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Indian Political Thought

Study Material Prepared

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Indian Political Thought

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Kautilya – Theory of state, Manu – Social laws, Zia Barani – Good Sultan and Ideal polity, Abul Fazal – Governance and Administration.

Unit – II

Ram Mohan Roy – Civil rights, Jotirao Phule – Social Justice, Vivekanand – Cultural Nationalism, Aurobindo – Nationalism and Democracy.

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Ramabai – Gender and caste, Gandhiji – Swaraj and Satyagraha, Jinnah – Liberal constitution, and Islam, Savarkar – Hindutva and critique of caste system.

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Nehru – Ideas of Development, M.N. Roy – Twentieth Century Renaissance, Periyar – State structure.

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Lohia – Democracy, Jeyaprakash Narayanan – Democratic socialism, Dravidian ideology – Self Respect movement - Regionalism.

Reference Books:

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Unit I

Kautilya – Theory of State:

Kautilya, An ancient Indian political thinker was a multi-dimensional personality whose famous work, Arthashastra, is studied across disciplines like political science, international relations, diplomacy, security studies, economics, management and public administration. He is considered one of the finest ministers and politicians in India. His views on politics and state continue to resonate in contemporary India; however, it is widely believed that his works have not received enough attention in India and outside India. The science of statecraft had been developing in India even before Kautilya and he did not take credit for being a pioneer in this field. He had compiled famous works and theories before him and gave his own views on them covering various areas like politics, economy and diplomacy. There were at least four distinct schools and thirteen individual teachers of Arthashastra before Kautilya. However, it is very likely that Kautilya's masterpiece superseded them, making them redundant, and leading to their disappearance. It is, therefore, necessary that Kautilya's work is studied to analyze its resilience through centuries in order to understand its contemporary importance for India.

KAUTILYA'S WORK AND HIS TIMES

There is no clear consensus about Kautilya's life and the times in which he lived. He is also known by the name Chanakya, based on his father's name Rishi (Sage) Chanak, who was a Brahmin. Another name given to Kautilya is Vishnugupta since he is believed to be a follower of Lord Vishnu. The name, Kautilya, comes from his 'kutil' gotra, which means shrewd and cunning. He lived at the turn of the fourth to third century BC and thus, was a near contemporary of Aristotle and Alexander the Great. The place of his birth is also disputed as according to different sources, Kautilya was born in Takshashila, Gola district in South India or Patliputra in Magadha. Kautilya played the central role in the establishment of the Maurya Empire under Chandra Gupta (321-297 BCE) – the first pan-Indian state extending over most of the Indian subcontinent. Chandra Gupta was a student of Kautilya who overthrew the Nanda dynasty on the wise counsel of his guru, Chanakya who became Prime Minister in his court. His book, Arthashastra, has 15 parts (or books), 180 divisions, 150 chapters and approximately 6,000

verses or shlokas. Details about the King, his ministers and other officers are given in Book 1. Book 2 lays down the duties of the various executive officers of the state and the state's role in activities like agriculture, mining etc. Themes of law and administration are given in Book 3 while Book 4 highlights the suppression of crime. Miscellaneous topics like the salary of officials etc are covered in Book 5. Constituent elements of a state and foreign policy are detailed in Book 6. Book 7 also covers additional details on foreign policy.

Political Concerns and Key Ideas:

Various calamities that may hamper the state are given in Book 8. Details pertaining to war preparations are given in Book 9. The art of fighting and its different modes are the main concern of Book 10. Book 11 describes how a conqueror should tackle oligarchies governed by a group of chiefs instead of a single king. Book 12 highlights how a weak king can overcome a strong king while Book 13 describes how to conquer an enemy's fort. Occult and secret practices are dealt with in Book 14 while the last book highlights logical techniques and methodology used in Arthashastra. There is a widely held belief that the text of Arthashastra was not available till it was discovered by Sanskrit scholar Dr R Shamasastri. He found the 17th-century writing on a bundle of palm leaves from a pandit in Tanjore in 1904. He published the text in 1909 and its translation in 1915. However, Subrata K Mitra and Michael Liebig in their 2017 work have argued that there has been a continuous oral and written transmission of the Arthashastra across time as well as a lasting influence of Kautilya's thought on the politics in South Asia throughout the pre-modern duration. Max Weber, one of the foundational thinkers of modern social sciences was the first Western social scientist to recognise the significance of Kautilya in his works, *Politics as a Vocation* and in his sociology of religion studies on Hinduism. Apart from Dr Shamasastri, another Indian scholar who devoted his research career to Kautilya is Dr R P Kangle whose three-volume edition of Arthashastra was published between 1960 and 1965. Another important translation of Kautilya has been done by L N Rangarajan (1992) which is a simpler and rearranged version of the original work. Sanskrit philologists and Indologists have extensively engaged with Kautilya's work. However, their focus clearly differs from the research approach of political science. It should be mentioned that Kautilya himself states in the Arthashastra that his work is a treatise on the science of politics. Before understanding Kautilya's Arthashastra, one should know the concept of four Purusharthas which are goals of

human life or aims and objectives of a soul. They are dharma (duty), Artha (wealth), kama (desire) and moksha (emancipation of soul). The times before Kautilya were dominated by dharma (promoted by religion) and regulated by Dharmashastra. The pursuit of dharma was superior to three other goals of life. However, with Arthashastra, the pursuit of artha became an end in itself while the other three aims of life. Kautilya separated polity from religion, something similar that happened in 16th-century Europe when the supremacy of religion was challenged by the state's authority. Dharmashastra pertains to more social, moral and religious aspects while Arthashastra is more political and economic in nature. It is similar to Nitishastra as both are policy-oriented and gives due importance to discipline, punishment and sanction.

KAUTILYA'S VIEWS ON STATE

Kautilya's views on the state are similar to what later came to be known as the social contract theory of the origin of the state. He argued that Matsya Nyaya, which is the law of nature, needs to be eradicated. Matsya Nyaya means a bigger fish always swallows the smaller fish. It can be seen as a state of anarchy where the powerful dominate the weak. Similar views were later expressed by Thomas Hobbes. Kautilya said that people want security and peace and that is why; they chose Manu, as their king under the system of kingship. People agreed to pay one-sixth of their food grains and one-tenth of other goods including gold as tax to the king in return for a guarantee of their security. The king is duty-bound to protect his subjects and ensure their well-being. The king has the power to inflict danda (punishment) to ensure order and stability in the society. The theory of the state in ancient India before Kautilya argued that the state has to uphold the laws of Varnashram i.e. social laws based on traditions and customs. The state had a minimalist function to intervene in situations where these laws were not obeyed. However, with Arthashastra, Kautilya broke this tradition and advocated that the state could make laws of its own. If there is a conflict between the Dharmayajna of state and Dharmashastra, the earlier would prevail. Arthashastra could be used as a manual of statecraft by any king, it was mainly meant for the vijigishu (one who wanted to conquer the whole Indian subcontinent) and such a king was described as Chakravarti in later Buddhist texts. Kautilya described the structure of the state in his Saptanga theory or seven organs/elements of state or sPrakritikriti. These are presented right at the beginning of Book 6. The text structure of the Arthashastra as a whole follows the sequence of seven elements, starting with Swami in Book 1. Amatya, janapada,

durga, and kosa are covered in Books 2 to 5. DandaMitramitra is dealt with in Books 6 to 14. Saptanga was not an original contribution of Kautilya as some earlier works have referred to this theory. The seven elements combine to form a state. The state can be compared to a living organism where individuals are regarded as its organs. These individuals lose their essence if they are separated from the state while at the same time, the state would also suffer if its organs or elements are damaged. Like Aristotle, Kautilya also believed in the organic theory of the state. He said that there cannot be a country without people and there is no kingdom without a country. The seven elements of the state as described by Kautilya as explained below.

Political Concerns and Key Ideas

Swami or the King

The ruler is equivalent to the head in a human body. Kautilya did not believe in the kingship origin of kingship. He believed it to be a human institution. An ideal king, according to him, is one who has the highest qualities of leadership, intellect, energy and personal attributes. The leadership qualities a king should have to attract followers include birth in a noble family, truthfulness, intellect, righteousness, discipline, and enthusiasm being stronger than neighbouring kings and having ministers of high quality. A king's intellectual qualities are reflected by a desire to learn and to listen to others, grasping and retaining truthful views and rejecting false claims. As far as personal attributes are concerned, a king should be eloquent and have a kind mind with a sharp intellect. He should be amenable to guidance. The king should be just in both, rewarding and punishing. At the same time, he should eschew passion, anger, greed, obstinacy, fickleness and backbiting. Kautilya's political thought is influenced by a patrimonial state in which authority is primarily based on the personal power exercised by the ruler. The ruler's competence in statecraft is decisive for the power of the state and the welfare of the people. It should be highlighted that for Kautilya, the king is the first and foremost important factor as he is the independent variable while the other six elements of the state are dependent variables. Kautilya said that the king and his rule encapsulate all the elements of the state. State in Kautilya's conception is an absolute monarchy, but the monarch is not a despot who exercises unrestricted and arbitrary power. Kautilya opined that punishment should be used judiciously if the king wants to retain popular respect. An unjust exercise of authority could produce resistance and may even lead to revolt. The ruler is committed to the welfare of the people which

guarantees popular support for his rule ensuring political stability. According to Kautilya, a king who follows his duty of protecting his people justly as per the law goes to heaven, unlike the one who inflicts unjust punishment and does not protect his subjects. Kautilya's kingship could be called a system of a benevolent monarchy. Some of the main duties assigned to the king by Kautilya are:

- Ensuring people's welfare and giving assistance to pregnant women, orphans, newly born, destitute and the elderly. According to Kautilya, a king's happiness lies in the welfare of his subjects.
- To maintain dharma or prescribed duties of all human beings protect his subjects from internal and external threats.
- Protection of people from eight types of calamities – famine, fire, flood and drought, epidemic, rats and locusts etc., snakes and aquatic dangers, wild animals like tigers and crocodiles and evil spirits.
- Maintenance of law and order in the state.
- To ensure universal and free education for all citizens based on the Vedic system.
- To display AVratarata (self-control) and to do this, the king had to abandon six enemies – kama (lust), krodha (anger), lobha (greed), mana (vanitMadamada (haughtiness), Harsharsha (overjoy).

Amatya or the Minister

Kautilya State and Duties of Kingship

Amatya represents the eyes of the state. Kautilya argued that the minister with the highest rank should be born into a high family and should be a native of the state. He should be under the control of the king. Further, he must be trained in all the arts and should be far-sighted. He should be firmly loyal and endure adversaries through qualities like boldness, bravery and intelligence and should be energetic. The council of ministers is needed to provide stable and systematic administration. The highest-grade appointments were given to ministers who had all the requisite qualities. low-grade ministries were given to ministers who were less qualified. Apart from the king, there are three top positions in the council of ministers – Mantrintri or the prime minister (closest political advisor of the king), the commander-in-chief (involved in military planning and conduct of foreign policy) and the crown prince who alternates between political and military assignments. These four posts form the supreme body of political deliberations. After them, there are posts like the minister of finance, the chief justice, the head of public administration etc. Kautilya did not fix the number of ministers which depends on requirements.

Janpada or the People

Janpada represents the legs of the state and includes both, the territory and population of the state. The people should be prosperous while the territory should have fertile lands, mines, forests and water bodies etc. The demographic and economic base of Kautilyalyan state is the rural population. The vast majority of the population lives in the countryside engaged in agriculture and crafts. Small farmers from the shudra caste are the main agriculturalists in Kautilya's state who have their land or are tenants. Under land the reclamation policy, Kautilya favours allotment of land to shudra peasants for cultivation. More land under cultivation would increase the state's economic capacity. Forests are located in the countryside which has economic and strategic significance. Forests provide timber, charcoal, dyes, medicines and bamboo leaves etc. Forests also serve as habitats for elephants which are used for civilian and military purposes. A state should have well-trained war elephants. Kautilya believed that the rural population has a stronger physical and mental makeup than the urban population and that is why; he did not approve of the urban style of entertainment like alcohol consumption and gambling in the countryside.

Durga or the Fort

Political Concerns and Key Ideas

Durga represents the arms of a state. Security of the treasury and army would depend on the fortification of the state. Kautilya says that on the frontiers of the country, every quarter will have a fort well-equipped to defend against the enemies. In total, four forts shall be constructed in places that are naturally suited for defence. A land fort is the easiest to capture while a river fort is more difficult. A fort situated on a mountain is the most difficult to capture. Kautilya has detailed many types of forts in Arthashastra. • Audak fort is surrounded by watbodiesody.

