. it is the man who creates society, state and other institutions and values for his own welfare. Man has the power to change them for his greater welfare and convenience. His belief lies in "Man as the measure of everything". As a radical humanist, his philosophical approach is individualistic. The individual should not be subordinated to a nation or to a class. The individual should not lose his identity in the collective ego of such notions. Man's being and becoming, his emotions, will and ideas determine his life style. Roy says that man has two basic traits, one, reason and the other, the urge for freedom. The reason in man echoes the harmony of the universe. He states that every human behaviour, in the last analysis, is rational, though it may appear as irrational. Man tries to find out the laws of nature in order to realise his freedom. This urge for freedom leads him lo a search for knowledge. He considers freedom to be of supreme value. While rationality provides dynamism to a man, will urge

for freedom gives him direction. The interaction of reason and freedom leads lo the expression of cooperative spirit as manifested in social relationship. Thus, Roy's radical humanist turned into cooperative individualism. Roy's conception of human nature became the basis of society and state. He attributes their origin to the act of man for promoting his freedom and material satisfaction.

Roy presents a communal pattern of social growth. Groups of human beings settled down in particular localities for the cultivation and the organisation of society. Each group thinks out an area as its collective domain. The ownership is common because land is cultivated by the labour of the entire community. The fruits of collective labour belong to all collectively. This does not last long. With the origin of private property, there arises the necessity of same authority to govern the new relations. This gives birth to the state. Roy defines state as 'The political organisation of society'. The rise of the state is neither the result of social contract, nor was it ever super-imposed on society. The evolution of the state is not only historical, but also natural. It was a spontaneous process promoted almost mechanically, by the common regulation of the necessity of co-operation for the security of all concerned, for the administration of public affairs. Roy is aware of the coercive character of the state. He blames it on more and more concentration of power in a few qualified administrators enjoying full authority to rule. He criticises it and wants to reshape the state on the basis of the principles of pluralism, decentralisation and democracy. For him, the state must exist and discharge its limited functions along with other equally important and autonomous social institutions reduces the functions of the state to the minimum. He pleaded for decentralisation where maximum possible autonomy should be granted to the local units.

Roy was a supporter of not only a democracy where every citizen will be informed and consulted about affairs of the state, but also of radical democracy as well. Such a democracy will neither suffer from the inadequacies of parliamentary democracy, nor will it allow the dangers of dictatorship of any class or elite. The basic feature of the radical democracy is that the people must have the ways and means to exercise sovereign power effectively. Power would be so distributed that maximum power would be vested in local democracy and minimum at the apex. Roy also contemplated an economic reorganisation of the society in which there would be no exploitation

of man by man. It would be a planned society which would maximise individual freedom. This is possible when society is established on the basis of cooperation and decentralisation.

As a radical humanist, Roy came to believe that a revolution should be brought about not through class struggle or armed violence, but through education. Roy emphasised the concept of moral man. To him politics cannot be divorced from ethics. Roy traces morality to rationality in man. Reason is the only sanction for morality, without moral men, there can be no moral society. Moral values are those principles which a man should observe for his own welfare and for the proper working of society.

Roy advocated humanist politics which would have lead to purification and rationalisation of politics. Today, man is debased to the level of an unthinking beast power politics. To him, politics can be practiced without power. "Party politics has given rise to power politics". To him any party government, at best, be for the people, but it is never of the people and by the people. In a country like India, he laments about the evils of party politics that exist, where ignorant conservative people are exploited in the elections. Thus, he favoured the abolition of the party system which will enable politics to operate without an incentive of power. In the absence of that corrupting agency, morality in political practice would be possible.

Verma highlights Roy's views about social order which rises with the support of enlightening public opinion as well as intelligent section of the people. Roy stands for 'Revolution by Consent'. He concludes the right of the people to resist tyranny and oppression, but he rules out the use of violent methods. Today, the modern state is too powerful to be overthrown. Lastly, according to Roy, "One cannot be a revolutionary without possessing scientific knowledge. The world stands in need of change. Science has given confidence to a growing number of human beings, that they possess the power to remake the world, Thus, education becomes the essence and condition of revolution ' and re-construction, Revolution by consent does not operate through the politics of power, but through the politics of freedom".

A critical evaluation of the philosophy of New Humanism of M.N. Roy reveals certain discrepancies in the entire scheme of things. To begin with, the idea of New Humanism was advanced by Roy in the face of his utter dissatisfaction with the

theoretical constructs of the ideology of Marxism over the years. Indeed, most of the characteristics of New Humanism are in the nature of discarding the prevalent conception of the Marxian analysis and evolving a counter argument rooted in reason, morality and freedom of the individual.

To conclude, Roy's learning is indeed impressive. He has written a six thousand page book, *The Philosophical Consequences of Modern Science*. His book, *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution* is a significant contribution to political thought by an Indian writer. While India has embarked upon the path of parliamentary democracy, in its neighbourhood, many countries were swamped by some form of totalitarianism. He was an critical revisionist in the history of socialist thought. He began his academic pursuits as a Marxist, but gradually almost completely restated ail the prepositions of Marx. He gave a moral restatement of Marxism. Roy's application of the Marxist concepts amid generalisations to the structure and processes of the Indian economy and society seemed thought provoking and enlightening.

4.1.6 E.M.S. NAMBOODIRIPAD (1909-1998)

E.M. Sankaran Namboodiripad was one of architects of United Kerala, a renowned, brave and committed socialist and Marxian theoretician who took an active part in the communist movement of India. He was born in perinthalmanna Taluk of the present Malappuram district. His early years were associated with V.T. Bhattthiripd's social reform movement and later became one of the office bearers of Yogaskhema Sabha. In 1934 he joined the Congress Socialist Party and was later elected as the general secretary of party in the state. When the communist party was formed in Kerala, he became one of its founder member and later its leader. E.M.S. belonged to the more militant wing of the communist party. He supports the idea that the Maoist nation of a peasant based revolution more relevant to the Indian situation than the worker based ideas of Marx and Lenin. He remained committed to the socialist ideas and his compassion towards the downtrodden working class made him join the ranks of the community for which he had to go in hiding for many years. In 1957, E M S Namboodiripad led the communist to victory in the first popular election in the state. Soon he introduced the revolutionary land reforms ordinance and the education bill, which actually caused the dismissal of his government in 1959. E M S Namboodiripad has been a strong supporter of decentralisation of

power and resources and the Kerala literacy movement as well. EMS Namboodiripad was described by the *Frontline* Magazine as a "Thinker, History Maker, the tallest communist leader India has seen, an anti-imperialist and freedom fighter, social reformer, writer, journalist, and theoretician".

4.1.7 EMS AND HIS MARXIST LENINIST VIEWS

As a true Marxist-Leninist, EMS emancipated the rural poor and the wage earner keeping in view the peculiar Indian conditions; land reforms were a great characteristic of EMS communist ideology. He formulated the historic land reforms by way of legislation and by strengthening the kisan movement which addressed itself to the problems concerning small landholders and agricultural labour. EMS was a great communist theoretician who tried to relate the Marxian principles to the Indian realities. In the process, he made his own interpretation to the Indian situation. He stood for the cause of the toiling masses, the rural labourers, and the exploited workers working in different parts of the country. But he, as a centrist of the Marxian ideology, favoured the socioeconomic changes in the peculiar Indian conditions existing then. In agriculture, his method was cooperativisation; in industry, it was first the introduction of industrialisation and thereafter, its socialisation.

As a true Marxist, EMS believed that Marxism was not a static ideology, under different circumstances, its interpretations can be different and for bringing about socio- economic changes, its strategy also differs in different conditions. The conflicting trends among different segments of the communist party in India were because of competing ideological influences from native and alien social structures. Analysing this trend realistically, EMS wrote thus: 'The conflict here was between an outdated decadent indigenous social system and a foreign social system that was being newly evolved. While on the one side, one section is eager to build a new society, another section is eager to protect its own land and the ancient customs and traditions characteristic of it. It is only through introducing the essence of modern society that come to the country through the foreigners and modernising our society can we protect our country from attack by foreigners. Namboodiripad, like a true Marxist, believed that Marxism was not a static ideology; under different circumstances, its interpretations can be different and for bringing about socioeconomic changes, its strategy also differs in different conditions, That was why, to take an out of the

coexistence stance, EMS Namboodiripad believed that after the developments in the former Soviet Union following the 1989 years, there could be no restoration of Soviet Communism, and that communism would have to absorb significant lesson of other ideologies. EMS advocated for a well- coordinated political struggle against the enemies of the people imperialism or foreign monopoly, feudalism and the rapidly growing monopoly capital with the foreign collaboration. He was in favour of proletarian internationalism of the working classes towards the world socialist movement.

4.1.8 EMS ON CASTE AND AGRARIAN ISSUES

EMS was a special type of thinker - and organic intellectual who combined theory and practice. His intellectual pursuits were closely linked to the organisational and agitational tasks of the radical movement. With his background of activism in the social reform movement among the Namboodiris in the earliest stage of his public career, EMS exhibited an abiding theoretical interest in the caste problem. The creative application of Marxism in understanding the caste problem in Kerala and the dialectical approach towards caste movements that EMS advocated played a major role in the advance of communist movement in Kerala. At a time when many a leading Indian Marxist was struggling to fit Indian history into the classic Marxist mould of primitive communism-slavery- feudalism- capitalism.

EMS in his first major book entitled Kerala: The Motherland of the Malayalis theorised instead of a transition from primitive communism to what he described as 'Jati-Janmi-Naduvazhi Medavitvam' By this he meant a social formation dominated by the upper castes in social relations, the Janmis (Landlords) in production relations and naduvazhi's (local chieftains) in administration that impoverished the vast majority materially and spiritually. His historical analysis of social evolution in Kerala later underwent a number of revisions in the National Question in Kerala (1952) Kerala: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow (1967) and Kerala Society and Politics: A Historical Survey (1984), but the basic concept that he proposed in 1948 has remained, with further enrichment over time. An even more important theoretical contribution of EMS was in understanding the agrarian question in Kerala. His analysis laid the theoretical basis for the transformation of the tenancy movement in Malabar from one that focused on the superior tenants to a radical

peasant movement mainly made up of agricultural workers and inferior tenants. The formation of the first communist ministry (1957-1959) under his chief minister ship saw the launching of a number of democratic projects such as land reforms, administrative restructuring, decentralisation, overhaul of the education sector, strengthening of public distribution systems, minimum wages and social security measures. The dismissal of the communist ministry by the central government left many of the projects unfinished but for the path for the development of the state for the next two decades was largely set.