- Parvat fort is built amidst high mountains. These forts play an important part while defending against an external attack.
- Dhanvan fort is surrounded by desert.
- Van fort is situated in the midst dense forest.

Kautilya further says that the capital should be built at the centre of the kingdom and it should be provided in four districts, one for each caste.

Kosha or Treasury Kosha is considered the mouth of the state. Kautilya opined that the wealth of the state shall be acquired lawfully, either by inheritance or the by kingwn efforts consisting of gold, gems and silver. The wealth should be enough to allow the country to withstand a calamity, even if the calamity is a longer duration in which there is no income generated. Treasury is located in the fortified capital which is used to finance the army, the royal court and the state apparatus. Good financial resources can improve the poor status of the armed forces, but a powerful army cannot survive without money. The main tax of Kautilya state is the tax in kind, one-sixth of agricultural production output goes to the state. Kautilya also recommends special levies to be charged on alcohol, gambling, road toll, the sale of jewellery, commercial sexual services etc. He also cautioned that excessive taxation is economically and politically counterproductive which would lower economic output and pauperise the people.

Danda or Sena or Coercive Power of State (Armed Forces, Secret Service and Police)

Sena is equivalent to the brain in the human body. The soldiers should be strong, obedient, and not averse to long expeditions, with powers of endurance, skill in handling all weapons and experience in many battles. They should keep their wives and sons contented. They should have no interest other than that of the king and should share his prosperity and adversity. A strong army is required to ward off internal and external threats to a country. Kautilya has described six types armies. • Clan armies: Constitutes of hereditary soldier Kshatriyashatriyas, the son of the soldier becomes a soldier. Kautilya gives maximum importance to this type of army. Such soldiers are loyal to the king and know different types of war strategies. • Hired soldiers or militia army. Mobilisation in a militia army is time-consuming compared to a standing army. • An army constituted by corporations. • An army raised by recruiting the assistance of friendly countries. • A fighting unit is made up of prisoners of war i.e. enemy soldiers caught during a war. • An army made up of tribal people. The Coercive power of the state includes the army, secret service and the police. The commander-in-chief or senapati belongs to the innermost circle of the king and his responsible for military strategic planning and conduct of military operations during a war. Arthashastra highlights a well-developed defence industry where state- run manufacturers produce military equipments like chariots, siege engines, tents, trolleys etc. Kautilya did not comment on naval warfare as he did not say anything about a sea-going navy. Army, according to Kautilya, is divided in four services – infantry, cavalry,

chariots and war elephants. Kautilya has highlighted four basic forms of warfare. • Mantra-yuddha: war by counsel or use of diplomacy by a weaker king who finds it unwise to fight against a strong adversary. • Prakash-yuddha: regular warfare where opposing armies fight according to established rules and regulations. • Kuta-yuddha: irregular warfare including ambushes and raids in enemy territory. • Tusnim-yuddha: includes covert operations like sabotage and targeted killings. Kautilya advises that if the war becomes inevitable, efforts should be made to avoid a prolonged war and offensive is recommended in case there is overwhelming superiority over an already weakened opponent. He favoured tusnim-yuddha or covert war where mental faculties like intelligence, foresight, psychological skills and ingenuity matter. Kautilya had also given due importance to the elaborate system of spies in the kingdom. They would keep an eye on the working of ministers and any type of adverse public opinion against the king and also information about other kingdoms. A spy could be in the disguise of kapatik (disciple), udasthita (recluse), griha paitik (householder), vaidehak (merchant), tapas (ascetic), satri (classmate or a colleague), tikshana (firebrand), rasada (a poison specialist) and bhikshuki (a mendicant woman).

Mitra or Ally/Friend

A Mitra represents the ears of a state. According to Kautilya, an ideal ally is one who is a friend of the family for a long time, is constant and powerful in support, is amenable to control, shares a common interest, can mobilise his army quickly and is not someone who would double cross his friends. Kautilya says that the king should focus on strengthening the first six elements of the state. In the modern international relations lexicon, it would mean internal balancing, as the state tries to gain strength purely on its internal resources. If a state's resources are underdeveloped compared to other states, Kautilya advises that the state have external alliances in order to have time for internal development. The alliance can be terminated if the state has reached a position where it is not weak in comparison to other states or if the alliance hampers the internal development of the state. In Kautilya's scheme of things, a best friend is the state that gives up its own sovereignty and becomes a vassal state. Like this, the external ally effectively becomes an internal factor by accepting the status of a vassal state.

Manu – Social laws

The Manusmriti, or ‘The Laws of Manu’, is considered to be one of the most authoritative texts in the Brahminical tradition which lays out social and civil laws and codes of conduct which are necessary for the maintenance of dharma. It prescribes the conduct for men and women of the four social classes or varnas – Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaishya, Shudra – and rules of interaction between them. In addition, it lays out rules of conduct for people in the four stages of life, ashramas – brahmacharya, grihstashrama, vanaprastha and sanyasa. It also prescribes rules and obligations for the King – rajdharma – and laws related to civil matters like business and contract. The purpose of these rigid social rules and boundaries is to preserve dharma – the social order marked by hierarchical varna system, where the Brahman enjoys most social privileges and Shudra the least. The proper sphere of activity for the Brahmin is study of the Vedas and begging, for Kshatriya is statecraft, for Vaisya it is trade and moneylending, and for Shudra is to serve the above three. The Shudras are not entitled to an education. All four varnas enjoy complete control over the women of their social category. Thus the ‘Laws of Manu’ do not contain a distinction between secular and religious laws. It is the social law which dominates the political as well as the personal sphere. Even the kingly functions are aimed towards the preservation of the social order.

Historians do not consider ‘Manu’ to be one historical person. Rather, what we know as the ‘Laws of Manu’ is handiwork of several Brahmin individuals, which was compiled in early centuries of the Common Era in Northern India. Manu appears to be a mythological figure in Brahminical tradition and later in the Hindu religion, who has often been called the first human being. The 2694 stanzas divided in twelve chapters of Manusmriti talk about a range of issues: caste restrictions, dietary restrictions, restrictions on women, rites of marriage, death and sacrificial ceremonies, purification rituals, penalties for breaking these rules and rules of polity to be followed by kings. The social laws of Manu offer us a glimpse into how the powerful sections of early India, the Brahmins who composed the work, desired the society to be. A study of Manu’s social laws will also provide a glimpse of how society was sought to be organized, because the ideas contained in the book were not entirely new, but culmination of Brahminical tradition of social thought which traced itself to the Vedas. Such detailed and elaborate rules of social control were made to avoid chaos, or what Vedic texts have called Matsyanyaya, an

anarchic situation where only the law of the stronger exists. Thus, Manusmriti appears to be an attempt by socially powerful sections of Indian society to retain and preserve the social order of their privilege, at a time when rapid historical changes were taking place.

SOURCES OF LAW

The Manusmriti forms part of the smriti canon of Hindu religious corpus, which refers to knowledge received from tradition. The other canon is shruti which refers to revealed knowledge or divine knowledge. The Vedas belong to the shruti group and occupy a somewhat superior position. The classification of religious knowledge between shruti and smriti, ultimately indicates two sources of law – the divine and traditional. Although, repositories of traditional knowledge claim that revealed texts are their source. The Laws of Manu claim four sources of sacred law; the Vedas, the conduct of virtuous men learned in the Vedas, the conduct of holy men and self-satisfaction. It also claims that all the social laws prescribed in it are in strict accordance with the Vedas.

Manu Social Order and Laws

Tracing the origin of law to the divine is a way to command obedience, and to claim that the law stands above human scrutiny. Such a source also enables the dominant social sections of society to claim that they are eternally entitled to respect, wealth and political power. Because divinely ordained laws are unchanging and depend on the conduct of those already in power, they seek to bolster their privileged position. For instance, historian K.P. Jayaswal explained that the divine origin theory of kingship was furthered by Brahmin king Pusyamitra Sunga in order to make his family's claim to the throne permanent, and to discredit the Buddhist theory of the state which emphasized contract amongst people to decide their ruler.

RAJDHARMA: THE DUTIES OF THE KING

The king was created to protect and control chaos and fear which prevailed in a society without a ruler. A Kshatriya who has received training in Vedic tradition and has gone through all the prescribed religious practices from childhood – the initiation (upanayana) and studentship – is fit to be king, according to Manu. A king is superior to all other living beings because he is made out of divine elements from the gods. Manu demands total obedience to the laws of the King. It is the king who preserves and protects the social order of the four varnas, the dharma.

Hence, disobedience of the king is akin to sacrilege and invites severest reprisal. The instrument employed by the king to preserve and protect the social order is danda or punishment. Echoing Arthashastra, the Manusmriti claims that punishment is the king itself. It is punishment which watches over, governs, and which protects. Manu warns that danda has to be applied after due consideration in order to lead towards happiness. Recklessly applied punishment destroys everything. If danda is not employed, then ‘the stronger would roast the weaker, like fish on a pit,’ ‘the crow would eat the sacrificial cake and the dog would lick the sacrificial viands, and ownership would not remain with anyone, and the lower ones (would usurp the place of) the higher ones.’ These metaphors explain that the social order, where wealth, property ownership, education and religious training are reserved for the three higher varnas, would crumble. ‘All castes (varnas) would be corrupted (by intermixture), and all barriers will be broken through.’ Manu fears that in absence of punishment, the endogamous rules of marriage within the same caste, or between the male of a higher caste and female of a lower caste, would be broken and caste hierarchy and entitlement over power and resources would lose all meaning. An ideal king, therefore, has to be truthful to the social order and should observe justice and dharma by making sure that the social and economic restrictions placed by the varna order are not broken. A king who is of unsound mind, who is addicted to sensual pleasures and who is partial and deceitful will not be able to govern or adhere strictly to the caste order.

Manu, therefore, spells out that ‘The King has been created to be the protector of the castes and orders, who, all according to their rank, discharge their several duties.’ A just King has to ensure that the castes do not break ranks – do not intermarry and do not take up occupations which are not prescribed for them. In addition, in dispensing justice the King ought to ‘with rigour chastise his enemies, behave without duplicity towards his friends, and be lenient towards the Brahmanas.’ The King should always remember his role as the protector of the social order. For this purpose, ‘Let the king, after rising early in the morning, worship the Brahmins who are well versed in the three-fold sacred science and learned in (polity), and follow their advice.’ In order to strictly protect the caste order, the King should not only worship learned and aged Brahmins, but should also cultivate virtue and shun vice. Only a king who has mastered self-control and is free of envy, wrath and resentment will be able to ensure that each caste follows its stipulated occupation and does not commingle with others socially through marriage. The only relaxation to this strict system of social rules could at times be made for the brahmin.

The king should shun all sorts of vices like excessive love for hunting, gambling, and company of women, singing music and dancing, because they can lead him astray from ruling and cloud his judgement according to Manusmriti. Women for Manu are similar to property and other objects of desire, who should be possessed, but their 'use' should be controlled. This shall be elaborated upon in the section on Social Laws for women. Thus, Manu not only invokes the divine theory of kingship, he also extols danda as the instrument of raj dharma. It is through punitive violence that things are kept in their place. In order to carry out the everyday administration of the state, the Manusmriti offers a great deal of detailed practical advice to the King regarding appointment of ministers, foreign relations, conduct of war, system of spies and other juridical and civil functions.

Manu advises that the King should employ seven or eight ministers from families who have served him well, who belong to noble (upper castes) families, who are trained in the use of weapons and whose worth has been proven. The king should daily consult with them on matters of war, peace, administration of towns and kingdom, treasury and revenue, defence and tributes. Tasks which are difficult for the King alone become far easier with the aid of trusted assistants. The most important issues should be discussed with the most trusted and distinguished Brahmin among his ministers. Security from external enemies from outside is as important as maintenance of social order within the kingdom.