EMS was elected to the central committee of the communist party in 1943 and since then played a major role in shaping the policies of the communist party at the national level. In 1954 he became a Politburo member. As Politburo member of CPI) M until his death and as general secretary of the party from 1977 to 1991 EMS played a major role in national politics. At the time of his death (1998) he had complete a detailed book, A History of Communist party in India from 1920 to 1998. The collapse of socialism in eastern Europe saw him analysing what went wrong with the socialist project with a rare openness and frankness but without compromising his revolutionary partnership.

4.1.9 LET US SUM UP

The political philosophy of EMS Namboodiripad is indeed a valuable contribution to the growth of social sciences of the contemporary society. EMS Namboodiripad sought, in practical terms, a modernised developed society in India, especially in Kerala. The presence of such tallest thinkers proved the importance of Modern Indian Political Thought and its relevance.

4.1.10 EXERCISES

1. Discuss the ideas and contributions of M.N. Roy as a Marxist.

2. Briefly discuss the reasons behind Roy's transformation from a Marxist to a Radical Humanist.

3. Offer Roy's humanist critique of Marxism.

4. "The central purpose of Roy's Radical humanism is to co-ordinate the

philosophy of nature with social philosophy and ethics in a monistic system".
In the light of the statement discuss M.N Roy's Radical Humanist philosophy.

5. Discuss the Marxist and Leninst views of EMS Nambudripad.

6. Discuss Nambudripads views on Caste and Agrarian Issues.

4.2 SOCIALIST THOUGHT: RAM MANOHAR LOHIA AND JP NARAYAN

- **Rajesh Kumar**

STRUCTURE

4.2.0 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the origins and influence of socialist thought in India;

- Know the socialist thought of Ram Manohar Lohia, his views on English language and Caste system, and his ideas for Indian political system;

- Comprehend Jaya Prakash Narayan's contribution to socialist thought in India and in the formation of Congress Socialist Party, his philosophy of Sarvodaya and Sampurn Kranti (Total Revolution).

4.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Socialism in India is a political movement founded early in the 20th century, as a part of the broader Indian independence movement against the colonial British Raj. It grew quickly in popularity as it espoused the causes of India's farmers and labourers against the zamindars, princely class and landed gentry.

Apart from directly securing less unjust conditions of life in some areas, the socialist movement has had a much larger range of indirect effects, both intended and unintended. It legitimised a pro-people, anti-oppression and anti-exploitation culture and to that extent has fundamentally altered the terms of political discourse in India. Different constituents of this movement have acted at different times as focii of various other emancipatory ideas and actions in Indian public life-civil rights, women's emancipation, defence of minorities or other marginalised sections of society, promotion of literacy, popular culture and literature and soon. It contributed more than one generation of activists to various spheres of Indian public life. Hence, it is imperative to study some of the important contributors to the socialit thought in India. This lesson introduces two such thinkers of socialism, Ram Manohar Lohia and Jaya Prakash Narayan.

4.2.2 RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Ram Manohar Lohia (23 March 1910 – 12 October 1967) was an activist and a Nationalist political leader. He was born in a village Akbarpur in Ambedkar Nagar district, Uttar Pradesh, in India to Hira Lal, a nationalist and Chanda, a teacher. He was born to Marwari Maheshwari family. His mother died when he was very young. Ram was introduced to the Indian Independence Movement at an early age by his

father by the several protest assemblies Hira Lal took his son to. Ram made his first contribution to the freedom thrash about by organizing a small hartal on the death of Lokmanya Tilak. By 1934, many socialist groups were formed in different parts of the country. The birth of the Congress Socialist Party in May 1934 was a landmark in the history of the socialist movement in India. The Congress Socialist Party provided an all India platform to all the socialist groups in India. Ashok Mehta's 'Democratic Socialism, and studies in Asian Socialism', Acharya Narendra Dev's 'Socialism and National Revolution' Jayaprakash Narayan's Towards Struggle, and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps etc., played a significant role in spreading the messages of socialism in India.

4.2.3 LOHIA'S SOCIALIST THOUGHT

In words of Bipin Chandra, by 1934, many socialist groups were formed in different parts of the country. The birth of the Congress Socialist Party in May 1934 was a landmark in the history of the socialist movement in India. The Congress Socialist Party provided an all India platform to all the socialist groups in India. Ashok Mehta's 'Democratic Socialism, and studies in Asian Socialism', Acharya Narendra Dev's 'Socialism and National Revolution' Jayaprakash Narayan's Towards Struggle, and Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps etc., played a significant role in spreading the messages of socialism in India. The socialists played an important role in the 1942 Quit India Movement, and in organised trade union movements of the country. Their increasing popularity was neither lilted by the leading members of the Congress nor by the communists and the Royalists. The communists were not part of the nationalist struggle against the British imperialism. They also did not like the popularity of the trade union movements under the leadership of the socialists. They criticised them as fascists and symbol of 'left reformism'. In the Nasik Convention of the CSP, in March 1948, the socialists ultimately took the decision to leave the Congress and to form the Socialist Party of India. In 1952, immediately after the first national election, the Socialist Party and the Krishak Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP) of J.B.Kripalani took a decision to merge into a single organisation. The socialist organisations in India then had two basic objectives: (a) They wanted to develop into an all-India organisation for social and

economic reconstruction and (b) Development of the weaker sections of the social structure and also as an ideological framework for political emancipation of India.

The Congress Socialist Party adopted the principle of democratic socialism in the Patna Convention of the party in 1949 more seriously. While emphasising its ideological purity the party was more careful about its constructive activities among the peasants, poor and the working class. In its famous Allahabad Thesis of 1953 the party proposed to go for an electoral alliance adjustment with the opposition parties. But the Party was not prepared to have any united front or coalition with any political party. In the Gaya session of the Party, the separate identity of the Congress Socialist Party was also emphasised. Tile Party was reluctant to have any electoral adjustment or coalition with the Congress, Communist or Hindu Fundamentalist Party or Organisations. But this attitude was toned down and diluted during the General Elections of 1957 and thereafter. In 1952, the Congress Socialist Party strongly advocated for the greater synthesis of the Gandhian ideals with socialist thought. Dr. Ramrnanohar Lohia as the President of the Party put emphasis on a decentralised economy based on handicrafts, cottage industries and industries based on small machines and maximum use of labour with small capital investment. During the Panchamarhi Socialist Convention in May 1952, this line of thought of Dr. Lohia did not impress several Socialist leaders of the Party. In June 1953, Ashok Mehta's thesis of the "Political compulsion of a backward economy" pleaded for a greater cooperation between the Socialist and the Congress Party. As a counterpoise to Ashok Mehta's thesis, Dr. Lohia offered the "Theory of Equidistance" which is theory advocated equidistance from the Congress. and the Communists by the Socialist parties. As a result of these two streams of thought the Congress Socialist Party was divided into two camps. Some of the members even thought of quitting the party to join the Congress.

Lohia advocated socialism in the form of a new civilisation which in the words of Marx could be referred to as "socialist humanism". He gave a new direction and dimension to the, socialist movement of India. He said that India's ideology is to be understood in the context of its culture, traditions, and history. For the success of

democratic socialist movement in India, it is necessary to put primary emphasis on the removal of caste system through systemic reform process. Referring to the caste system he said, all those who think that with the removal of poverty through a modern economy, these segregations will automatically disappear, make a big mistake." He often highlighted the irrelevance of capitalism for the economic reconstruction and development of the Third World countries. Lohia was opposed to doctrinaire approach to social, political, economic and ideological issues. He wanted the state power to be controlled, guided, and framed by people's power and believed in the ideology of democratic socialism and non-violent methodology as instruments of governance.

Lohia's scathing attack on the western ideological constructs appears to be aimed at preparing the ground for establishing socialism as the most appropriate theoretical format for steering India on the path of an equitable and all-round socio-economic development. However, it is interesting to note that even his ideology of socialism kept on getting improvised and enriched with newer intellectual inputs coming from Lohia from time to time. Thus, while he accepted socialism as the viable ideology for India and tried to conceptualise it in the light of the Gandhian inputs, he came out with the idea of 'New Socialism' in 1959 with the plea that it offers a comprehensive system of socio-economic and political life for the people in India.

While conceptualising the notion of socialism, Lohia began by arguing that, the concept of socialism has too long lagged 'behind the cohorts of capitalism or of communism' and has lived 'on borrowed breath' leading to hesitancy in the action of socialists and that it must be developed, if it is to have an effective appeal, into a doctrine independent of other political ideologies. He, therefore, sought to free the ideology of socialism from its borrowed breath by infusing the spirit of Gandhism in it. Overwhelmed as he was by the logical and spiritual consistency of Gandhian principles, Lohia asked for dovetailing the philosophy with the Gandhian doctrines of *satyagraha*, theory of ends–means consistency, economic system rooted in the small machine technology and, finally, the idea of political decentralisation. He maintained that the incorporation of Gandhian principles in the socialist philosophy would lend greater practicability of socialism to the Indian situations.

Lohia's views regarding 'New Socialism' can be summarised as the following six fundamental elements: egalitarian standards in the areas of income and expenditure, growing economic interdependence, world parliament system based on adult franchise, democratic freedoms inclusive of right to private life, Gandhian technique of individual and collective civil disobedience, and dignity and rights of common man. The cumulative impact of the theory of New Socialism, argued Lohia, would be in providing such a complex web of system of life for the people that they would not only be able to live an egalitarian and contented life within the country but would also aspire to become a part of the world government. Thus, the theory of New Socialism seems to be either a reflection of the reiteration of the cherished ideals of Lohia or his growing detachment from the realities of life in the country paving way for utopianism in his political thinking to a large extent.

4.2.4 ON ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND CASTE SYSTEM

Ram Manohar Lohia favoured Hindi as the official language of India, arguing "The use of English is a hindrance to original thinking, progenitor of inferiority feelings and a gap flanked by the educated and uneducated public. Approach, let us unite to restore Hindi to its original glory."

Lohia decided to create the mass public realize the importance of economic robustness for the nation's future. He encouraged public involvement in post-freedom reconstruction. He pressed people to construct canals, wells and roads voluntarily in their neighbourhood. He volunteered himself to build a dam on river Paniyari which is standing till this day and is described "Lohia Sagar Dam." Lohia said "*satyagraha without constructive job is like a sentence without a verb.*" He felt that public job would bring unity and a sense of awareness in the society. He also was instrumental in having 60 percent of the seats in the legislature reserved for minorities, lower classes, and women.

Lohia himself was well-versed with a number of foreign languages such as German and English. Indeed, it appeared in consonance with Lohia's indelible passion for indigenous and native aspects of life being given preponderance in comparison to imported or imposed values and institutions drawn from an alien ambience. Hence,

Lohia seemed quite pained at finding reluctance on the part of the government to give an impetus to Hindi as the mother tongue of the people. Lohia vehemently argued for the progressive replacement of English by Hindi as the official language in the country. Moreover, he averred that the ethos of democracy could not be delved deep in the hearts of the people unless Hindi becomes the language of administrative and judicial systems in India. In sum, thus, Lohia's social thoughts reflected his deep sense of critical understanding of the problems of Indian social structure and a bunch of plausible solutions to overcome such problems.

Unlike the Marxist theories which became fashionable in the third world in the 1950s and 1960s, Lohia recognized that caste, more than class, was the vast stumbling block to India's progress. It was Lohia's thesis that India had suffered reverses during her history because people had viewed themselves as members of a caste rather than citizens of a country. Caste, as Lohia put it, was congealed class. Class was mobile caste. As such, the country was deprived of fresh thoughts, because of the narrowness and stultification of thought at the top, which was composed mainly of the upper castes, Brahmins and Baniyas, and tight compartmentalization even there, the former dominant in the intellectual arena and the latter in the business. A proponent of affirmative action, he compared it to turning the earth to foster a better crop, urging the upper castes, as he put it, "to voluntarily serve as the soil for lower castes to flourish and grow", so that the country would profit from a broader spectrum of talent and thoughts.

In Lohia's language, "Caste restricts opportunity. Restricted opportunity constricts skill. Constricted skill further restricts opportunity. Where caste prevails, opportunity and skill are restricted to ever-narrowing circles of the people". In his own party, the Samyukta (United) Socialist Party, Lohia promoted lower caste candidates both by giving electoral tickets and high party positions. However he talked in relation to the caste incessantly, he was not a castist—his aim was to create sure people voted for the Socialist party candidate, no matter what his or her caste. His point was that in order to create the country strong, everyone needed to have a stake in it. To eliminate caste, his aphoristic prescription was, "*Roti* and *Beti*", that is, people would have

to break caste barriers to eat jointly (*Roti*) and be willing to provide their girls in marriage to boys from other castes (*Beti*).

Providing a macro analytical framework to the problem of caste in India, Lohia emphasised on the inherent tussle between the forces perpetuating caste and the forces bent on introducing class perspective in the society. In such a conflict, while the idea of caste represent the evil forces of conservatism, primordial affinities and inertia, the notion of class becomes the beholder of the virtues of dynamism and social mobilisation in society. Chakrabarty and Pandey add that Lohia, came with the idea of 'seven revolutions' or **sapta kranti** to infuse a new sense of dynamism and vigour in the Indian social system. These seven revolutions are to be materialised in the form of: equality between man and women; struggle against political, economic and spiritual inequality based on skin colour; removal of inequality between backward and high castes based on traditions, and special opportunity for the backwards; measures against foreign enslavement in different forms; economic equality by way of planned production and removal of capitalism; measures against unjust encroachments on private life; and non-proliferation of weapons in conjunction with reliance on *satyagraha*. The most significant aspect of the seven revolutions of Lohia appears to be the reflection of his utmost desire to bring about the greatest degree of socioeconomic equality amongst the people. More importantly, the idea of equality to Lohia did not consist of only material equality in terms of equitable distribution of economic resources but also consisted of a higher degree of spiritual equality coming from the innate feeling of the individuals that they are equal like others in society.

4.2.5 LOHIA'S POLITICAL IDEAS FOR INDIAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Lohia expressed himself in favour of guaranteeing basic fundamental freedoms of the people, provided it was ensured that the basic needs of each and every citizen would be fulfilled. In his opinion, the notion of democracy must not be confined to affording the people certain civil and political rights, but be construed in such a way that it leads to provision of such socio-economic conditions where nobody

remains without securing the basic minimum needs of life. In so far as the system of government is concerned, Lohia's creditable contribution seems to be his model of four pillars of state called the 'Chaukhamba Model'. This model was contextualised within the framework of decentralised democratic polity Lohia recommended for the country. In such a system, he called for the operationalisation of the concept of 'permanent civil disobedience' which would act as a perpetual antidote against any sort of injustice. Thus, considering village, *mandal* (district), province and centre as the four pillars of the decentralised system of government, Lohia unconventionally sought to dovetail the lower levels like village and *mandal* with the police and welfare functions. However, later, reiterating his support for the idea of world government, he argued for the creation of the 'fifth pillar' also, which would be in the form of the world government.

Lohia argued for acknowledging and right placing of the ideas of religion and politics in order to develop the infrastructures of the political system. However, the imprudent admixture of the two unavoidably leads to communal fanaticism amongst various communities whose repercussions for the country are fatal. For instance, in one of his lesser known works, *Guilty Men of India's Partition* (2000), he was categorical in exposing the errors and untruths which were propagated in the name of religion ultimately leading to partition of the country. Outlining the basic causes of partition, he unhesitatingly chided the selected persons whom he squarely held responsible for India's partition.

To conclude, Manohar Lohia was one of the finest socialist thinkers of India who blended western ideas of socialism and Marxism with Indian needs specially with the Gandhian philosophy and gifted the country and its people the philosophy of New Socialism. Thus, the main contours of the political thought of Lohia cover a wide range of spectrum touching most of the pressing problems of the political processes and institutions in the country even in the 21st century.

4.2.6 JAYA PRAKASH NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan's life happens to be a life of endless quest for getting suitable ways and means to resolve the socio-economic and political conditions of the toiling

masses of the country. Born on 11 October 1902 in a village in Chapra district in Bihar, he appeared to be an unconventional boy even from his early childhood. Having spent several years in U.S. after coming back to India he got attracted towards the revolutionary ideas of Marx and Marxist writers like M.N. Roy, leading him eventually to become one of the most orthodox Marxists in India. Jaya Prakash Narayan believed that the existing socio-economic problems of India could be solved only within the Marxist–Leninist ideological framework; JP outlined a comprehensive scheme of radical reforms supposedly to bring about a socialist socio-economic order in the country.

4.2.7 JAYA PRAKASH AND THE FORMATION OF THE CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY (CSP)

The Congress socialist party was formed in the Nasik Jail when JP, Lohia, Ashok Mehta, Achyut Patwardhan and Minoo Masani decided to float an organisation. Left wing intellectuals because of their political conviction floated a forum. At the same time, mass politics in the civil disobedience movement got radicalized. Kisan Sabha and All India Trade Union Congress became two powerful class fronts. Combination of social forces with intellectuals created a powerful socialist movement in India. JP, as a Marxist intellectual wrote a book—'Why Socialism', which helped the Left wing people all over India to clarify their doubts regarding the concept of socialism. This book was published on behalf of the congress socialist party. In this work, he developed four important theses: The foundations of socialism; what the congress socialist stands for; Alternatives; Methods and techniques.

4.2.8 JAYA PRAKASH AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF SARVODAYA

Marxist phase of JP's life seemingly continued during the decade of the 1930s, after which he drifted to the philosophy of democratic socialism and finally turning out to be *sarvodayee* in the post-independence times. This ideological transition in the thinking of JP needs to be explained to find out the causes for his disenchantment with an ideology which, at one point of time, seemed to be the only plausible framework of bringing about the socio-economic transformations in the country. The establishment

of some sort of military bureaucratic dictatorship under the leadership of Stalin in place of the promised dictatorship of the proletariat distressingly compelled JP to review his indoctrination in the ideology of Marxism at both philosophical as well as practical planes. Quite evidently, the philosophical critique of Marxism by JP was also presumably conditioned by his increasing appreciation of the Gandhian techniques such as *satyagraha*, non-violence and the conformist perspective on the end–means dialectics.

At one point of time, JP was quite critical of the slowness of the Gandhian methods of peaceful struggle and argued for the use of socialist methods to bring about quick socio-economic   transformations of the society. But when empirical evidence from the Soviet Union started showing the true picture of the violent and forced methods of securing people's obedience to the Communist Party and a highly pressurised and forced extraction of labour from the workers to ensure a fast pace of industrialisation of the country in the times of Stalin, JP went into introspection. He ultimately came around the idea of Gandhi that to attain a pious end, the means ought to be equally pious. He wondered 'if good ends could ever be achieved by bad means' and came to the conclusion that under Marxism, the sole focus on the veracity of means did not allow it to become a plausible ideological framework to bring about the desirable transformations in backward societies like India.

4.2.9 JAYA PRAKASH AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF SAMPURN KRANTI 'TOTAL REVOLUTION'

On his return to India in 1929, JP joined the national movement with the intention of practising socialism in India. His imprisonment in the wake of the civil disobedience movement at Nasik jail brought him close to the other likeminded nationalists which later on culminated in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) in April 1934. However, his passion for Marxism was so strong that in 1936, J.P. Published a booklet 'Why Socialism' arguing that today more than ever before is possible to say that there is only one type, one theory of socialism – Marxism. The Marxist phase of JP's life seemingly continued during the decade of the 1930's after which he drifted to the philosophy of democratic socialism and finally turning out to be sarvodaya in the post independence times.

Total Revolution (Sampurana Kranti) was the last intellectual intervention of Jayaprakash Narayanan in his unending quest to seek and establish such a socio economic and political order in the country which would turn India into a democratic, federal participatory, equitable and prosperous nation in the world. The concept of total revolution was for the first time evolved by Vionoba Bhave during the 1960's to articulate his desire to the need of a comprehensive movement in the country which would transform all the aspects of life in order to mould a new man to change human life and create a new world. The idea was picked up by JP to call upon the people in 1975 to work for total revolution in order to stem the rot creeping into all aspects of public life and create a whole new world encompassing the basic elements of socioeconomic and political order that he had been advocating in the name of Sarvodaya.