The Laws of Manu advise the King to have skillful and knowledgeable ambassadors for conduct of diplomacy. For the ambassador enables the king to have allies – they negotiate peace or war. The king should rely on ambassadors to inform him beforehand of the enemies' designs. Defence should be the uppermost concern of a kshatriya king and by employing the four expedients – conciliation, bribery, dissension and force – the king should protect his kingdom. As Arthashastra, Manusmriti advocates that against a powerful enemy conciliation should be tried first, followed by bribery and discussion. If all else fails, only then coercion should be adopted. Yet, the king ought to be prepared for any eventuality and is advised to build forts at convenient locations in towns and hills, well stocked with soldiers and weapons. Regarding war, Manusmriti has a range of practical advice. The principle of saam (conciliation), dam (bribery), dand (force), and bhed (dissension) is to be employed. Force is to be used only when the other three strategies have failed. A king should only wage war when he is assured of his superiority

and his enemies' weakness and all other forms of diplomacy have been exhausted. It is always advisable to have a weak but trusted friend than to make him an enemy. The text advises against waging war if the army of the king is weak and his ammunitions inadequate. In case the enemy is too strong, it is advised that the king should divide his armies into two and take refuge in some other friendly kingdom. After the war if the King has managed to win, his aim should be to win friends rather than acquiring wealth and lands. Manusmriti seems to favour self-defence and friendship in inter-state relations rather than a doctrine of imperial expansion. In this regard, it differs from the Arthashastra which lays emphasis on imperial conquest. The Laws of Manu advice the King to be extremely cautious of getting poisoned and assassinated, should have an elaborate system of spies to watch over not just the external enemies, but also the enemies within.

The Manusmriti envisages a system of administration which extends from village to the king. Village is the unit of local administration as each village is to have a lord, who shall report to the lord of ten villages, who in turn shall report to the overseer of twenty villages. The lord of the village shall see to it that the expected amount of – food, drink and fuel – is being supplied from the village under his command to the King. A minister of village affairs will oversee the functioning of all these lords. Similarly, a superintendent is to be appointed in each town who shall look after the work of officials in each department of town administration.

The king is advised to impose moderate taxes, just like the bee or a leech take only moderate amounts of food. The king who exploits his subjects digs his own grave. Different kinds of taxes in the form of revenue, fees, fines are to be levied. The property of corrupt officials is to be confiscated. In no circumstance though, the king can tax a srotriya – a brahmin who studies Vedas. In fact, the king is advised to donate and gift generously to the brahmins. Without a strong financial base and an efficient and honest administration to collect taxes, no kingdom can exist.

The Manusmriti expounds on the organization of justice functions to be performed by the king in civil and criminal matters. As already explained, 'justice' for Manu is primarily the proper maintenance of the four-fold varna order, with the brahman male occupying the most privileged position, shudra the least, and with women being treated as property. Justice would also mean that the powerful positions of brahmin and the king, are retained. Thus, Manu writes,

the King's court of justice would comprise himself 'together with Brahmanas and experienced councillors.' And 'let him examine the causes of suitors by the order of castes (varna).' In case the king is not able to personally attend to the suits, then the responsibility should be delegated to a Brahmin. Matters of civil suits concern: non-payment of debt, deposit and pledge, sale without ownership, concerns among partners, resumption of gifts, non-payment of wages, nonperformance of agreements, recession of sale and purchase, disputes between the owner (of cattles) and his servants, dispute regarding boundaries, assault, defamation, theft, robbery and violence, adultery, duties of man and wife, partition of inheritance and gambling and betting. Interpretation of the law should only be done by a Brahmin and never a Shudra. For 'The kingdom of that monarch, who looks on while a Shudra settles the law, will soon sink like a cow in a morass.' And 'The kingdom where Shudras are very numerous, which is infested by atheists and destitute of twice-born, soon entirely perishes.' The king should see to it that minors, women, widows, and men of all castes are not robbed of their property. In general, men of all castes could be called as witnesses. Only in specific and urgent situations should sick men, women and minors be admitted as witnesses.

The punishments prescribed by Manusmriti reflect the caste order, with the leniency being reserved for the Brahmin and severity for the three lower varnas. For giving false evidence fine and banishment should befall on the three lower varnas, while a Brahmin can only be banished. Similarly, Brahmin is exempt from corporeal torture and capital punishment. 'A Shudra who insults a twice born man with gross invectives shall have his tongue cut out; for he is of low origin.' While a Brahmin will be fined 12 panas for defaming a Shudra. The laws place special restrictions on Shudras insulting the twice-born men, and prescribes severe corporal punishments. For instance a Shudra who spits on a twice born man is to have his lips cut-off. In case a twice-born man insults a Shudra, only a fine may be imposed. The civil and criminal law system prescribed in Manusmriti, while prescribing punitive measures for everyone determines the nature of punishment according to the caste of the accused, and the nature of violation of caste boundaries.

SOCIAL LAWS

The preservation of social order – the hierarchy of caste system coupled with the control of women – is the main concern of Manusmriti. That is why we saw that even the rajdharma laid

out by the text largely concerns itself with the King using the instrument of punishment to maintain this social order. However, special attention needs to be paid to how the Manusmriti idealized the social system. It advocated a social system where each caste stuck to its allotted profession, and interaction between them was bare minimum. Therefore, it restricted marriages between different castes, and saw mixed castes with contempt. This also required that additional restrictions be placed on women. Let us study these in more detail

Marriage

Marriage laws prescribed by Manusmriti adhere strictly to the caste ranking. It lays down that a Brahmin's first marriage should necessarily take place to a woman of equal caste. For his subsequent marriages he may take a woman from the three lower varnas as a wife. But the text strongly advises against a Brahmin man marrying a Shudra woman, warning that such a union will result in misfortune for the man. 'Twice-born men who, in their folly, wed women of the low (Shudra) caste, soon degrade their families and their children to the state of Sudras,' says the sage Manu. Technically, the Law of Manu states that a woman is permitted to marry those of her own caste and those of the higher castes. Similarly, a man may marry within his caste or to a woman from the lower castes.

Manusmriti elucidates eight rites of marriages that are recognized in the Brahminical tradition –, Brahma Diava, Rishi (Arsha), Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paishacha. The gift of a daughter along with costly jewelry to a man learned in the Vedas is the Brahma rite. The gift of a daughter along with costly ornaments to priest who has come to perform a sacrifice ceremony is called the Daiva marriage. The giving away of the daughter in return of a pair of cow and bull from the bridegroom is the way of the Rishis. The gift of the daughter with blessings and honour shown to the couple is the rite of Prajapatya. When a bridegroom receives the woman after having given her and her kinsmen as much wealth as he could afford, is called the Asura marriage. The voluntary union of the woman and her lover from a desire of sexual intercourse is called Gandharava marriage. The forcible abduction of the woman from her home after slaying her kinsmen, is the way of the Rakshasas. Stealthy seduction of a woman who is intoxicated, sleepy or disoriented has been described as the most base and sinful way of union called Paishacha. The first six methods are approved for the Brahmins, the last four methods are approved for a Kshatriya, and the last four, with the exception of Rakshasas

rite, are lawful for Vaisyas and Sudras. As can be easily seen, marriage is supposed to maintain the superior position of the higher caste male. The Manusmriti recommends those forms of marriages where the bride's family offers costly gifts to the daughter, which along with her goes to the groom's household.

Women

From the foregoing discussion, it can be learnt that women have been depicted as beings who need to be guarded and controlled primarily by their families. The Manusmriti sees them as treacherous entities who can lead a virtuous man astray from dharma, and down the path of desires. They have been portrayed as assets which, if suitably controlled, can lead to pleasure and prosperity of the owner – the husband. The duties prescribed by Manusmriti for women, expect women to train themselves and learn to take pleasure in their position as property owned by men. 'In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent,' say the Laws of Manu.

A woman who leaves her father or husband to pursue her free will brings contempt upon herself and her family. Manusmriti prescribes that not only a woman should manage the household, but she should do it with cheerfulness. 'She must always be cheerful, clever in (the management of her) household affairs, careful in cleaning her utensils, and economical in expenditure.' A woman is not only to be treated as valuable property by men, but the text goes on to demand that she should cultivate herself to be treated as such. That is the dharma for women.

Thus, the foremost duty of a married woman is to be unconditionally loyal to her husband. Even if the husband possesses no good qualities the wife should cling to him. 'Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure (elsewhere), or devoid of good qualities, a husband must be constantly worshipped as a god by a faithful wife.' 'A faithful wife who desires to dwell (after death) with her husband, must never do anything that might displease him who took her hand, whether he be alive or dead.' Even after the death of her husband, the woman ought not to remarry, and should maintain her 'chastity'. No such burden is placed upon men who lose their wives. The control of 'their' women must be exercised by men of all castes. 'Women must be guarded against their evil inclinations.' A woman's desire, howsoever trifling needs to be controlled. Manu is careful to note that 'No man can completely guard women by force.'

Therefore, he suggests that the best means to control women is to assign them responsibility: collection and expenditure of man's wealth, 'keeping (everything) clean, in religious duties, in preparation of his food, and in looking after the household utensils.'

It is not force but women 'who of their own accord keep a guard over themselves, are well guarded.' The social order prescribed in Manusmriti rests on the basis of control over women and their labour. It is through the control of women that varna boundaries are sought to be maintained. In addition, this control secures the woman's body and labour for the exclusive enjoyment and use of men. This order of control of women across varnas creates the situation where the woman herself would learn to value the control exercised over her by a man as a form of protection and recognition.

Mixed Castes

Although Manusmriti lays great stress on the maintenance of social order, it seems to recognize that a perfect order where each caste maintains conjugal boundaries and sticks to its stipulated profession, is more of an ideal than what concretely exists. It suggests that in the time of the composition of Manusmriti, inter-caste marriages did take place. In its attempt to establish a complete social order, the Manusmriti strives to take into account all permutations and combinations of marital relations that could possibly take place between different varnas and tries to place the offspring out of such unions into proper social categories. Intermarriage between men and women of varnas leads to the production of what can be referred to as mixed castes. The Manusmriti not only defines which castes are produced out of unions across varnas but also fixes the personal qualities of such cases, the occupations they ought to occupy and the social restrictions that should be placed upon them. In anuloma marriages, between a higher caste man and a lower caste woman, the progeny although associated with the father's caste are still considered base-born (apsada). The Manusmriti considers progeny out of pratiloma marriages, between lower caste men and higher caste women, as even more base. The detailed description of mixed castes seems to be an attempt by writers of the Manusmriti to place various categories of people who may have existed at that time in the hierarchies of varna order, defining their occupation and social position.

The social laws enshrined in Manusmriti allow us to study ideas and practices on politics, statecraft, social organization, religion and ethics which were prevalent in early India. As a text,

it is a valuable source to explore the history of early India. The fact that Manusmriti is the culmination of hundreds of years of thought by Brahminical thinkers adds to its value as a historical text. A study of Manusmriti also teaches us the value of locating such texts in their social context, which also helps us in understanding their continued relevance in religion and politics. The elaborate rules prescribed in the text for the conduct and obligation of individuals reflect the pressing concern to maintain the social order. As the book itself admits the purpose of statecraft, of ethics and of punishment is to ensure that the varna system continues in the form in which it is idealized in the text. As possessors of great social privileges, the Brahmins of that time seem to have been fearful of change which might undermine their powerful position, hence, their great fear of chaos which referred to a situation where varna rules will not be observed. The thrust of the book is towards preservation and protection. Even in inter-state relations, the Manusmriti exhorts rulers to prefer friendship and peace rather than enmity and conquest.

Zia-Ul-Barani

Zia-Ul-Barani (1283–1359) was the most important political thinker of the Delhi Sultanate, particularly, during the reigns of Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The attention given to Baranī is, in part, also due to the fact that he chronicled the reigns of eight sultans of Delhi, beginning with Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (1266–87) and ending with Fīrūz Shāh (1351–88). In addition, he was an influential courtier under Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1324– 51), the ruler he served as an emissary and as a court advisor for 17 years. His ideas have been considered significant in understanding medieval polity and other strands of thinking that existed in that period of history. He represented and championed the idea of political expediency in Islamic history which he conveyed to the ruler by way of his *nasihats* (advice). He has often been criticized as a fundamentalist and a bigot for his emphasis on following the Shariat (laws of the Quran and the Prophet's tradition) (Advice II) and his views on the Hindus (Advice XI.2), as compared to relatively liberal thinkers like Abul Fazl. This it is an irony because in the earlier days he was mocked by the Ulemas and others for not following the Quranic principles and for calling himself an Indian rather than a Turk. However, later in life, when he adopted a politically hard line for governance, he was dismissed from the court at the age of 68 (1351 AD) and lived in penury on the outskirts of Delhi. For all these things together, Barani remains to be an enigmatic and important political thinker of Medieval India. Firsthand from his proximity to the political power and is why he was in such good knowledge of how the internal contradictions exist in issues of governance.

1. *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* (Edicts of World Rule), written in 1357, written as *nasihat* (advice) for the Muslim kings, is a classic work on statecraft which can be compared with Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and Machiavelli's *Prince*. In *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*, he advised the Sultans and the Kings, through the mouth of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna, his ideal ruler, as to how an effective system of government could be established by implementing the Islamic Shari'ah. This work acts as a mirror for the ruler. Through fictitious character and their discussions, it is explained to a ruler how to best resolve problems. Another interesting feature of Barani's writing style is that he is speaking through a number of characters, but the ideas conveyed by these characters are very much the ideas of Barani himself. This work is mainly an opinion on the government. It has

neither a preface nor an epilogue and no name of any sultan is mentioned. Some historians like Md Habib have opined that it was composed after Tareekh –e Firozshahi.

2. Tarikh-i-Feroze Shahi -is a dependable source of history from the later times of Ghiasuddin Balban to the early years of Feroze Shah Tughluq to whom the book is dedicated. It was meant to please Firoz Shah Tughlaq and regain his lost royal patronage. But it wasn't simply meant to that end but also contained other important ideas regarding his political thinking. This way, it contains some sources of his political thought. Along with the historical accounts of the period, Barani discusses the Muslim political problems including the implementation of Islamic laws in the newly established Muslim State in India.

Nasihah(Advice) – This concept is very significant to understanding Barani's thoughts. His political ideas are mentioned in the form of advice that the ruler has to follow in order to maintain a more just and a more fair administration. Most of his writings are in the genre of advice.

The Advocacy and Defense of Historiography as a Field of Knowledge

Zia-ul-Barani and his views on the knowledge of history are very important. Predating their contributions, Barani's writings represent the only discussion on the subject in the Islamic literature of South Asia from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As with many historians of his time and earlier, Barani shared a high view of history. In the introduction to the Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī, Barani writes, "I have not profited from the benefits of any system of knowledge or study, besides Qur'ānic exegesis (tafsīr), ḥadīth, law (fiqh), and the way of the shaykhs (tarīqati mushā'ikh), as I have in the knowledge of history ('ilm-i tārikh)." Barani noted seven qualities of history that make it worthy of dedication. On the basis of these qualities, he builds his foundation for the knowledge of history. At that time it was popular amongst historians to list the qualities of history in a prefatory matter. What did Barani consider the proper place for history among various fields of knowledge? In the introduction to the Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī, Barani expresses his views on four related historiographical topics that reveal his opinion on this question:

- (a) The relationship of the Qur'ān to Islamic historiography;
- (b) The role of Muḥammad as an historical exemplar of religious and worldly rule;

(c) The knowledge of history (*'ilm-i tārikh*) as a discipline of scholarship.

(d) The history of Islamic historiography.

Barani attempted to answer the basic questions, that why should Muslims study history and for what purpose?

According to Baranī, these are the **seven** major qualities of studying history which are as following:

1. History was first and foremost beneficial because it is the means of profiting from what he refers to as the possessors of insight, principally the prophets and sultans whose deeds are recorded in the heavenly books (*kutub-i samāwī*). He argues that the ultimate example of the usefulness of history is found in the Qur'ān. He defines the Qur'ān as a historical text, which played a central role in the development of Islamic historiography.

2. Along with the knowledge of the Qur'ān, Baranī also sees the knowledge of history as sharing certain traits with the knowledge of ḥadīth. It has long been noted that the knowledge of ḥadīth played a major role in the development of historiography. Baranī argues that this relationship exists primarily on the level of method. He refers to the process by which ḥadīth scholars criticise or praise the narrators of the circumstances of transmission of the sayings and deeds of the Prophet, thus establishing their validity.

3. The third quality that Baranī lists are that the knowledge of history contributes to the abundance of reason, discernment, personal opinion and putting things in order. According to Baranī, through the knowledge of history, one gains personal experience through the experience of others. By understanding the misfortunes of others, one develops vigilance.

4. For Baranī, history also plays an important advisory role for Muslim rulers. Baranī asserts that the fourth quality of history is that it provides hope to sultans and kings so that they are fortified against the accidents of time. He insists that the path of today's generation of leaders is lit by those who have gone before and who applied a remedy to the maladies of the government.

5. Related to the Fourth Quality is the next one. The fifth quality is that for those who know the history and the record of the prophets and their encountering misfortune, and their

escaping calamity, history becomes a source of acceptance (riḏā) and patience (ṣabr). He concludes this section by saying that the believers in Islam do not lose heart in the face of misfortune

6. For the sixth benefit, Baranī focuses more specifically on the instruction history provides for rulers and governance. In this way, history assumes an essential function as advice literature and is not merely a record of past events. Historians were frequently employed within courts to supply advice to the ruling powers, as was the case with Baranī.

7. The final quality of history is that the knowledge of history is based on truth (ṣidq), a discussion that leads into religious polemics. Baranī conceives history writing as a trust for which there are divine rewards and punishments. He claims that ‘whatever the historian writes falsely will, on the Day of Judgment, be the cause of his most severe punishment (sakhtarīn ‘azāb)’

The idea of Political Expediency and Realism In order to do justice to Barani’s thought it will be appropriate to contextualize his political thinking. As with anywhere else in the world, political thinking develops in response to the challenges that a particular society is grappling with, which as much applies to Barani. Delhi Sultanate symbolized a rule which was governed by a faith which was new to India. It was essentially an urban-centric rule with hardly any reach in the countryside. Although Islam had come to India in the 8th century in the coastal areas in the South, Islam becoming the faith of the ruling class, i.e. the hallmark of the Sultanate period, was a new development. It was the first time that the ruling nobility had a different faith from the ruling majority. The class composition of the ruling class was also in transition. Nobility was not hereditary. It was transferable, particularly, until the time of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Therefore, it was a period of transition and turmoil. So, the political expediency and realism that Barani demonstrates in his work were the need of the hour of that time. Historian Muzaffar Alam has opined that the peasant revolt of 1330 in the Doab led by the Hindu elites also symbolizes a turbulent moment in the Sultanate period. All these experiences must have gone into the mind of Barani when he was writing his political ideas. Therefore, how to secure the future of the state and how to make the foundation of the Sultanate regime more sturdy became the desideratum when he was talking about the ideal polity and a good sultan and hence, made political expediency the main aim of all his statecraft. Hence, despite their reputation for being

conservative and a bigot, Barani remains an enigmatic and unique thinker. The two major thoughts that stand out in his thought are the idea of justice and the idea of moderation. But these ideas find their justification from the core idea of Political Expediency. Although he was against reason and science, unlike Abul Fazal, but it was political expediency which emerged as the hallmark of his political thinking. So much so that he shows a lot of flexibility in the religious teaching and related precepts. He advises the ruler to make adjustment and allows moderation for dealing with the challenges of those times. Because of this kind of realism that he demonstrates in his writings on statecraft they are compared with the Arthshastra of Kautilya because of his focus on realism and on political expediency.

Zawabit/ State Laws (Advice XIV): The Ideal Polity Barani categorized laws into two kinds, the Shariat and the Zawabit. While the Shariat meant the teachings and practices of the Prophet and of the Caliphs, the Zawabit were the state laws formulated by the monarch in consultation with the nobility in the changed circumstances to cater to the new requirements that the Shariat was unable to fulfil. It was ideal for the king, nobility and the personnel of administration to follow the Shariat, both in the personal domain and in public policies. The state laws, however, were also to be formulated in case of the inability to follow/apply the Shariat. But, he cautioned simultaneously that lawmakers must take into account the practices of the past and contemporary socio-political conditions while formulating the laws. The Zawabit, he said, must be in the spirit of the Shariat and enumerated four conditions (Advice XIV) for its formulation as guidelines, which are as follows: • First, the Zawabit should not negate the Shariat; • Secondly, it must increase the loyalty and hope among the nobles and common people towards the Sultan; • Thirdly, its source and inspiration should be the Shariat and the pious Caliphs; • Fourthly, if at all it had to negate the Shariat out of exigencies, it must follow charities and compensation in lieu of that negation. Thus, what he envisaged in the Zawabit was an ideal law which could cater to the needs of the state without offending any section of the nobility in particular and the masses in general. The combination of both religious and state laws are another important dimension of Barani's thought. Unlike an orthodox fundamentalist, Barani goes for moderation. Therefore, his only test for adopting a particular law is the interest, security and stability of the state. Even if the ruler has to deviate from the Quranic laws, he must do 'if' it is done in protecting the interest of the state. In other words, we can say that for Barani- Ends

justifies Means. If the end of strengthening the state is being ensured there is no harm in deviating from the religious laws. The interest of the state is paramount. Hence, it was stated in the preceding section that the hallmark of Barani's thought is political expediency. In the section under the *Zawabit*, he advised the formulation of new laws where, in the changed circumstances, the Shariat was unable to serve the purpose of the state. Laxity in not following the Shariat, both in personal and political domains was tolerable till it began to affect the stability of the state. Suppressing the rebellious elite, both Hindus and Muslims, banning education to the underprivileged and nondescript people including Muslims (Advice XI) 'welfare' of the subjects, etc. were all intended for consolidating the powers of the Muslim rulers. He knew that, philosophically, monarchy is anti-Shariat (Advice IX.2), yet he accepted it on the grounds of reality. This reveals his intentions of treating the Shariat as a means for political ends.

THEORY OF KINGSHIP

The advice related to this subject is Advice II, Advice XXIV, Advice X, and Advice XXIV, all of which spring up from this fundamental understanding - Since the Islamic following was still restricted to a very narrow section of the population, Barani felt it necessary to widen the Islamic base for political obligation towards the monarchy. Barani made a distinction between the personal life of the Sultan and his political role (Advice II). In both aspects, however, he envisaged in him an ideal person— noble born, preferably belonging to the family of the monarch, having an innate sense of justice, wise enough to understand the deception and conspiracies of the wicked (Advice XXIV), understanding the importance of his time and dividing it judiciously between his personal needs and political requirement (Advice X) and following the path of the Shariat, which laid down that he was an agent of god on earth to do the 'welfare' of the people. The Sultan was expected to reflect supplication, helplessness, poverty and humility (Advice XXIV) to compensate for the existence of monarchy which was contradictory to the principles of Islam. As far as following the Shariat was concerned, Barani conceded that in the personal realm, the Sultan may choose to be lax but he opposed the idea of laxity in the political sphere as it might lead to disease in the administration, for the ideal polity and the political avatar of the Sultan were intertwined.

Five qualities to desist for the Sultan. The Sultan must desist from five mean qualities such as falsehood, changeability, deception, wrathfulness and injustice (Advice XXIII).

Similarly, differentiation between the determination in the enterprises of the government and tyranny/despotism (Advice IV) was necessary to command faith, fear and prestige among his friends and foes. High resolve, lofty ideals, fair administration, distinctiveness from other monarchs, obligation over people, etc (Advice XV) were the other required characteristics to influence people. As people were influenced by the character and actions of the monarch, it was necessary for him to maintain all the regalities associated with kingship. Counsellors, army and intelligence officers were indispensable parts of these royal functions. Their selection, gradation, etc. were obviously the duty of the Sultan and required careful attention. It was the king's responsibility to protect the old political families, to check their possible usurpation of power and to ensure they are not left to live in material deprivation.

The idea of Justice, Royal Authority and Just Rule Barani considers justice as the foundation of social organization and political order. For the same, he apprehended the ruler as the curator of justice and described power and authority as the two major components of efficient kingship. The justification for the royal authority of kings lies in their power and dignity, which enabled them to apply justice. The supremacy of the Sultan and the safety of his Sultanate, then, couldn't have been secured without delivering justice to the subjects. 'The real justification for the supremacy of the kings and of their power and dignity Barani had remarked, 'is the need for enforcing justice'

Appointment of Judges

Accordingly, what came next was the appointment and gradation of judges, with the king himself being at the apex. The functions delineated for them were 'protection of money, property, women and children of the weak, the obedient, the helpless, the young, the submissive and the friendless' (Advice V). Further, it was to 'prevent the strong from having recourse to oppression in their dealings with people (Advice V) without which 'there would be a complete community of women and property (Advice V), leading to anarchy in the ruling class. While delivering justice, however, the king should know the appropriate occasions for both forgiveness and punishment (Advice XII). Punishment for rebellious, cruel, mischievous, etc. had to be combined with mercy and forgiveness for those who accepted their sins and were repentant (Advice XIII). To dispense justice, the courts were divided into civil and criminal categories and they operated

at central and provincial levels. The judges were to be appointed by the king, with himself at the apex of the judicial structure, and the fountainhead of justice and highest court of appeal.