The context of JP calling for the total revolution was provided by the growing authoritarianism in the functioning of the government machinery headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In fact, his call for sampurna kranti became the rallying cry for the movement against Indira Gandhi's government J.P's concept of total revolution is a holistic one. JP is indebted to Gandhi for developing the doctrine of total revolution. He wrote thus', "Gandhiji's non-violence was not just a plea for law and order, or a cover for the status quo, but a revolutionary philosophy. It is, indeed, a philosophy of total revolution, because it embraces personal and social ethics and values of life as much as economic, political and social institutions and processes".

JP has pointed out that the French revolution started with the mission of realising liberty, equality and fraternity. But it ended in Bonapartism and the humiliations at water loo. The Russian revolution started with the mission of redeeming the rights of the proletariat and the other suppressed sections of society. But power has not percolated to the Russian people and the cry of the withering away of the state is now relegated only to the field of antiquarian intellectual dialectics. Hence if the basic aim is to transfer decision-making policy execution and judicial arbitration to the people there has to be change in the technique of revolution. JP, hence, advocates 'persuasion and conversion – social revolution through human revolution would

necessarily postulate a comprehensive programme of radical social construction for total development and welfare.

Jayaprakash Narayan's doctrine of total revolution is a combination of seven evolutions social economic, political, cultural, ideological or intellectual, educational and spiritual. He was not every rigid regarding the number of these revolutions. He said the seven revolutions could be grouped as per demands of the social structure in a political system. He said, 'for instance the cultural may include educational and ideological sense, it can embrace all other revolutions. He said economic revolution may be split up into industrial, agricultural, technological revolutions etc. Similarly intellectual revolutions may be split up into two - scientific and philosophical. The concept of total revolution became popular in 1974 in the wake of mass movements in Gujarat and Bihar. He was deeply disturbed by the political process of degeneration in the Indian politics. He was deeply moved by the mutilation of democratic process, political corruption and full of moral standards more public life. In a letter to a friend in August 1976, JP defined the character of the total Revolution. He wrote "Total revolution is a permanent revolution. It will always go on keep on hanging both our personal and social lives. This revolution knows no respite, no halt, and certainly not complete halt. JP's Total revolution involved the developments of peasants, workers, harijans, tribes and all weaker sections of society. He was always interested in empowering and strengthening India's democratic system. He was deeply disturbed by the growth of corruption in the Indian political system. He wrote that 'corruption is eating into the vitals of our political life. It is disturbing development, undermining the administration and making of mockery of all laws and regulations. It is eroding people's faith and exhausting their proverbial patience.' The concept of total revolution aimed at reversing the tide of the political and economic system of the country ostensibly due to the concentration of political and economic powers in few hands and restoring the sanctity of institutions and procedures in those sheers of life by decentralising such powers in the hands of the masses. In the sphere of political system, JP noted the inherent fallacies of the prevailing parliamentary system of government as its basic features such as electoral system, party-based political processes and increasing concentration of powers in the hands of the Prime Minister etc, are bound to convert the system into a corrupt, tyrannical and farcical

one. Hence, in his conceptualisation of total revolution, JP was firm on reforming the electoral system in such a way that the people can vote in an incorruptible manner and accordance with their free conscience. Moreover in such a system, there would be no place for political parties and the potential concentration of powers in few hands would be effectively curbed.

Like political power, JP was also convinced of the perverse effects of the concentration of economic power in the hands of few in the society. He, therefore, called for total recasting of the economic system of the country as well.

4.2.10 LET US SUM UP

JP visualised an economic order for the country where there would be progressive socialisation of the means of resources by way of establishing cooperative societies and voluntary associations to manage the resources with a view to ensure prosperity for all. JP's call for executing the idea of total Revolution in 1975 was accompanied by some sort of blueprint for the volunteers to carry out the implementation of the scheme of holistic transformation of Indian society. He exhorted the people to rise against the authoritarian and inimical policies and programmes of the government. In its operationalization, however, the idea of total revolution occasionally evoked misplaced perceptions in the minds of its   practitioners.

4.2.11 EXERCISES

1. Analyse the statement "Ram Manohar Lohia was one of the finest socialist thinkers of India who blended western ideas of Socialism and Marxism with Indian needs especially with the Gandhian philosophy".

2. Throw considerable light on the Socialist Thought of Ram Manohar Lohia.

3. Discuss Lohia's on English Language and Caste System

4. Explain Ram Manohar Lohia's Political Ideas for Indian Political System

5. Give a detail of Jaya Prakash Narayan's Philosophy of Sarvodaya.

6. Elaborate on the Philosophy of Sampurn Kranti or Total Revolution as given by Jaya Prakash Narayan.

4.3 FEMINIST THOUGHT: PANDITA RAMABAI AND SAVITRI BAI PHULE

- V. Nagendra Rao & Mamta Sharma

STRUCTURE

4.3.0 OBJECTIVES

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

Understand the women or feminist though in India and the leading champions of it;

Know Pandita Ramabai's contribution to feminist thought in India, her skills as linguist and her role in women empowerment and her work with destitute children;

Comprehend Savitri Bai Phule political activism, her contribution to national and transnational causes, her social activism, particularly related to Women's Rights.

4.3.1 INTRODUCTION

Pandita Ramabai and Savitri Bai Phule are two significant women the nation has ever produced. Their commendable understanding about the male hegemony in Indian Society and resultant status of women made them to rededicate to the work of women empowerment not only   through education but all possible means. Their ideas and thought on ameliorating the conditions of women and other sections of the society socially as well as legally place them in the league with other socially awakened thinkers of the country. Both in their own way contributed to expose the structural inequalities and marginalization in the society and worked towards amelioration. In this lesson you will be studying about these two women the nation has ever produced for their contributions to the modern Indian political thought.

4.3.2 PANDITA RAMABAI

Pandita Ramabai is the only female personality whose ideas and practices on ameliorating the conditions of women in India place her in league with other socially awakened thinkers of the country. For instance, like Jyotirao Phule, for whom the cause of Dalits became his mission for life, Ramabai remained engrossed with the cause of the women's emancipation throughout her life. The efforts for the amelioration of the conditions of women in India have, no doubt, been made by a number of social reformers. Her birth in the home of a very progressive Brahman Anant Shashtri Dongre in 1858 ensured that Ramabai was saved from the twin curses of lack of education and child marriage. However, the adverse material conditions of her family resulted in the death of her parents and her sister. Eventually, Ramabai, along with her brother, moved to Calcutta in 1878, which proved to be a turning point in her life. Here, she was not only conferred with the titles of 'Pandita' and 'Saraswati' in recognition of her intellectual attainments, but was also introduced into the realm of social reforms pioneered by the Brahmo Samaj, with the focus on the emancipation of women. Soon, the death of her brother in 1880 presumably forced her to marry a non-Brahman lawyer Bipin Behari Das Medhavi. Having become mother of a daughter, she lost her husband in less than two years time.

Subsequently, she moved to Pune in 1882 to set up the Arya Mahila Samaj to work for the cause of women. Yet, her quest for knowledge led her to visit England where under circumstantial difficulties, she converted to Christianity.3 After staying for about three years in England, she went to the United States of America (USA) in 1886. Her sojourn in the USA helped her concretise her plans for opening a home for high caste Hindu widows in India by raising funds under the aegis of The Ramabai Association of Boston. In the end, she returned to India in 1889 and remained busy with activities aimed at fostering the cause of women till her death in 1922. For her social reform activities, she was conferred with the Kaiser-e-Hind gold medal in 1919 by the British government.

4.3.3 RAMABAI AS A FEMINIST

Ramabai's reading of Dharmashastras made her deeply conscious of the contempt with which women of all castes and men of the lower caste were treated in these texts. Like women, rules did not permit the Shudras to perform the same religious acts as the upper castes. Ramabai rejected this discrimination in her personal life when she decided to accept the marriage proposal from a Bipin Behari, a Shudra, hereby decisively breaking with the tradition. Bipin was excommunicated as it was an inter-caste marriage by civil registration. Just after two years of marriage, Bipin's death forced widowhood on young Ramabai at the age of twenty four. After her initial experiences of oppressive widowhood, Ramabai refused to be confined to the domestic space and catapulting herself into the public arena.

Returning to Maharashha, Ramabai experienced her first public encounter with the forces of patriarchy when she set up the Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882 in Poona to mobilise women, and aroused instant hostility. She brought out a book in Marathi, Stree Dharma Niti with an objective of counselling the helpless and ignorant women. The Kesari commented: "In reality, it is the task of men to eradicate these and other evil customs in our society. Women cannot therefore interfere in it for many years to come - even if they are 'panditas' and have reached the ultimate stage of reform ... Our women will have to be under the control of men for a long time to come." Undeterred, Ramabai set up a home for high-caste Hindu widows and made an appeal to the Hunter Commission to provide training facilities to women to become

teachers and doctors enabling them to serve other women. However, she failed to connect to the women in Maharashtra and felt alienated as she had no community, no social base and no real emotional bonds to fall back upon. This led to her search for solace in religion and God which could simultaneously accommodate her social agenda as well as her personal quest for religious fulfilment. Thus she got converted to Christianity by the Anglican Church. Ramabai's encounter with the patriarchy of the Anglican Church across the globe was no less harsh. When she was offered a professorship which would involve her teaching to male students, the Bishop of Bombay protested, or "Above all things, pray believe that her influence will be ruined forever in India if she is known to have taught young men." Ramabai promptly replied: ''It surprises me very much to think that neither my father nor my husband objected [to] my mother's or my teaching young men while some young people are doing so."

Thus, the major contestation in Ramabai's educational and missionary activities was that of patriarchy. A Christian convert and renowned social reformer, Pandita Ramabai was a scholar of Hinduism who had profound disagreements with its philosophical premises, particularly with regard to women, and later as a Christian convert who rebelled against Christian dogma. Thus, her life was a narrative of complex contestations-that of a woman against male hegemony both in Hindu society as well as Anglican Church, that of an Indian convert against the British Anglican bishops and nuns, that of an Indian Christian missionary against the oppression of Hindu women.

Such an understanding about the male hegemony and resultant status of women made her to rededicate herself to work towards the women empowerment through education. Due to her tremendous efforts to educate women, the social status of women in India was greatly improved. Even widows were able to be remarried. She introduced vocational training for women, including brick making, weaving, carpentry, masonry, making vegetable oil, and printing – all done by women. She fought for women to be trained as doctors to prevent the premature death of many hundreds of thousands of women who could not receive medical attention. She pleaded for lady doctors to treat women patients. Her 'evidence' published in 'The Times of India' influenced Queen Victoria who started a movement to give medical help and train women for medical work from 1885 onwards. The wife of the Viceroy of India, Lady Dufferin started 'The National Association for Supplying Female Aid

to the Women of India' in 1885 which in due course became known as the 'Countess of Dufferin movement'.