Justice for Hindus (Zimmis) and Muslims.

In all these deliberations on justice, one aspect was conspicuous by its absence, i.e., the deliverance of justice was to be according to the religious practices of the subjects, though Barani nowhere mentioned separate kinds of justice for Hindus and Muslims. Yet, it may be argued that when justice based on the Shariat was favoured by Barani, then justice based on religion was already implicit in it. Moreover, his proclamation for all-out war against zimmis made his intention clear. But, as observed earlier, the growing redundancy of the Shariat in the changed circumstances and the corresponding importance of Zawabit, emphasized by Barani himself (Advice XIV), explicitly nullified the existence of any Islamic religious justice as state policy of the Sultanate. Moreover, Barani's recognition that Sultans in India behaved moderately towards the zimmis (Advice XI.3) recognizes the existence of customary justice during the Sultanate period. Although Barani emphasized following the Shariat wherever possible, the very possibility of its operation was, first, marginalized by the changing composition of the rulers and military-bureaucratic, quasi-judicial personnel of the administration and greater incorporation of Hindus and Indianized Turks into it. The economic basis of the Sultanate necessitating revenue collection and leading to compromises with the local aristocracy was the second factor that annulled the operation of the Shariat. The third factor was the vast population of Hindus inhabiting the rural areas surrounding the miniscule population of the Muslims living within the restricted urban-administrative centres who could not have been antagonized at the cost of jeopardizing the security of the state. Therefore, it is found that adoption of a liberal attitude on the part of the Sultanate ruling class towards the Hindus for which Barani complained, but also simultaneously emphasized the formulation of the Zawabit. Barani's theory of justice, thus, essentially emanated from the perspective of the security of the state.

Remission of Taxes

Another aspect related with justice and consequently with the security of the state was remission of taxes. At least during calamities, Barani suggested, the king should remit or reduce taxes and extend monetary help from the treasury till the time it was possible and necessary. All these

suggested measures did not emanate from any philanthropic reasoning-rather these were the articles of advice of a realist concerned with the security of the state.

Favoring the Elite

Barani's conception of justice was strongly tilted in favour of the rich and powerful. His hatred against the rustic and underprivileged and bias in favour of the noble-born clarifies the basis of his justice. Infact, the very paradigm of the Fatawa was based on the consolidation and expansion of the elite in the Sultanate; and like any other element of feudal society to be used as an instrument for the perpetuation of monarchy, justice was meant to be a facade for maintaining the serenity of the Sultanate.

Three main points may be summarized from the above discussion on Barani's ideas and purpose of Justice. Firstly, using religion he attempted to consolidate the Muslim population and various factions of the ruling class and tried to link the two; secondly, through the Zawabit he tried to solve the grievances of the Zimmis, and other social problems which remained unsolved by the Shariat; and finally, he used 'justice' as an instrument to expand the basis of a political obligation of the subjects towards the state.

Nobility

The nobility was the second component of the monarchy. The nobles were the chosen individuals whom the Sultan assigned 'the right to levy the revenue in particular territories' which was known as iqta. It was the basic unit of landed property whose holders formed the main class of landed proprietors. The iqtas were frequently transferred from one person to another, which made them nonhereditary. Since the basic function of the Sultanate was revenue collection, for which the entire paraphernalia of administration existed, and which could not have been performed by the king alone, a set of people existed to collect the revenue and advice or formulate administrative policies for it. The selection of such people by the Sultan, therefore, was of a crucial nature for which Barani set certain guidelines, and advised the king to be careful. The criteria were two. They are

1. The people to be selected should be noble-born with loyalty, both personal and political, towards the Sultan;

2. They must possess the quality of sound political judgement and render advice to the monarch while taking into account the prospects and contradictions of the impact of the policies to be undertaken

While the first was explicit, he prescribed nine conditions (Advice III) for the second to test the political quality of the counselors. From fear of god, knowledge of history, lack of greed to practical knowledge of state affairs, all must be present in the advisers. Further, he prescribed eleven criteria (Advice III) to judge a policy, which the monarchy planned to undertake, in order to formulate the right one. Finally, he suggested the grading of nobility as per their birth and merit.

These advices, however, must be seen in the social context of the time in order to understand their import. In AD 1351, just six years before Barani penned down his advices, there was a severe political crisis created by the rebellion of a large section of the ruling class, and the sweeping changes in their composition. Then, there was 'large-scale recruitment of foreigners, still greater recruitment from the lower strata of the Indian population and from the Hindus. Thus, it was in such a social milieu that Barani expressed himself in favour of noble birth and personal loyalty, about the security of life and tenure of nobility, of their gradation, etc., to keep the 'upstarts' at the lower echelons of bureaucracy, to check them from the intricacies of the administration. The fear of takeover by the Hindus, who were recruited in considerably large numbers by Muhammad Tughlaq, might have been the other but equally important factor that led him to express his opinions strongly against the Hindus. As the nobility occupied one of the crucial positions in the state structure, Barani prescribed tough conditions for their selection.

BUREAUCRACY

The bureaucracy was another necessary component of the Sultanate whose basic function was to measure the land, fix and collect the taxes for its disbursement among its beneficiaries; and in its absence, the very existence of the ruling class would have become redundant and neither would have the army sustained itself. It operated at three levels, viz., centre, province and village. The Diwan-i Wazarat headed by a wazir (the head of revenue and finance, also known as the prime minister) and assisted by a naib, Musharif-i-Mamalik, Mustawfi-i-Mamalik and dabirs, was at the apex of the revenue department. The three-tier structure of the revenue bureaucracy, which was highly centralized in spite of its vast spread in terms of territorial extent, played the

same important role, along with the army, throughout the Sultanate period without much changes either in the percentage of revenue collection per cultivator or in checking the tax burden being passed on to the weaker elements by their superiors. To Barani all these were means of dispensing justice which has been already discussed.

ARMY

After the Mauryas, the Sultanate was the largest (in terms of territorial extent) and most powerful state (in terms of centralization of power) in India. Obviously, the administration played varied roles, from revenue collection to maintaining law and order, and from public works to dispensing justice. Out of the main pillars of the administration, the army was the preeminent one which was based on the Turkish-Mongol model. It was divided into four parts, viz., infantry (foot soldiers or payaks), cavalry (horsemen), war elephants and auxiliary, viz., boats, engineers, transporters, scouts, spies, etc. The cavalry was further divided into three wings. The rank and file such as khan, malik, amir, sipahsalar etc. (Advice VII) which were composed of Turks, Tartars, Rajputs and others were paid either in cash or were assigned the revenues of different villages as per their grades. As the Sultanate ultimately rested on the power of the army, whose basic functions were the security and expansion of the state, Barani advised the king to take greater care in its efficiency, checking corruption and conspiracies within it and so on. The monarch also maintained personal troops called qalb for his safety and ultimate reliability in case of rebellion occurring from within the nobility. The army, apart from performing its above mentioned roles, acquired importance for another reason as well. It acted as a facilitator in the expansion of Islam since the ruling class of the Sultanate came as invaders and immigrants and it needed a large support base.

Zia Barani – Good Sultan and Ideal polity

Zia-Ul-Barani (1283–1359) was the most important political thinker of the Delhi Sultanate, particularly, during the reigns of Alauddin Khalji, Muhammad bin Tughlaq and Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The attention given to Baranī is, in part, also due to the fact that he chronicled the reigns of eight sultans of Delhi, beginning with Ghiyās al-Dīn Balban (1266–87) and ending with Fīrūz Shāh (1351–88). In addition, he was an influential courtier under Muḥammad bin Tughluq (1324– 51), the ruler he served as an emissary and as a court advisor for 17 years. His ideas have been considered significant in understanding medieval polity and other strands of thinking that existed in that period of history. He represented and championed the idea of political expediency in Islamic history which he conveyed to the ruler by way of his *nasihats* (advices). He has often been criticized as a fundamentalist and a bigot for his emphasis on following the Shariat (laws of the Quran and the Prophet's tradition) (Advice II) and his views on the Hindus (Advice XI.2), as compared to relatively liberal thinkers like Abul Fazl. It is an irony because in the earlier days he was mocked upon by the Ulemas and others for not following the Quranic principles and for calling himself an Indian rather than a Turk.

However, later in life, when he adopted a politically hard line for governance, he was dismissed from the court at the age of 68 (1351 AD) and lived in penury on the outskirts of Delhi. For all these things together, Barani remains to be an enigmatic and an important political thinker of Medieval India.

EARLY LIFE AND INFLUENCE

Early Life: Barani was extensively educated. He was conversant with both Arabic & Persian and was trained in Muslim theology. He had studied history comprehensively. He was close to the mystic saint Nizamuddin Auliya and to Amir Khusrau. Later, he spent 17 years with Muhammad Bin Tughlaq with whom he learnt the art of governance and statecraft, particularly how monarchy functions. Hence, his political theory is basically a reflection of what he saw firsthand from his proximity to the political power and that is why he was in such good know of how the internal contradictions exist in issues of governance.

The idea of Political Expediency and Realism

In order to do justice to Barani's thought it will be appropriate to contextualize his political thinking. As with anywhere else in the world, political thinking develops in response to the challenges that a particular society is grappling with, which as much applies to Barani. Delhi Sultanate symbolized a rule which was governed by a faith which was new to India. It was essentially an urban centric rule with hardly any reach in the country side. Although Islam had come to India in the 8th century in the coastal areas in South, but Islam becoming the faith of the ruling class, i.e. the hallmark of the Sultanate period, was a new development.

It was the first time that the ruling nobility had a different faith from the ruled majority. The class composition of the ruling class was also in transition. Nobility was not hereditary. It was transferable, particularly, until the time of Firoz Shah Tughlaq. Therefore, it was a period of transition and turmoil. So, the political expediency and realism that Barani demonstrates in his work were the need of the hour of that time. Historian Muzaffar Alam has opined that the peasant revolt of 1330 in the Doab led by the Hindu elites also symbolizes a turbulent moment in the Sultanate period. All these experiences must have gone into the mind of Barani when he was writing his political ideas. Therefore, how to secure the future of the state and how to make the foundation of the Sultanate regime more sturdy became the desideratum when he was talking about the ideal polity and a good sultan and hence, made political expediency the main aim of all his statecraft. Hence, despite the reputation for being conservative and a bigot, Barani remains an enigmatic and a unique thinker.

The two major thoughts that stand out in his thought are the idea of justice and the idea of moderation. But these ideas find their justification from the core idea of Political Expediency. Although he was against reason and science, unlike Abul Fazal, but it was political expediency which emerged as the hallmark of his political thinking. So much so that he shows a lot of flexibility in the religious teaching and related precepts. He advises the ruler to make adjustment and allows moderation for dealing with the challenges of those times. Because of this kind of realism that he demonstrates in his writings on statecraft they are compared with the Arthshastra of Kautilya because of his focus on realism and on political expediency.

Zawabit/ State Laws (Advice XIV): The Ideal Polity Barani categorized laws into two kinds, the Shariat and the Zawabit. While the Shariat meant the teachings and practices of the Prophet

and of the Caliphs, the Zawabit were the state laws formulated by the monarch in consultation with the nobility in the changed circumstances to cater to the new requirements which the Shariat was unable to fulfill. It was ideal for the king, nobility and the personnel of administration to follow the Shariat, both in personal domain and in public policies. The state laws, however, were also to be formulated in case of the inability to follow/apply the Shariat. But, he cautioned simultaneously that the lawmakers must take into account the practices of the past and contemporary socio-political conditions while formulating the laws. The Zawabit, he said, must be in the spirit of the Shariat and enumerated four conditions (Advice XIV) for its formulation as guidelines, which are as follows: • First, the Zawabit should not negate the Shariat; • Secondly, it must increase the loyalty and hope among the nobles and common people towards the Sultan; • Thirdly, its source and inspiration should be the Shariat and the pious Caliphs; • Fourthly, if at all it had to negate the Shariat out of exigencies, it must follow charities and compensation in lieu of that negation. Thus, what he envisaged in the Zawabit was an ideal law which could cater to the needs of the state without offending any section of the nobility in particular and the masses in general. The combination of both religious and state laws are another important dimension of Barani's thought. Unlike an orthodox fundamentalist, Barani goes for moderation. Therefore, his only test for adopting a particular law is the interest, security and stability of the state. Even if the ruler has to deviate from the Quranic laws, he must do 'if' it is done in protecting the interest of the state. In other words, we can say that for Barani- Ends justifies Means. If the end of strengthening the state is being ensured there is no harm in deviating from the religious laws. Interest of the state is paramount. Hence, it was stated in the preceding section that the hallmark of Barani's thought is in political expediency. In the section under the Zawabit, he advised the formulation of new laws where, in the changed circumstances, the Shariat was unable to serve the purpose of the state. Laxity in not following the Shariat, both in personal and political domains was tolerable till it began to affect the stability of the state. Suppressing the rebellious elite, both Hindus and Muslims, banning education to the under-privileged and nondescript people including Muslims (Advice XI) 'welfare' of the subjects, etc. were all intended for consolidating the powers of the Muslim rulers. He knew that, philosophically, monarchy is anti-Shariat (Advice IX.2), yet he accepted it on the grounds of reality. This reveals his intentions of treating the Shariat as a means for political ends.