4.3.4 RAMABAI'S WORK FOR THE DESTITUTE CHILDREN

Further, her compassion for the fellow and suffering humans, made her to start Mukti Mission in the year 1889. By 1905, she was caring for nearly 2000 people in her home including disgraced women, young girls, young orphan boys, the blind and those who were physically and mentally handicapped. She started schools, ran hostels, developed numerous industrial training enters and working units. She taught the girls typesetting and how to run a printing press. She introduced a kindergarten system of education as well as the Braille system for the blind to enable them to learn to read and write. During her lifetime, she took care of thousands of child-widows, poor and orphaned girls, destitute women and famine victims. Not only did she care for them but helped them to find Jesus and to be rehabilitated and trained so that they could to take care of their own financial needs and again be useful citizens in society.

4.3.5 RAMABAI AS A LINGUIST

Pandita Ramabai loved languages and had linguistic mastery in 11 languages. She was one of the first to suggest Hindi as the national language of India, in May 1889, to the Indian National Congress long before the time of India's independence. She advocated honouring her country above the Head of the Empire.

When her own experience with understanding the English and existing Marathi bible proved it is beyond the comprehension of the common people, she learnt the ancient biblical languages of Hebrew and Greek solely for the purpose of translating the Bible into a simple Marathi version which the people on the street could easily understand and appreciate. She worked 12 years translating the Bible form the original Hebrew and Greek texts into simple Marathi. Later the women at Mukti Mission printed over 10,000 copies of the Marathi Bible. Ramabai also wrote a Hebrew primer in Marathi. Also she was the first person to translate American textbooks into Marathi.

Overall it can be concluded that the views and actions of Pandita Ramabai laid foundations for the feminist movement in India. Showing the colours of a true

revolutionary from her childhood, Ramabai's entire life represented an unending pilgrimage of a visionary for the cause of women's emancipation. However, the circumstantial upheavals of life forced her to tread such paths which would not have been her preferred course, given the contemporary circumstances in which she rose to prominence. She exposed the structural inequalities and functional marginalisation of the high caste Hindu widows, however, this cause was absolutely lost, probably due to her infatuation with Christian missionary activities in the later part of her life. Nonetheless, her sincere effort in making women aware of their socio-political role in contemporary society paid-off in due course.

4.3.6 SAVITRI BAI PHULE : EARLY LIFE

In the social and educational history of India, Savitribai and her husband Jyotirao Phule have left an indelible mark. The couple fought for equality between men and women as well as social justice. Savitribai and her husband established a girl's school in pune at Bhide Wada in 1848 and started its journey with seven girls. She herself becomes the head teacher of the school. With a short span of time from 1848 to 1851, they founded 18 schools. She was born on 3rd January 1831 in a poor family in Naigaon in Satara district in Maharastra. Her father was Khandoji Nevase Patil and her mother was Laxmi. And her parents were not educated. She was got married at the age of nine to Jyotiba Phule. She was illiterate when she was got married. She was made read and write by her husband. She went to Mitchell teachers' training school in Pune.

4.3.7 SAVITRIBAI PHULE: A CRUSADER FOR GENDER JUSTICE

Savitribai Phule was one of the crusaders of gender justice. Savitribai Phule, wife of social reformer Jyotirao Phule, was the Mother of Modern Indian education. She was the first Indian woman teacher and the first Indian to revolutionize the Indian education by opening it up to girls and to low-caste children. She was the first Indian to place universal, child sensitive, intellectually critical, and socially reforming education at the very core of the agenda for all children in India.

Knowledge: The Tritiya Ratna

It was only after acted for spreading education to the women, Savitribai took it head on to other taboos of the society which victimised the women lot for long. Savitribai developed a framework of education that sought to revolutionise the society. Savitribai was with her husband in terming the understanding of knowledge as Tritiya Ratna, the 'third eye', which they saw as knowledge that went beyond merely alphabetical competence to the power to see through hegemonic ideology, to understand the system of oppression in order to be able to dismantle it. For Savitribai, truth was the true home of genuine spirituality, so critical thinking was never an enemy in the educational process. Savitribai stood with Phule when he made mass education the focal point of his movement, and, he gave the highest priority to the education of women and low-caste children, in particular. They were convinced on the importance of primary education, and they denounced the government's education policies, which neglected primary education and accorded lower status to primary teachers compared to secondary or higher education. They argued that efficient primary teachers should be paid more than regular teachers. The Phule's placed a greater weight on practical knowledge rather than bookish knowledge, arguing that education should be utilitarian and practical so as to address society's needs. They preached that the primary school curriculum should be appropriate to the students' contexts, arguing for a clear delineation between rural and urban curriculum, as well as the inclusion of useful and relevant topics such as health and agriculture. Phule seems to have sensed accurately that as there was inequality in the family, there could be no true equality in the society. Suppression of women, in traditional Hindu culture, went hand in hand with suppression of low castes and untouchables. Phule concentrated on the need of primary education, the essential qualities of primary teacher and curriculum of primary education through his wide experience in the field of primary education. Phule demanded universal primary education. They were the pioneer of the three-language formula in schools. According to the Phule's, mother tongue (vernacular), Hindi and English were the three languages each individual should know. Thus, they had thought of a national language, too, in those days when even elementary literacy was regarded as a high qualification. The Phules very strongly supported compulsory education for women and men. According to them, compulsory education empowers international understanding and sense of universal fraternity

among men. The Phules condemned the Downward Filtration theory of the British government. According to them, this policy resulted in the virtual monopoly of all the higher officers under the government by the Brahmins. Savitribai and the Truth Seekers' community envisioned a social function for education and believed that 'in education…lay the key to a fundamental change in social attitudes'. Her goal in promoting education for the masses was not simply to raise the temporary standard of living for a few individuals, but to reshape the entire future of the nation. Savitribai was an educational philosopher well ahead of her times. She incorporated innovative methods for spreading the education—she gave stipends to prevent children from dropping out of school. She was the teacher who inspired a young student to ask for a library for the school at an award ceremony instead of gifts for her. She even conducted the equivalent of a parent–teacher meeting to involve the parents so they would understand the importance of education and support their children. Her schools imparted vocational training as well. She undoubtedly had introduced a new phenomenon which was 'group discussion' in education, where there were four groups, each group comprised five girls discussing about the confusion on the importance of education over household work and eventually decided to ask from their mothers.

Savitribai's poems and other writings are still an inspiration to others. Two books of her poems were published, Kavya Phule in 1954 and Bavan Kashi Subodh Ratnakar in 1982. Savitribai had also poetic bent of mind, and there cannot be opinions about her poetic contribution in Marathi literature. 'Kavya Phule' is the first published collection of poems of Savitribai, published in 1854. She has discussed many important subjects in these poems like education, caste distinction and child welfare along with the subjects of social reform. Savitribai has placed the importance of education through her poems. Education to her was an important instrument to bring up humanism and to eradicate the evil spirit in human beings. Savitribai Phule was the mother of modern poetry, stressing upon the necessity of English and education through her poems. As a teacher, Savitribai has written worthy poems on the themes of 'Welcome' song encouraging the children to come to school, projecting knowledge as the greatest wealth, group discussions and ignorance as the root cause of suffering.

She was modern India's first woman teacher, a radical exponent of mass and female

education, a champion of women's liberation, a pioneer of engaged poetry and a courageous mass leader who took on the forces of patriarchy and caste certainly had her independent identity and contribution. She along with her husband realized that the Indian women are not a monolithic identity, and the issues of caste and gender are interrelated. Her thoughts show the sensitivity and understanding of the existing diversity of patriarchies in terms of castes in India with varying degree of women exploitation therein. Savitibai's role in the anti-caste and women's struggle is unique and unparalleled in a way among all the social reform movements in the nineteenth century as it linked patriarchy with caste.

4.3.8 SAVITRIBAI'S FEMINIST IDEOLOGY

Savitribai Phule started several initiatives for social transformation much before the early nationalists took up the social reform as a campaign strategy. One of the main focus of her interventions was the challenge she posed to the well-established patriarchal and Brahmanical relations, especially in terms of combating female illiteracy and caste. For Savitribai Phule, social and economic power was located in Brahminical social structures and practices. The traditional Brahmanical order signifies a dominant system, ideology and set of institutions that perpetuate the process of exploitation. It is interesting to note that both Shudras and Atishudras are generic terms for those who provide service. Hence, oppression, exploitation and social discrimination define the Shudra and Atishudra castes. In this sense, all women are considered Shudras by the Phules, since they are also oppressed. Savitribai and Jyotirao Phule are the pioneers for their numerous attempts among Stree–Shudra–Atishudra such as throwing open their doors of learning to 'women and lower castes', opening drinking water well to the untouchables, throwing upon their home to the child widows and to orphan children. The report says that 'The prejudice against teaching girls to read and write began to give way—the good conduct and honesty of the peons in conveying the girls to and from school and parental treatment and indulgent attention of the teachers made the girls love the schools and literally run to them with alacrity and joy'. In one of her letters to Jyotiba, she came to the aid of a couple entering an intercaste marriage. Inter-caste marriages were later cited by Dr B. R. Ambedkar as an important tool to annihilate the caste. To support such marriages in the late nineteenth century required exemplary courage and commitment. The first

report of the Samaj proudly notes that Savitribai was the inspiration revolutionary initiative of a constructive revolt to reject centuries-old religious traditions. The marriage of Radha, daughter of Savitribai's friend Bajubai Gyanoba Nimbankar and activist Sitram Jabaji Aalhat was the first Satyashodhak marriage. Savitribai herself bore all the expenses on this historic occasion. She refuted the norms set up by Manu in establishing the Brahmanical patriarchy.

The Satyashodhak Samaj established by the Phules performed several marriages without availing the services of Brahmins. The bride and the groom were made to pledge loyalty to each other, and then both of the marriage parties blessed the couple. The Phules supported contract marriage. This kind of marriage is known as Satyashodhak marriage in which the bride asks the groom to take an oath for providing her the entire human rights after the marriage. Savitribai Phule was not a conventional Indian pativrata (devoted wife) following in her husband's footsteps. She became a breadwinner after her husband's death and took the leading role in running Satyashodhak Samaj. An able and committed companion to her husband, Savitribai was a revolutionary leader in her own right. Despite tremendous odds, she rose to become a productive, inspiring and capable teacher, leader, thinker and writer. The strongest dent against the patriarchal system has to come by a woman herself.