THEORY OF KINGSHIP

The Ideal Ruler The advice related to this subject are Advice II, Advice XXIV, Advice X, Advice XXIV , all of which spring up from this fundamental understanding - Since the Islamic following was still restricted to a very narrow section of the population, Barani felt it necessary to widen the Islamic base for political obligation towards the monarchy. Barani made a distinction between the personal life of the Sultan and his political role (Advice II). In both aspects, however, he envisaged in him an ideal person— noble born, preferably belonging to the family of the monarch, having an innate sense of justice, wise enough to understand the deception and conspiracies of the wicked (Advice XXIV), understanding the importance of his time and dividing it judiciously between his personal needs and political requirement (Advice X) and following the path of the Shariat, which laid down that he was an agent of god on earth to do the ‘welfare’ of the people. The Sultan was expected to reflect supplication, helplessness, poverty and humility (Advice XXIV) to compensate for the existence of monarchy which was contradictory to the principles of Islam. As far as following the Shariat was concerned, Barani conceded that in the personal realm, the Sultan may choose to be lax but he opposed the idea of laxity in the political sphere as it might lead to disease in the administration, for the ideal polity and the political avatar of the Sultan were intertwined

Five qualities to desist for the Sultan must desist from five mean qualities such as falsehood, changeability, deception, wrathfulness and injustice. Similarly, differentiation between the determination in the enterprises of the government and tyranny/despotism was necessary to command faith, fear and prestige among his friends and foes. High resolve, lofty ideals, fair administration, distinctiveness from other monarchs, obligation over people, etc. were the other required characteristics to influence people. As people were influenced by the character and actions of the monarch, it was necessary for him to maintain all the regalities associated with kingship. Counsellors, army and intelligence officers were indispensable parts of these royal functions. Their selection, gradation, etc. were obviously the duty of the Sultan and required careful attention. It was the king’s responsibility to protect the old political families, to check their possible usurpation of power and to ensure they are not left to live in material deprivation.

The idea of Justice, Royal Authority and Just Rule Barani considers justice as the foundation of social organization and political order. For the same, he apprehended the ruler as

the curator of justice and described power and authority as the two major components of efficient kingship. The justification for the royal authority of kings lies in their power and dignity, which enabled them to apply justice. The supremacy of the Sultan and the safety of his Sultanate, then, couldn't have been secured without delivering justice to the subjects. 'The real justification for the supremacy of the kings and of their power and dignity, Barani had remarked, 'is the need for enforcing justice'.

Appointment of Judges Accordingly, what came next was the appointment and gradation of judges, with the king himself being at the apex. The functions delineated for them were 'protection of money, property, women and children of the weak, the obedient, the helpless, the young, the submissive and the friendless'. Further, it was to 'prevent the strong from having recourse to oppression in their dealings with people without which 'there would be a complete community of women and property leading to anarchy in the ruling class. While delivering justice, however, the king should know the appropriate occasions for both forgiveness and punishment. Punishment for the rebellious, cruel, mischievous, etc. had to be combined with mercy and forgiveness for those who accepted their sins and were repentant. To dispense justice, the courts were divided into civil and criminal categories and they operated at central and provincial levels. The judges were to be appointed by the king, with himself at the apex of the judicial structure, and the fountain-head of justice and highest court of appeal.

Justice for Hindus (Zimmis) and Muslims In all these deliberations on justice, one aspect was conspicuous by its absence, i.e., the deliverance of justice was to be according to the religious practices of the subjects, though Barani nowhere mentioned separate kinds of justice for Hindus and Muslims. Yet, it may be argued that when justice based on the Shariat was favoured by Barani, then justice based on religion was already implicit in it. Moreover, his proclamation for all-out war against zimmis made his intention clear. But, as observed earlier, the growing redundancy of the Shariat in the changed circumstances and the corresponding importance of Zawabit, emphasized by Barani himself, explicitly nullified the existence of any Islamic religious justice as state policy of the Sultanate. Moreover, Barani's recognition that Sultans in India behaved moderately towards the zimmis, recognizes the existence of customary justice during the Sultanate period. Although Barani emphasized following the Shariat wherever possible, the very possibility of its operation was, first, marginalized by the changing

composition of the rulers and military-bureaucratic, quasi-judicial personnel of the administration and the greater incorporation of Hindus and Indianized Turks into it.

The economic basis of the Sultanate necessitating revenue collection and leading to compromises with the local aristocracy was the second factor that annulled the operation of the Shariat. The third factor was the vast population of Hindus inhabiting the rural areas surrounding the minuscule population of Muslims living within the restricted urban-administrative centers who could not have been antagonized at the cost of jeopardizing the security of the state.

Therefore, it is found that the adoption of a liberal attitude on the part of the Sultanate ruling class towards the Hindus for which Barani complained, but also simultaneously emphasized the formulation of the Zawabit. Barani's theory of justice, thus, essentially emanated from the perspective of the security of the state.

Remission of Taxes

Another aspect related to justice and consequently the security of the state was the remission of taxes. At least during calamities, Barani suggested, the king should remit or reduce taxes and extend monetary help from the treasury till the time it was possible and necessary. All these suggested measures did not emanate from any philanthropic reasoning-rather these were the articles of advice of a realist concerned with the security of the state.

Favoring the Elite Barani's conception of justice was strongly tilted in favour of the rich and powerful. His hatred against the rustic and underprivileged and bias in favour of the noble-born clarifies the basis of his justice. In fact, the very paradigm of the Fatawa was based on the consolidation and expansion of the elite in the Sultanate; and like any other element of feudal society to be used as an instrument for the perpetuation of monarchy, justice was meant to be a facade for maintaining the serenity of the Sultanate.

Three main points may be summarized from the above discussion on Barani's ideas and purpose of Justice. Firstly, using religion he attempted to consolidate the Muslim population and various factions of the ruling class and tried to link the two; secondly, through the Zawabit he tried to solve the grievances of the Zimmis, and other social problems which remained unsolved by the Shariat; and finally, he used 'justice' as an instrument to expand the basis of a political obligation of the subjects towards the state

NOBILITY

The nobility was the second component of the monarchy. The nobles were the chosen individuals whom the Sultan assigned 'the right to levy the revenue in particular territories' which was known as iqta. It was the basic unit of landed property whose holders formed the main class of landed proprietors. The iqtas were frequently transferred from one person to another, which made them nonhereditary. Since the basic function of the Sultanate was revenue collection, for which the entire paraphernalia of administration existed, and which could not have been performed by the king alone, a set of people existed to collect the revenue and advise or formulate administrative policies for it. The selection of such people by the Sultan, therefore, was of a crucial nature for which Barani set certain guidelines, and advised the king to be careful.

The criteria were two:

1. The people to be selected should be noble-born with loyalty, both personal and political, towards the Sultan;
2. They must possess the quality of sound political judgment and render advice to the monarch while taking into account the prospects and contradictions of the impact of the policies to be undertaken

While the first was explicit, he prescribed nine conditions for the second to test the political quality of the counsellors. From the fear of god, knowledge of history, and lack of greed to practical knowledge of state affairs, all must be present in the advisers. Further, he prescribed eleven criteria to judge a policy, which the monarchy planned to undertake, in order to formulate the right one. Finally, he suggested the grading of nobility as per their birth and merit. This advice, however, must be seen in the social context of the time in order to understand their import. In AD 1351, just six years before Barani penned down his advice, there was a severe political crisis created by the rebellion of a large section of the ruling class and the sweeping changes in their composition. Then, there was 'large-scale recruitment of foreigners, still greater recruitment from the lower strata of the Indian population and from the Hindus. Thus, it was in such a social milieu that Barani expressed himself in favour of noble birth and personal loyalty, about the security of life and tenure of nobility, of their gradation, etc., to keep the 'upstarts' at

the lower echelons of bureaucracy, to check them from the intricacies of the administration. The fear of takeover by the Hindus, who were recruited in considerably large numbers by Muhammad Tughlaq, might have been the other but equally important factor that led him to express his opinions strongly against the Hindus. As the nobility occupied one of the crucial positions in the state structure, Barani prescribed tough conditions for their selection.

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The bureaucracy was another necessary component of the Sultanate whose basic function was to measure the land, fix and collect the taxes for its disbursement among its beneficiaries; and in its absence, the very existence of the ruling class would have become redundant and neither would have the army sustained itself. It operated at three levels, viz., centre, province and village. The Diwan-i Wazarat headed by a wazir (the head of revenue and finance, also known as the prime minister) and assisted by a naib, Musharif-i-Mamalik, Mustawfi-i-Mamalik and dabirs, was at the apex of the revenue department. The three-tier structure of the revenue bureaucracy, which was highly centralized in spite of its vast spread in terms of territorial extent, played the same important role, along with the army, throughout the Sultanate period without much changes either in the percentage of revenue collection per cultivator or in checking the tax burden being passed on to the weaker elements by their superiors. To Barani all these were means of dispensing justice which has been already discussed.

ARMY

After the Mauryas, the Sultanate was the largest (in terms of territorial extent) and most powerful state (in terms of centralization of power) in India. Obviously, the administration played varied roles, from revenue collection to maintaining law and order, and from public works to dispensing justice. Out of the main pillars of the administration, the army was the preeminent one which was based on the Turkish-Mongol model. It was divided into four parts, viz., infantry (foot soldiers or payaks), cavalry (horsemen), war elephants and auxiliary, viz., boats, engineers, transporters, scouts, spies, etc. The cavalry was further divided into three wings. The rank and file such as khan, malik, amir, sipahsalar etc. (Advice VII) which were composed of Turks, Tartars, Rajputs and others were paid either in cash or were assigned the revenues of different villages as per their grades. As the Sultanate ultimately rested on the power of the army, whose basic functions were the security and expansion of the state, Barani advised

the king to take greater care in its efficiency, checking corruption and conspiracies within it and so on.

The monarch also maintained personal troops called qalb for his safety and ultimate reliability in case of rebellion occurring from within the nobility. The army, apart from performing its above-mentioned roles, acquired importance for another reason as well. It acted as a facilitator in the expansion of Islam since the ruling class of the Sultanate came as invaders and immigrants and it needed a large support base.

Abul Fazal – Governance and Administration

Sheikh Abu'L-FaẒl (1551-1602) was a historian, officer, chief secretary, and confidant of the Mughal emperor Akbar. He was born on 14 January 1551 and was the second son of Shaikh Mobārak, a teacher and scholar who had migrated to Agra in 1543 from Nagaur, Rajasthan. Fazal was an eminent historian of Medieval India along with Barani. Fazal occupies a place of distinction. This is mainly because of the predominance of intellectual elements in his writings, his unfailing appeal to reason against religious and cultural traditions, broader view of history and a new methodology which he sought to apply to his task. His interpretation of history was integrally linked to the political, social, economic and religious realities of that period and strove to address the plurality and diversity of Indian society at large that Akbar wished to rule in the best possible manner.

Early Influence It is very important to understand the early influence on Fazal as those were the ideas that shaped his entire political discourse. While his elder brother Fayzi was already at poet at the Royal Mughal Court, Fazal didn't show that inclination in the beginning. He applied himself to a rigorous life of study, and by the age of fifteen he had read widely in Arabic, Greek philosophy, and Sufism. His precociousness seems to have made him something of a social misfit, however, and by the time he was twenty, he had already embarked on a life of ascetic withdrawal. Then, how come he landed at the courts of Akbar? We turn to this question now.

Impact of his Father's struggles on his Intellectual Tradition

Fazl was known to be against hardline Islam. This can be traced back to his personal experience as he saw his father being humiliated by the Mughal religious scholars or the Olama. The leading members of the Mughal 'olamā' were mounting an intense campaign against Shaikh Mobārak (Fazal's father), because the latter had publicly defended a member of the Mahdawī sect whom the hardliners did not approve of. Abu'l-Fazl had exacerbated matters by publicly challenging the opinions of one of the leading 'olamā' which made the atmosphere at court tense. Shaikh Mobārak, accused of being a Mahdawī and a Shi'a himself, was driven with his family from home to home seeking refuge. For a while, he lived in Delhi. The events surrounding his father's persecution made a profound impression on Abul Fażal; he devoted a major part of his autobiography to describing them, and he dedicated his subsequent career to exposing what he considered the narrowminded bigotry of the 'olamā'. In 1574 Abul-Fazal made his first appearance in Akbar's court. He favourably impressed the emperor and soon thereafter entered court service where he remained for the next two and a half decades.

Influence of Ibn Arabi

It should be observed that the dominant influences which led to the formulation of the new views by Akbar and Abu'l Fazal came most significantly from Ibn ` Arabi. As modern critics point out, Ibn Arabi's theory does not amount to simple monism, or pantheism. It focuses on a "transcendental" Unity. Once its reality is recognized, the differences seen in the sensory world are bound to lose their significance and become illusory. From this a worldview followed, which Abu'l Fazl describes while introducing Akbar's spiritual views in his Ain-i Akbari: When world-ornamenting wisdom-giving God desires that the essence (gauhar) of humankind should come into existence, and from the diversity in the degree of (spiritual) capacity, the cloud of Duality (do-rangi) rises and fashions Religion (din) and World (dunya), every creature begins to have a distinct leader (kar-giya), and these become engaged in mutual denunciation. As lack of vision and unwisdom become the touchstone, the knowledge of (true) worth and acquisition of love become scarce. Otherwise, what is Religion, what is World? There is one heart-ensnaring Beauty which casts splendour through many thousands of veils. They have spread an expansive carpet, and it sheds forth many different colours.

This passage may be treated as the starting point of Abu'l Fazl's political thought. Both religion and the secular sphere ("world") are placed at par, and as equally illusory, being products of a false Duality.

Important works and Style

His most famous and definitive work, the Akbar Nama and Ain-i-Akbari, were composed in the latter part of the sixteenth century. It marks a decisive and schematic departure from the predominant historiographic format of the time, as it does in several other aspects of the construction of an alternative world view. Akbar Nama and Ain-i-Akbari together constitute a single book. Ain-e-Akbari is the third part of Akbar Nama. The work was undertaken in 1595 and, after five revisions, completed in 1602. The Akbar Nama opens with the praise of Allah, and then moves to Adam and traces Akbar's lineage back to fifty-three generations of his ancestors. What is important to note is that it dislocates the historiographic axis from the pivot of Islam and seeks to construct an alternative teleology of universal history in which Akbar is the heir, not of Muhammad and the caliphs, but of Adam himself, the first human being, and thus, the ruler of all.

Major Approaches to Governance

Abu'l-Fazal's major importance was as a theorist who developed an ideology not only for the Indian empire ruled by Akbar, but for Mughal civilization in the broadest sense. He boldly addressed the difficulty of reconciling the theory of Islam as a universal religion in which state and community are ideally coterminous, with the historical fact that Islam in India was the religion of a minority community ruling over a Hindu majority. To this end, three main approaches can be seen as prevalent during those times:

1. Barani- One approach to this dilemma had been presented by *Zīā'-al-dīn Baranī*. Ignoring the theory of the coterminous state and community, Baranī had de-universalized Islam into a tribal religion, viz., a religion of the Turks in India.
2. Firuz Toghlaq- Another approach, advanced by *Fīrūz Toḡloq* among others, was to shape the Indian reality to fit the Islamic theory by converting the subcontinent's indigenous population to Islam.

3. Abul-Fazal's approach to the same issue was twofold and revolutionary.

In the first place, he regarded all creeds as inherently possessing the same universal truth. Hence, propagating an equality among all religions. b. Separation of politics from religion: This he endeavored to do by elevating allegiance to Akbar above the constraints of any single religious community; in effect, creating a cult of loyalty around the personality of the emperor. These ideas have been looked upon in detail in the subsequent sections.

ABUL FAZAL'S METHODOLOGY

Abul Fazal had a rational and secular approach to history which is the hallmark of his writings. He also applied a new methodology to collect facts and marshal them on the basis of critical investigation. He widened the scope of history by recording a mass of facts pertaining to political, social, economic and cultural life, and by incorporating chapters on administrative regulations, procedures and topographical accounts of various provinces. He worked hard for the collection of material, selected important facts after careful enquiry and investigation, and then presented them in a clear and systematic manner. He questioned the validity of a source and accepted it only when it satisfied the principles of historical investigation formulated by him. Creating an epistemology for the interpretation and study of history -He created a new idiom for understanding and interpreting history, widened its range and scope and laid down the principles of historical investigation.

It may, therefore, be suggested that in Abul Fazl's writings we can discover a philosophy of history, i.e., a definite concept about the nature and purpose of history, principles for its interpretation, and the critical apparatus for the collection and selection of facts of history. Originality and cross checking of sources through critical examination - Abul Fazl realized and recognized the importance of original sources and gave his utmost attention and care to there study. He did not depend on a single source or account in order to ascertain a fact, but obtained as many versions as he could. They were put to a critical examination before they were accepted. He states that he has formulated a set of questions which were put to the reporter of an event or fact. This procedure, he points out, is of great help to the historian in ascertaining the truth. His source material consisted of accounts of events written by eyewitnesses. Reports, memoranda, minutes prepared by the offices, imperial Farmans, and other records were carefully consulted

SOVEREIGNTY AND SOCIAL CONTRACT

In the political field, Abul Fazl can be compared with Barani of Delhi Sultanate. While both of them were concerned with social stability, Abul Fazl's method of handling this concept was different. Ain-i-Akbari creates a theory of sovereignty promised on social contract and not based on Shariah. He drew a picture of society that existed before and then explained how sovereignty emerged. He emphasized that without a strong ruler there would be lawlessness and rebellion in the society and that will be harmful. In this, a clear parallel can be seen with Thomas Hobbes who gives a negative picture of the state of nature (pre –contact) and then, the emergence of a state after the social contract. Social Contract: Abu'l Fazl appeals to a theory of social contract to justify the necessity of political authority.

Abul Fazal, free from any sectarian, religious roots, located the basis of sovereignty in the needs of the social order. Here his reasoning first follows the pure dictates of reason ('aql), appealing to the tradition of the philosophers (filasafa) and the scientists (hukama) According to Abul Fazal, sovereignty was in nature, a divine light (farr-i-izadi) and with this statement he, seems to dismiss as inadequate the traditional reference to the king as the shadow of God (zill-I Ilahi).

SECULARISM OF DIN–E-ILAH

In a pure modernist tradition that can be clearly seen in the West, Abul-Fazl also anted to divorce religion from politics altogether. This is the basis of his secular ethos which was epitomized in the philosophy of Din-e-Ilahi.

Decree of Mazhar

Akbar was interested in establishing the authority of the ruler over all other elements of the state. In 1579, through a decree named mazhar, Akbar gained a great deal of authority to interpret law.

Din e-Ilahi

However, Akbar was not satisfied with this limited power. He wanted a wider concept of religion. He sought for a new justification of religious thoughts and Abul Fazal provided this to him. Abul Fazal told him the new meaning of sovereignty as a divine light. Later on, Akbar portrayed himself as an agent of god who worked on his behalf. In the new approach, Fazal

elevated allegiance to Akbar above the constraints of any single religious community, and in effect creating a cult of loyalty around the personality of the emperor. The cult of *tawḥīd-e elāhī* or *dīn-e elāhī* seems to have been modeled primarily on the Sufi *pīr-morīd* relationship in which the disciple pledges absolute obedience and devotion to his master. It was Abu'lFazl's intention to endow the office of emperor with an ideology that would replace the Sunni *šarī'a* as the sole principle by which the state was run.

Critique of Traditionalists

Abul Fazal criticizes that the good effort of some "recluses" (*tajarrud - gazinan*) to appear as "breakers of old customs" (*khariq-i 'adat*), and remedy the troubled state of affairs was unsuccessful because of lack of support from "exalted Sultans." This is obviously a dig on prophets trying to be sovereigns on the basis of their creeds, especially keeping in mind the Islamic experience. He was very critical of such traditionalists and found them an impediment to progress and stability of the state.

According to Abul Fazl, the term *Padshahat* (*Badshahat*) meant 'an established owner' where *Pad* stands for stability and *shah* stands for owner. *Padshah* therefore, means powerful, established owner who cannot be eliminated by anyone. The *Badshah* had a superior place in the Mughal Empire. He was the ultimate authority on all social, economic, political and judicial powers. This theory of *Badshahat* was a combination of Mongol, Turkish, Iranian, Islamic and Indian political traditions. According to Abul Fazl, 'Badshahat is the light derived from God which has been sent by God himself. God throws his kindness on *Badshah*; who works as the agent of god'.

Sovereignty in Badshahat

The king established his sovereignty by considering himself an agent of god and used his absolute powers according to the rule of controller, guide and state. Abul Fazl considered *Badshah* as the father of his people so it was the duty of people to respect him and obey his orders. But if the *Badshah* discriminated on the basis of caste, religion and class, then he could not be considered a good king. He differentiated between the Just and the Unjust Ruler

Just and Unjust Ruler

While the rule of the king is legitimate in the divine light, but it does not mean that it absolves the ruler from his duties. He goes on to make an important distinction between the just and the unjust ruler. It is only "a just ruler (kargiya)" who is able "to convert, like a salt- bed, the impure into pure, the bad into good. The just ruler was characterized by tolerance , respect for reason and a fatherly love to all the subjects regardless of their religion or creed.

Supreme Authority of the Just Ruler

During the Delhi Sultanate, the king was the final authority in governance, administration, agriculture, education and in other fields, but he had no say if they were related to religious matters. But when Akbar acquired kingship, he made himself the final authority even in religious disputes vis-à-vis the Imam-eAdil because he followed the order of God and he could not be wrong. Therefore people must follow his order. It is clear that Akbar was the ideal king for Abul Fazl and that's why he looked at Akbar as a 'complete man who could never be wrong'.

DIVINE TOLERANCE AND SULH-E-KUL

Sulh-e-kul - known as universal peace pervades all of Abu'l-Fazl's political and religious theory. It was in the spirit of universal peace, for example, that Akbar's government integrated diverse cultural groups into a stable administrative and military system. Insofar as the same principle has provided an antecedent for the secular ideology of independent India, it remains Abu'l-Fazl's most far-reaching legacy.

Divine Tolerance:

The agent of God could not practice discrimination among the various faiths present in society. A doctrine for justifying the tolerant religious policy was now the need of the hour. Sovereignty was not restricted to any particular faith. It became overarching. They believed all religions were, in essence, the same but only the paths varied. Abul Fazl believed that in a polyreligious country like India, the theory of monarchical sovereignty was more relevant. Here, sovereignty was not to be related with any particular religion as the monarch was above all the religions. He promoted the good values of different religions and thus, assembled different faiths

for maintaining peace everywhere. He had to sustain those qualities by adopting an appropriate religious status. After evaluating Abul Fazl, we can conclude that a sovereign must have the quality of tolerance for the existing beliefs and he should not reject the traditional ways of his people which were necessary and complementary. Abul Fazl justified the views of Akbar by promoting him as having a rationalist approach to social reforms. Fazl argued that he did so, as he wanted to construct a 'Hindustan' that could stand out in the world with greater confidence

AKBAR AS AN IDEAL KING AND SPIRIT OF AGE

Abul Fazl mentioned in Akbar Nama that Akbar always worked wisely for the welfare of his people. He had tolerance, broad-mindedness and a strong sense of justice. He provided stability to the state and gave good governance to ensure economic prosperity, peace and safety of his people. He provided religious freedom to all. His political views were clear and were intended for the expansion of the state boundaries. According to some scholars, Abul Fazl envisions the sovereign essentially as paterfamilias (father figure) and bestows absolute power on them. Everything that the ruler does, all gifts Mansabs or rewards bestowed by him upon his nobles, princes or subjects are favours; nothing is gained by anyone as a matter of right. On the other hand, Abul Fazl's binds the ruler by bestowing paternal care to his subjects. The running thread in Abul Fazl's several discussions of kingship is the composition of paternal love towards his subjects, the priceless jewel of justice and fair play, and observance of absolute peace, Sulh-i-Kul, without discrimination. Spirit of Age and use of Reason: Other conditions may vary with the context, but an Ideal King is required to understand and look through the need of the hour. The true King must understand the 'spirit of the age' and exercise reason and favor talent instead of primordial identities like religion. To understand the Spirit of the age (need of the hour) and shape his conduct accordingly was the positive aim of the Ideal King.