4.3.9 PIONEER OF WOMEN EDUCATION

Savitribai Phule observes 'The person who educates and the person who gets education both become true human beings. Savitribai Phule was a great social reformer, philanthropist, educationist, first Indian female teacher and a prolific poetess of Marathi. She was regarded as the mother of Indian feminism.

She and her husband dedicated their lives for women education and for the rights of the downtrodden. She along with her husband fought for the dignity and rights for the women and marginalized. They established a girl's school in Pune in 1848 and started its journey with seven students and it was the first Indian run school. Savitribai started teaching in this school and she became the first woman teacher of India. She herself becomes the head teacher of the school. With a short span of time from 1848 to 1851, they founded 18 schools. They founded a girl school for the untouchable girls even when they had no access in education nowhere in India.

She introduced secular education as she started educating girls from all sections of the society irrespective of caste, creed and religion. It may be mentioned here that education for girls were considered as a sin at that time. So, teaching by a female teacher for girl students was very difficult. She strongly believed that only education can liberate our women from the oppressive patriarchal structure. She waged a war against casteism and Brahmin caste culture for the upliftment of women. She with her husband took a great task of spreading education among all section of society when women were considered mere object to be used. It was a punishable offence to literate girl children at that period. As Hindu religious norms and injections were against female education people were unwilling to send their children to school. Manu strictly prohibited it. So Phule couple conducted parent-teacher meeting at a regular interval to encourage them for sending their children to school and up held the benefits of education before them. She dedicated herself to spread education among girl children and established women rights. Wandering door to door she urged the villagers to send their children to school and subsequently the number of students started increasing rapidly. They set up hostel for the students. The Phule couple used to hold parents-teacher meeting to ensure the active participation of parents so that they could understand the importance of education and sent their girls to school to receive education. To attract and encourage students towards school and education she adopted many measures like setting up hostel, designed the syllabus according to the need of the students, vocational training, attendance allowance for students. Reciting her own poems from 'Kavyaphule' she used to encourage her students, like:

Go, get education, Be self-reliant,

be industrious

All get lost without knowledge

We become animal without wisdom.

Sit idly no more,   go get education…

You have got a golden chance to learn

So, learn and break the chain of slavery.

And First work is study then homely deeds …

For living self respect go to school.

The real jewel of the men and women is education

Now go to school. And Let us go to school for study

We will not waste time

Now we bow to get education, and knowledge

Let us break the slavery of ignorance and poverty.

She was of the opinion that discriminatory measures imposed on women lead to oppression. Savitribai and her husband Jyotiba were honoured by the government for their contribution in the field of education. She was declared best teacher by the British government in 1852. It is evident from the above-mentioned lines of her Poem that she was a lady with free thoughts and ideas about the empowerment of girls. She felt that education is better than domestic works for girls.

4.3.10 SAVITRI BAI PHULE: AS A SOCIAL REFORMER

She was the first women social reformer in India. She was a great social reformer as well as a great teacher. Savitribai and her husband Jyotiba Phule founded Styashodhak Samaj in September, 1873 and through this organization they undertook many social reformative works. This organization Started registered marriage and it was first time in India that registered marriage was initiated. This type of marriage was performed without any priest, religious rituals and dowry. They also called it Styashodhak marriage. As per this marriage the bridegroom had to take oath that he would support and stand by his wife at every step of life. He had to also promise that he would help his wife to get educated. The Phule couple arranged their son's marriage according to this system i.e., registered marriage. But the priest community and the orthodox Hindu society were deadly against of this type of marriage. As it was against religious scriptures and Hindu customs, except some progressive people most of the people were against this form of marriage. At that time many girls became widows as they were married off at a very early age with old age men. And remarriage of widows was strictly prohibited then. Widows were forced to shave their heads. Savitribai protested against it and she convinced the girls not to shave their heads. She also requested the barbers not to shave heads of girl widows. She was able to convince

the barbers and the barbers joined her movement. Finally, the barbers called a strike demanding withdrawal of this bad system. And they announced that henceforth they would not shave the heads of widows. It was revolutionary and a big achievement for the Indian women. In 1852 she founded an organization namely Mahila Mandal in Pune. Under the banner of this organization, they started campaigning against child marriage, mismatch marriage, exploitation of widows, and oppression on women. They also campaigned for widow remarriage. She started calling meetings of women and women cutting across caste line used to attend the meetings where they shared their problems. On hearing their problems, she tried to boost their Morales. The Main objective of this organization was to create awareness of women rights. This Mahila Mandal succeeded in empowering Indian women to great extent.

Why the Orthodox Society was Against Women Education? Though Savitribai and her husband Jyotiba Phule dedicated themselves to educate and secure the right of girls, the orthodox Hindu society considered it as an attack to their religion, beliefs, customs and traditions. They started creating obstacles in the way of advancement of girls. Like Raja Rammohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar they also faced vehement opposition from the religious orthodox Hindu society. The conservatives and superstitious people even made disrespectful comments on Savitribai and sometimes they hurled stones and mud on Savitribai on her way to school for teaching. But they did not stop her from teaching girls. She kept an extra dress in her bag for changing in school if anyone made her dress dirty. She said, "I am doing my pious work to educate my sisters but you throw stone and dung on me. They seem me like flowers." But why the orthodox society was deadly against of girls' education and women empowerment? There may have been many reasons behind their opposition. But I think, the religious belief was one of the major factors as it played a very important role to shape the mindsets of the society as well as individual. It is a fact that most of our religious scriptures gave low grade to women very disgracefully. The orthodox society could not tolerate these revolutionary and daring steps. They were against women education. They believed that Savitribai's efforts for uplifting women were against Hindu religion and traditions. She says, Now I wish to quote some verses from our religious scriptures which may be helpful to understand my point of view. In the Ramachrita Manas, Tulshidas advocated women for torture. He says: Dhol, Gawar, Shudra, Pashu, Nari Sakal Taran Ke Adhikari. The Manusmriti was considered the

Hindu Code of Life because it ordained Hindu life from birth to death. It says in the verse:2 chapter:11 Day and night women must be kept under one's control. Women are not to be free under any circumstances. Her father protects her in childhood, her husband protects her in youth, and her sons protect her in old age; a woman is never for independence. Religious blind beliefs and customs were the major barrier before Savitribai in educating and empowering women. During Savitribai Phule's time it was not easy from come out of religious barricades. The Indian patriarchal society was of the view that the task of women is child and chulla. And that was why she faced vehement opposition from orthodox Hindu society.

Savitribai Phule was perhaps the greatest female leader of colonial India who through her feminist ideology thrashed upon the age-old patriarchal system by linking caste to patriarchy. We may say that as early as the mid-nineteenth century, Savitribai, through her works and thoughts, sought to bring about a complete change in all walks of life of women. One of the main focus of her interventions was the challenge she posed to the well-established patriarchal and Brahmanical relations, especially in terms of combating female illiteracy and caste. For Savitribai Phule, social and economic power was located in Brahmanical social structures and practices. Savitribai looked upon Stree–Shudra–Atishudra as a unified class oppressed by Brahmanical social structures. Through education and self-reliance, she sought to bring about a revolution in the lives of the downtrodden. She gave rise to some novel thoughts at that time like Choice marriage as a means to dent the patriarchal social structures. Savitibai's feminism shows shades of first wave of feminism when she talked about ability to reason, self-reliance and public schools. Her feminism showed traces of second wave of feminism when she talked about shelter houses and inter-caste marriages. Her feminism showed some characteristics of the third-wave feminism also when she talked about treating women with a diverse set of identities and taking Stree– Shudra–Atishudra together. Savitribai was also the first woman to light her husband's pyre in the history of India. Her choice to light her husband's funeral pyre must have sent shock waves to the most radical feminists of the time.

Savitribai Phule succeeded in bringing a new age of thinking in India by spreading education. Studying her life, we learn the best way for the enlightenment of human beings from ignorance. If she would have not taken initiative in educating women,

uplifting their social position the status of Indian women would have been worse. Wandering door to door and breaking blind beliefs she enlightened revolutionary flame of education. Women in our society were less than an animal Savitribai gave them a respectful life. For her great works and contribution, she will remain immortal in the society.

4.3.11 LET US SUM UP

In this lesson you have studied about the two great women the national has produced and who contributed to the alternative trends in modern political thought. Their thought was much ahead of their times and versatile. Coming from similar kind of background and experiences both the women thinkers have dedicated their lives for the Society. Both the thinkers have contributed to feminist thought in India and remained to be the pioneers of women's Movement. Despite of their dominant concern for women, their work did not confine only to the women. Their holistic understanding of the issues and humanistic sympathies with dedication for social cause made them to venture into the fight for the people who were destitute, refugees, backward and marginalized. Thus they remain to be the women representing alternative trends in modern Indian Political Thought.

4.4 THOUGHT ON TRIBES: BIRSA MUNDA AND JAIPAL SINGH

- V. Nagendra Rao & Mamta Sharma

STRUCTURE

4.4.0 OBJECTIVES

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

Understand how the tribal people conceptualized in the nationalist thought;

Know the significance of Jaipal Singh as a champion of tribal cause and his efforts in the Constituent Assembly to ensure minimum constitutionally guaranteed rights for tribals;

Know the significance of Birsa Munda as a hero of tribal community and their contribution for mobilising the tribes in national freedom struggle

4.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The task of integrating tribal people into the mainstream of Indian society was extremely complex. It is due to the fact that they lived in different parts of India, speaking different languages with distinct cultures. Tribals were spread over different parts of India and the greatest concentration was in Madhya Pradesh, Maharastra, Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Karnataka. These states were having larger number of scheduled tribes accounting 83.2% of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the country. The north eastern states like Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura, Mizoram, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and others like Jammu & Kashmir, Bihar and Tamil Nadu account for another 15.3% of the total Scheduled Tribe population. Except the north eastern states, the tribal peoples are minority in their own states, but in the north eastern states, they lived mostly in the hilly areas while the non-tribal peoples were concentrated in the plain area.

During the colonial period, a number of merchants, money-lender, landlords, petty officials etc. coming from the non-tribal community disrupted the life of tribal people by acquiring their land, disrupting their traditional way of life, exploiting them in their own business at a lower cost etc. This suffering of tribal community in the hands of non-tribal community led to a number of uprisings like Santhal uprising, Munda uprising, Uprising for Bodoland and Naga Uprisings

The Independence India laid a great emphasis on the preservation of the rich and distinct culture of the tribal people living in various parts of India. Against this background in this lesson you will the studying about the thought of two prominent personalities who Jaipal Singh Munda and Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru for their thought and contributions towards tribals. While Jaipal Singh, in the process of maintaining the unique culture of adivasis aspired to create a common tribal state, what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thought was that the of accommodating the uniqueness of tribal people into the mainstream of India. He also proposed to inspire them with confidence and to make them feel at one with India, and to make them realize that they are part of India and have an honoured place in it.

4.4.2 BIRSA MUNDA

The colonial India, in the late 19th century, witnessed a massive upsurge in resistance movements led by the indigenous people (Adivasi) in the eastern part of the country. These movements led by the young tribal freedom fighter Birsa Munda, happened against the backdrop of a history of exploitation and land alienation. With the advent of British administration, the existing system of feudal landlordism, which was generative of apathy for the 'aboriginal inhabitants' in the area was further entrenched by the legal-political edifice established by the empire. These laws brought about massive changes to the existing system of land governance. The new laws came after an imperial legal framework that worked on individual ownership and rights. The changes laid down in law, impacted the traditional system that had survived through collective ownership and oral history. These changes disrupted the harmony that had been sustained for generations. The systematic violence against the adivasis witnessed by the Munda adivasi and Birsa Munda mobilized the tribal community and rose against the British, missionaries and the zamindars (landlords).

4.4.3 ATTACK ON TRIBAL CULTURE

The British agrarian policies caused a huge disruption which made a drastic impact on the livelihood of these tribal people; disrupting their usual way of life which was hitherto peaceful and in tune with nature. Not only British economic and political policies but also aggressive religious and cultural policies of the Christian missionaries which belittled the tribal people and their culture acted as fuel for their fight against the British. The Munda Tribe had followed the Khunkhatti system of joint landholding, while the British replaced this with the zamindari system, through which the entry for the outsiders to the tribal areas was permitted and it aided to the exploitation of the native tribals. The Munda adivasis, who were the landowners, were soon reduced to forced laborers. It resulted soon into more impoverishment and deprivation of the tribals.

As a reaction to the introduction of the zamindari system or the permanent settlement of the outsiders in tribal areas, Birsa Munda in 1894 declared 'Ulgulan' or revolt against the British and the Dikus- the outsiders. He awakened and collected the masses against the British atrocities. He travelled to every village to raise the consciousness

of the people declaring an end to Victorian rule and proclaimed the beginning of Munda rule. Due to awakening of an effective movement, people stopped paying debts to moneylenders and taxes to the British. The British forces put all their might to suppress the revolt and attacked heavily on Munda guerrillas. For Indians, freedom from the Britishers was an eminently desirable outcome, but what about freedom from social and economic exploitation. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was the prominent personality who raised voice against this exploitation and fought for the betterment of the downtrodden people of India. Long before the arrival of Mahatma Gandhi and Bhagat Singh on the scene and their presence in the freedom struggle, there was Birsa Munda, a tribal revolutionary who frightened the British colonialists. The land-hungry non-tribal peasants and keen-eyed traders and merchants began to disintegrate the tribal regions. This intrusion of the non-tribal people into the tribal regions was accelerated by the establishment and consolidation of the British administration. It led the tribals towards the series of uprisings to throw out the intruders from their homeland. This was the period where a new class of middle men between administration and the people and between chiefs and their people came into existence. These were recognized as traders, merchants, moneylenders and thikadars. The new comers were called as Dikus, the outsiders; the creatures of colonial system. The breakdown of the Mundari agrarian shook the old society to its roots. For the first time in the history of the tribe brutal elements thrived and multiplied. Due to which the peace and homogeneity of the village was gone, the old way of life was replaced by a new order. The value system, the ties of the village tribal family loosened. The Munda institutions of the Parha and panchayat decayed and the Dikus replaced the leaders of the old village hierarchy. The century's long system of beliefs, traditions and customs, the way of livelihood, the bond of togetherness was vanished. The tribals were evicted by brutal forces and the newcomers took possession of the tribal bhumihari lands. The worst casualty happened to the moral sense of the tribes, their truthfulness, honesty and simplicity. A few of the Mundas in sheer confusion adopted the same means of deception and venality as those employed by the aliens to destroy their agrarian system.

4.4.4   THE RISE OF BIRSA

Even though Birsa lived for just 25 years, he is one legend who has made a long-standing impact on India's fight against the British. Birssa Muda spearheaded on

Indian tribal mass movement that arose in the tribal belt of modern Odisha, Bihar, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh in the late 19th century during the British Raj. He inspired various tribes who accepted him as their leader. He understood the nature of exploitation by the British against the native tribals. Birsa Munda became the tribal folk hero who gave the British sleepless nights. The movement of the adivasis was for their right for the soil because they were the real owners of the soil. Responding to the gross exploitation of his people, Birsa and his band of loyal followers began 'Ulgulan' against the British and the zamindars. They used the method of guerrilla style attacks on the British. It was in October 1894, when Birsa mobilized a protest march for remission of forest dues that the local zamindars collected. Birsa was imprisoned for two years for his actions. Birsa Munda is known as 'Dharti Aba'; the earth father, he stressed on the need of the tribals to study their own religion and not forget their cultural roots. Though he lived a short span of life, Birsa Munda is known to have mobilized the tribal community against the British. The aim and scope of the movement were driven by the discontent of adivais, who experienced historical injustices encompassing a wide range of exploitation manifesting in the form of land alienation as a result of English laws. The Birsa Ulgulan cannot be studied as a singular and isolated moment in the history of colonial India, but rather more powerfully as a metaphor and symbol of resistance that offers an alternative political vision. Though Birsa was a Christian convert born into a poor adivasi family in 1875, later on he renounced Christianity and the missionary school because it belittled the Munda culture. Birsa also appropriated saintly qualities and eulogized practices directed towards moral disciplining including the ban on alcohol consumption. His political visions were shaped by his vast experience of the colonizers' practices, including acts of belittling the Munda culture in missionary schools, or the legal alienation of adivasis through Eurocentric notions of property legislation. He began to ingrain political consciousness among his followers; he had to face jail more frequently due to his activism. He finally gave a clarion call for the Ulgulan towards the end of 1897 and revolted fearlessly against the empire. His Ulgulan became an antecedent for the political grammar of struggles both within the communities and later for political parties. Birsa Ulgulan should be studied with vigor as a metaphor and symbol of resistance that offers an alternative political vision. India belongs to the tribals. Tribals never welcomed invaders nor accepted

slavery. Due to the cruelty exploitation of the tribal, their natural wealth and social culture are being vanished. The study of Birsa Munda's rebel portrays a unique tribal movement which the British Government faced in the closing year of the last century. The impact of the dominant culture of the day and of the alien government in alliance with zamindars, zagirdars and thikadars on the Mundas created such a stir which burst forth into a rebellion.

4.4.5 BIRSA MOVEMENT

The Munda movement led by Birsa Munda had many facets. Many scholars had described about it as religious, reformative, peasant etc. K.K. Datta described it as the movement for "internal purification, and along with it was associated the desire to remove alien government and its supporters, the landlords, who were considered to be responsible of various socio-economic changes affecting the conditions of the people of the area" . From 1895-1900, Birsa Munda led movement had a wider implication and connotation. It aroused a consciousness amongst the people of this region across the different tribes and Munda tribes in particular. It was the messianic movement which many scholars talked about penetrated into the minds of the people and revolutionized the whole region. During the 1890s, he started speaking to his people about the exploitation done by the British. The British agrarian policies were stifling the tribal people and disrupting their way of life which was hitherto peaceful and in tune with nature. Another problem was that of cultural belittlement of the tribal people by the Christian missionaries. At every level from the socio-economic, cultural and religious perspective, he started teaching and intermingling with the people. This led to map the minds of the people for the munda movements. K.S.Singh highlighted the "three phases through which Sardar agitation evolved into Birsa movements: the agrarian phase (1858-1881), the revivalist phase (1881-1890) and the political phase (1890-1895)" . It must be taken into consideration the different paths adopted by Birsa Munda to garner the support and mobilize and enlighten the people about their rights. There were many factors which led to Birsa movements. The most prominent were belonging to socio-economic in nature. The other factors were the charismatic personality of Birsa Munda and his power of mobilization of people on his saying and doing. The humble and poor background of Birsa Munda prepared him at the young age to feel the sufferings of the people and to search

solutions for the society to the complete bondage in which the tribal people were living. This pain and sufferings gave him an inner feelings and awakening which prepared him and his followers to revolt against the government and officials. Birsa Munda was aware of all the cultural aspects prevailing in the region such as tribal, Hindu and Christian. He was baptized as 'Daud' and took up the mission education and understood the German Protestant mission and Roman Catholic mission respectively in its close proximity. The issues and sufferings of the tribal people led him to discover the hollowness of the Christian and Hindu religions. As a result, he started following the tribal culture and made followers with many such miracles and curing the tribal people. It helped him in earning his faith and beliefs over the poor tribal people. He transformed himself as 'Bhagwan' and 'Dharti Aba' who had been sent by the divine power to bring happiness to the sufferings tribal people. The rituals prevailing at that time was not affordable by the tribals and hence he simplified it and made it an ideal for his followers. The people belonging to different communities and tribes became his followers. Taking up the religious path, he gathered a large number of people to take up other issues related to the society and to save tribal watan. He wanted to bring freedom for the tribal people from all the outsiders both on socio-political and religious aspects. The Sardari Larai which was prevalent since 1858 and a long drawn constitutional method did not bring any happiness to the tribal people. He assessed the pros and cons of previous movements in colonial Bihar and wanted to give it a final and last blow to the prevailing condition. Birsa Munda wanted to set up a 'Munda land' to be exclusive for the tribal people where everybody will be independent of any other authority and administrations. Having got the support and mobilization of people, he concentrated now on the direct confrontation with the colonial government. He gathered an arm band of 6000 people in 1895 to open rebellion and wanted to end the British Raj at one go. The armed tribal people were a challenge for the colonial government. Under these circumstances, the colonial government deputed the local police to arrest him. It was a tough and daunting task to arrest Birsa Munda who garnered huge followers. With the acquaintance of local people, he was arrested along with fifteen others on 24 August, 1895 and put behind the bars amongst protest by his followers. They were tried and pronounced sentences and released in January 1898 after the diamond jubilee celebration of Queen Victoria. After the release, Birsa Munda changed his tactics to awaken the tribal people about

the sufferings by natural calamities, famines and epidemics and apathy of the colonial government. This move of Birsa Munda led him to take up the core and day today issues which the tribals were facing. Moreover, He mobilized and trained the people to fight against the colonial government by propaganda and planning of operations. The regular night meetings with the locals helped him to garner the support of the local people and to make them aware about the real issues. They visited each and every villages regarding their concern and also to overcome those problems prophesying the religious overtones. He was able to convince his followers that the presence of colonial government and dikhus were not going to bring any happiness and goodness to the tribal people. It was only bringing the self rule by the Mundas that the sufferings and suppression by the outsiders could be resolved. In expressing about the grievances to the people, he clearly instructed the tribal people to know who the enemies were and to go all about against them. In order to usurp the inscription of Rajas, "the first operation of Birsa after his release from jails was given in attack on Chutia temple in 1897. Birsa also attacked British rulers, the key enemy and the patrons of zamindars and other dikhus" . He also mobilized the people to distrust the Christian missionaries who were befooling the tribal people in their struggle and making them to convert in Christianity and loosing the old rights on the lands. These Christian missionaries were also taking up the side of colonial government. In his final triumph, in the year 1899, he resumed his armed struggle along with the people. He razed police stations, government property, churches and houses of Zamindars. In doing so, the people gave tough time to the colonial police and administrations. The people gathered at the clarion call given by Birsa Munda and fought bravely against government. The feelings of the people to fight against the foreign power and a sense of pride for saving mother land forced Britishers to catch hold of Birsa Munda. The nationalism which he was able to arouse amongst the tribal people alarmed the Britishers. It was local treachery which landed him in trouble. He was arrested on 3rd February, 1900 and died due to cholera on 30th May, 1900 in the jail as per official version. Due to Birsa Munda movement, the colonial government understood the basic mistakes, problems of tribal people and sense of pride for saving their age old rights. The frequent uprisings and mobilization of tribal people against the colonial government made both the party hostile towards each other. The old traditional tenurial rights of Khuntkhatti were restored. It was decided

by the colonial government to take up the complete survey of land and to to make compilation of record of rights. Further, general survey and settlement of Chhotanagpur region were considered. After the death of Birsa Munda, formation of Gumla, Khunti subdivisions took place for the administrative reasons. The colonial government put restrictions on the sale, purchase and transfer of raiyats and other tenancies. The Colonial government initiated Commutation Act of 1907 to discontinue the feudal practice of Bethbegari (forced labour).

Birsa Munda has emerged today as a powerful cult figure symbolizing the struggle of the large mass of tribal people for the preservation of their identity, for equality and for radical socio-economic transformation. His personality and the intensity of the Munda movement made a profound impact on the course of history. Birsa also became the symbol of the freedom struggle in Chhotanagpur and in all over the country. Birsa cult developed further as various political currents tried to establish their link with the Munda leader and his movement. Birsa's movement has now become part of the popular struggle for a more human and humane order.

4.4.6 JAIPAL SINGH MUNDA (1903-1970)

Jaipal singh was a multi-faceted personality-a distinguished parliamentarian, a champion sportsman, an educationist, a powerful orator and above all, the leader of the Adivasis. Jaipal alias Pramod Pahan was born at the Takra village of Khunti subdivision of the present day Jharkhand. In childhood, his job was to look after the cattle herd. His destiny had a turn around with his admission to St. Paul's School, Ranchi, in 1910. Then Jaipal moved to England and graduated from St John's College, Oxford with Honours in Economics. Jaipal was selected in Indian Civil Service from which he later resigned. In 1928 Amsterdam Olympics, he captained the Indian hockey team which won the gold medal. In 1934, Jaipal joined teaching at the Prince of Wales College at Achimota, Gold Coast, Ghana. In 1937, he returned to India as the principal incumbent of the Rajkumar College, Raipur. In 1938, he joined the Bikaner princely State as foreign secretary. Jaipal thought that with his varied experience he could be more useful to the country through the Congress. His encounter with Rajendra Prasad at the Sadaaquat Ashram in Patna, however, did not go well. The then Governor of Bihar, Sir Maurice Hallet offered to nominate him to the Bihar Legislative Council but Jaipal declined. In deference to their wishes,

Jaipal then decided to go to Ranchi and assess the situation for himself. The return to Ranchi was Jaipal's homecoming. When the news got around that Jaipal had arrived in Ranchi, there was great excitement among the Adivasis. The united Adivasi forum called Adivasi Sabha, formed in 1938 made him the president of the-organisation. As many as 65,000 people gathered to listen to Jaipal's presidential speech on January 20, 1939. They came from all over, walked on foot for days together to have a glimpse of him as they had done in the past for Birsa Munda, the legend. His oratory, simultaneously in English, Hindi, Sadani and Mundari, mesmerised men and women from all walks of life.

Jaipal Singh declared that "the Adivasi movement stands primarily for the moral and material advancement of Chhotanagpur and Santhal Parganas", and set as his goal a separate administrative status for the area. He was instantly the people's 'Marang Gomke' - their Supreme Leader. The history of the region changed henceforth. With Jaipal at the helm, there was no looking back. He worked ceaselessly for a better future for his fellow Adivasis everywhere, even beyond the frontiers of south Bihar. The Adivasi Sabha was changed into All India Adivasi Mahasabha.

On the national political front, Jaipal had alienated himself from the Congress personally. He played an active role in the anti-Compromise Congress conference at Ramqarh in 1940 in close alliance with Subhas Bose. He went against the Congress stand and supported the British in the World War II and recruited men and women from Chhotanagpur for the British army.

Since 1946, Jaipal was a member of the Constituent Assembly, the Provisional Parliament and was elected four times to the Parliament until his death in 1970. As a close friend of the doyen of anthropology, S.C. Roy and Verrier Elwin and supported by Ambedkar, he led his 'glorious struggle' both inside and outside the legislature to establish the Adivasi identity. With the creation of the Jharkhand Party and the induction of non-Adivasis into it in 1950,he changed the emotive cultural movement in Jharkhand into a regional political movement, free from any communal bias. The Jharkhand Party (JHP) was the first legitimate political party that drew the political agenda and gave the direction to the future of Jharkhand politics. The party became so strong that it played a vital role in the formation of the government in the neighbouring province of Orissa in 1957.

4.4.7 CHAMPION OF ADIVASI RIGHTS IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

As a member of the Constituent Assembly Jaipal came to represent the tribals not just of his native plateau, but also of all of India and played a key role in raising the issue of Adivasi identity. Jaipal advocated for equal participation for his people while creating a vision for the country and taking all important decisions as it is largely going to determine the future of Adivasis. He often argued that the tribal question cannot be dealt in isolation of the plans for the nation-state being shaped in the Constituent Assembly. However, it was not the vision shared by most others in the Assembly.

Being a gifted speaker, his interventions enlivened the Assembly. Hence it would be appropriate to discuss some of his arguments supporting the adivasi case and speeches asserting adivasi identity. During the discussions on the Objectives Resolution he submits to the entire house, in the last 6,000 years history of Indus Valley Civilization, how the new comers (many of those in today's mainstream) have driven away the adivasis (the original inhibitors) to the jungle fastness. While submitting how the adivasis were exploited, neglected and disgracefully treated by all the others across several junctures he welcomed the opening of the new chapter of independent India where there would be equality of opportunity and where no one would be neglected. Jaipal treated and considered the objectives resolution nothing but a modern restatement of the view point of his own people, as there is no place for discrimination in the name of caste and gender among adivasis. Rather he insisted one must learn democratic ways from Adivasis.

At every stage, he aired his fears of being deceived, of inadequate Adivasi representation in decision making in the Assembly as well as outside of it, and of moves and proposals that amounted to nothing more than "political window-dressing. In the discussion on the draft Constitution, Jaipal made a speech that was spirited in all senses of the word. Bowing to pressure by Gandhians, the prohibition of alcohol had been made a Directive Principle. This said the Adivasi leader, was an interference 'with the religious rights of the most ancient people in the country'. For drink was part of their festivals, their rituals, indeed their daily life itself. Thus in West Bengal 'it would be impossible for paddy to be transplanted if the Santhal does not get his rice beer. These ill-clad men …have to work knee-deep in water throughout the day,

in drenching rain and in mud. What is it in the rice beer that keeps them alive? I wish the medical authorities in this country would carry out research in their laboratories to find out what it is that the rice beer contains, of which the Adivasis need so much and which keeps them against all manner of diseases.' This way while highlighting several such dissimilarities Jaipal urged for the need of taking care of the special requirements of the Tribals.

In Jaipal Singh's vision, the undoing of past wrongs in the present required something other than the welfare work envisaged by some other members of the Assembly. Thus all through his debates Jaipal emphasised on tribal autonomy as a means for ensuring an equitable deal for his people. He demanded for autonomy in decision making and a relationship based on respect and reciprocity for the Adivasis. Singh extended his understanding of autonomy not only to relations between Adivasis and the nation-state, but also to relations between different tribes.

To conclude it may be said that Jaipal remained to be a champion of tribal rights and culture all through his life; fought for the cause single handily amidst of majority opposition in the Constituent Assembly. The criticism often he received in the process and the deaf hearing at times he ended up with did not deter him in articulating the larger cause. While he remained to be an unsung hero across the country, he remains to be the Marang Gomki in the tribal heart. He succeeded in changing the emotive cultural movement in Jharkhand into a regional political movement, free from any communal bias. Finally, Jaipal's dream of creating a tribal state has materialised partially into reality on November 15, 2000, when Jharkhand was carved out of Bihar. His vision for the Adivasi State was bigger, that was to comprise the tribal districts of Bengal and Madhya Pradesh, besides those of Bihar and Orissa yet to come true.

4.4.8 LET US SUM UP

In the current lesson you have studied about the thought of Jaipal Sing Munda and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru towards the tribal population of India. One would come across two different approaches articulated and followed by these two significant people in the contemporary tribal history of India. While Jaipal believed autonomy within the state to be the solution for tribal suppression, while maintaining that the tribal people have special needs Nehru believed and attempted was that of accommodating the uniqueness of tribal people into the mainstream of India by creating enough emotional comfort.

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