ABUL FAZL'S VIEWS ON ADMINISTRATION AND POPULAR WELL BEING: REFORMS

Humayun did not have the time to revise the old administration. It was Akbar who revised it and gave it a structure of government and administration based on his knowledge of the Delhi Sultanate. He did not make any changes in administration at the district and sub-district levels. His land revenue system was almost the same. An important question arises here as to what was different or new that made the Mughal Empire stronger than the Delhi Sultanate? What

were those new policies by which Akbar could govern such a large, stable, long-lasting political and administrative structure? As we know a strong and well planned administrative structure is a sound link of great governance. It is also necessary for welfare and peace of the state that people should not fear an enemy's attack.

Departure from Delhi Sultanate

In reality, Mughal polity was not a complete continuation of the Delhi Sultanate. He changed the designation of the officials. His important contribution was the development of a provincial administration, patterned on the central system of government. Detailed rules and regulations were made for better control. In his administrative views Abul Fazl gave supreme place to advocates among all the officers. According to him, advocates should have those qualities which could solve both private and social problems of the king. As we see in Kautilya's Arthashastra, we can find the same concept of state being divided into many levels with many officers at each level in the Ain-i-Akbari. Akbar divided his empire into Subas, Sarkars and Mahalls. He appointed a chain of officers at various levels who were controlled by ministers at the centre. In this system, the religion of the officers could not interfere in their administrative work, so this system was also followed by his successors. Akbar wanted a sovereign rule so he gave importance to it. He systematized and centralized his administration.

The Mughal state had a vast centralized patrimonial system. In this system, they bestowed various kinds of ranks and hierarchies borrowed from the Mansabdari system of Persia (In Persian (Mansab means rank) This system gave rise to a community with various grades between the people and the ruler and a hierarchical system came into existence. Summing up, in medieval times, Indian society had a complicated system of rank and status on the basis of military power. The military power became a status symbol and the whole framework was designed around it. The Mughals also followed this pattern for peace in their kingdom and they did not try to change it.

Importance to Talent Abul Fazl had a strong belief in hierarchy, but he was more concerned about the need of talent for the kingdom. He did not bother about the social background of a talented person. It is for this reason that he stated that Akbar was moved by the spirit of the age, for he knew the values of talent, honoured people of various classes with

appointments in the rank of army and raised them from the position of a common soldier to the dignity of a grandee.

Changes in Tax system Abul Fazl narrates that Akbar during his reign started a system of collecting tax on an individual basis. This system allowed the farmer to pay his tax based on his individual harvest. He only had to pay the tax on whatever produce he got. This system was different from the previous one found in the Mughal Empire, where a whole village had to pay the tax collectively. In this system, every farmer had to pay the tax whether he had a good produce or not because everyone had to share the tax equally. So, when Akbar became the ruler, he changed this system, taking a step to reform the condition of farmers. Major Political Reforms: Akbar Abolished the Jaziya (paid by non –muslims) and stopped collecting the pilgrimage tax from non –muslims. Major political reforms included regulation of Prices and wages, control of Liquor, fixing of minimum wages , prohibition of forced conversion, prohibition of slaughter of cows, prohibition of enforced Sati.

Unit II

Ram Mohan Roy- Civil rights

Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) was one of the makers of modern India. He is generally hailed as "the father of Modern India". Though Roy was modernist in his approach, he always tried to link modernity with tradition. He attempted the creative combination of secularism and spirituality, of Western and Eastern philosophy. His attitude towards religion was eclectic. He wanted to present the concept of universal religion by combining the best features of all leading religions of the world.

A review and reevaluation of religion was Roy's primary concern. He was of the opinion that rationality and modernity needed to be introduced in the field of religion and that "irrational religion" was at the root of many social evils. The sociopolitical progress of this country, according to him, depended mainly on the successful revolution in the religious thought and behaviour. He was interested not only in reforming the Hindu religion, but also tried to remove the discrepancies among the various religions of the world. He undertook a serious study of comparative religions and realised in due course that true Hinduism, true Islam and true Christianity are not fundamentally different from each other. He hoped that the universal religion for mankind could be established by combining the best elements of all religions. This concept of universal religion meant not merely religious tolerance, but also transcending all the sectarian barriers of separate religion. Roy, thus attempted a spiritual synthesis, stressing the unity of all religious experience. He became a confirmed monotheist. In 1828 he established the Brahmo Samaj. The Samaj acted as a forum for religious and philosophical contemplation and discussion. Roy's criticism of religion antagonised the priestly classes of all organised religions. Time has, however, proved beyond doubt the relevance of Roy's thoughts and deeds.

Besides Bengali and Sanskrit, Roy had mastered Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and 17 other leading languages spoken in the world. Roy's familiarity with such diverse languages, exposed him to a variety of cultural, philosophical and religious experiences. He studied Islam thoroughly. The rationality and the logical consistency of Arabic literature in general and the mutajjil in particular impressed Roy greatly.

Sufi poets like Sadi and Haafiz made a deep impact on Roy's mind. The Quranic concept of Tauhid or Unity of God fascinated Roy. Thus, in this context, when Roy examined the Hindu religious texts and practices, he was greatly disturbed. He found polytheism, idolatory and irrational superstitions absolutely intolerable. He decided to fight against these age-old evils. A Sanskrit scholar, Ram Mohan had studied the Hindu scriptures in depth and thus he got the inspiration to free the orthodox Hinduism from its obscurantist elements. Roy also had studied the teachings of the Buddha Dhamma. It is said that in the course of his travels he reached Tibet. There he was pained to see how the principles of Buddhism were blatantly violated and how idol worship, which had no place in the Dhamma of Lord Buddha, had come to be accepted. He strongly criticized the practices. As a Dewan in the revenue department, when the Raja was required to go to Rangpur, he got an opportunity to study the Tantrik literature as well as the Jaina's Kalpasutras and other scriptures. He also mastered the English language and acquainted himself with political developments and ideas like rationalism and liberation in England and Europe. The knowledge of English not only facilitated Roy's contacts with Englishmen but also opened up a whole new world to him. In Roy's own words, he now gave up his initial prejudices against the British and realized that it was better to seek help from these enlightened rulers in ameliorating the condition of the ignorant and superstitious masses. He became a strong advocate of English education and a supporter of British rule. Roy admired the Bible as much as he did the Vedanta and the Quran. Many of his critics thought that two major features of Roy's Brahma Samaj, namely, the opposition to idol-worship, and the practice of collective prayer were borrowed from Christianity.

Roy was charged of Christianizing Hindustan in a surreptitious manner. It is true that Roy advised Indians to imbibe Christ's ethical teachings. Roy himself admitted, "I found the doctrine of Christ more conducive to moral principles and better adapted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge." He also compiled "The Precepts of Jesus" with a view to proving how the teachings of Christ could be better adapted to rational man's use. At the same time, it has to be noted that he was no blind admirer of the Christian faith. He rejected the doctrine of Christ's divinity (arguing that if Christ is divine, so is Rama) and the doctrine of the Trinity preached by the missionaries. From what has been said above, it should be clear that it is unfair to charge Roy with seeking to Christianize Hinduism. Rather it was Roy's ardent desire to revive Hinduism in its pristine, pure and universal form. He pleaded for an

Advaita Political Reform in philosophy which rejected caste, idolatory and superstitious rites and rituals. In the 19th Century Thus, Roy was someone who had gone beyond narrow divisions of religious faiths. He embraced all that was the most valuable and the most inspiring in Hinduism, Christianity and Islam.

Reinterpreting Hinduism Roy devoted all his energies to fighting sectarianism and other medieval tendencies prevailing in the Hindu society, such as polytheism, idolatory and superstitions. He was a firm believer of the Advaita philosophy which left no scope for such tendencies. Roy was quite sure that unless the Hindu society underwent a religious and social transformation, it would not become fit for political progress. According to him, the then prevailing religious system of the Hindus was ill-suited for the promotion of their political interests. The multitude of religious rites and ceremonies and the unnatural distinctions of caste and laws of purification, Roy argued, had deprived the Hindus of any kind of common political feeling.

Hindus must accept some changes in their religion at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort. Reinterpretation of Hinduism, to Roy, was thus the starting point for the programme of socio-political reform. Roy sought to combine the deep experiences of spiritual life with the basic principle of social democracy. He denounced all superstitions and the evil practices based on them because he was convinced that these longstanding customary practices really did not form the core of their religious faith. They, in fact, had no place or support in the religious texts of the Hindus. Roy wanted to draw the attention of his countrymen to the ancient purity of their religion. To him, this purity was well reflected in the Vedas and the Upanishads.

In order to prove that blind faith and superstitious beliefs and practices had no basis in the pure Hindu religion, Roy undertook the difficult task of translating the Upanishads into English and Bengali. He gave elaborate notes and comments with these translations and distributed them free of cost amongst the people. - At the age of 16, Roy wrote a book challenging the validity of the practice of idolworship, which according to him was the root cause of many other social evils. It led to the multiplication of deities and also a multitude of modes of worship. This, in turn, had resulted in dividing the society into innumerable castes and groups, each worshipping an idol different from the others. The process of division and subdivision was unending. Roy

considered idolatry to be opposed to reason and common sense. Besides, it had no sanction in the ancient religious texts. Roy preached monotheism and a collective prayer from the platform of the Brahmo Samaj.

Roy fought against the superstitions which had resulted in evolving many inhuman and cruel customs and traditions in Hindu society. He tried to convince the people that the superstitions had nothing to do with the teachings of original Hinduism. Roy not only preached but also practised what he preached. Travelling across the ocean was considered to be a sin by the orthodox Hindus. Roy was the first Hindu to break this superstition. He himself undertook overseas travel. This courage of conviction on his part made Roy's efforts more effective.

ROY AS A SOCIAL REFORMER

Next to religious backwardness, according to Roy, the factor responsible for the political deterioration of India was her social decadence. He had no doubts that here the social reform was an essential precondition of political liberation. He did pioneering work in the field of social reform. Roy started his public life in 1815 with the establishment of the Atmiya Sabha. This sabha vehemently protested against the prevalent practice of selling young girls to prospective husbands due to some pecuniary interests, in the name of the Kuleen tradition. It also opposed polygamy and worked for the removal of caste disabilities. Roy believed in, the progressive role of the British rule in India and sought government held in the matter of social reforms, especially in the form of socially progressive legislations. For instance, Roy was convinced that without the active support of the government it would be almost impossible to eradicate the inhuman practices of sati.

Roy's aim was the creation of a new society based on the principles of tolerance, sympathy and reason, where the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity would be accepted by all, and where a man would be free from the traditional shackles which had enslaved him for ages. He yearned for a new society which would be cosmopolitan and modern. Roy's methods of social reform were multifaceted. He combined all possible means, including even those which were commonly believed to be incompatible. He appealed to the rational faculty of his compatriots and often quoted from the scriptures, lines and verses in support of the proposed reforms. The great scholar of Sanskrit that he was, Roy could easily counter the objections of the advocates of the status quo by quoting elaborately from the original Sanskrit texts. For

instance, while condemning polygamy, Roy cited Yagnavalkya who permitted a second wife only on 8 specific grounds viz. if she had the habit of drinking, suffered from an incurable disease, barrenness etc. Nevertheless, he maintained that no book was a work of God and hence infallible. He wrote scholarly essays on topics of social reform and also translated and reinterpreted important religious texts. He sent memoranda and appeals to the rulers inviting their attention to the social evils. From the platforms of the organized forums, he presented before the people the models of exemplary behaviour in religious and social matters. He took a keen interest in and supported each and every movement aimed at human liberation anywhere in the world. He even had the courage of conviction to declare that he would renounce his connection with English if a particular reform bill pending before the Parliament in England was not passed by it. He established or helped in several ways social organizations catering to the needs of destitute widows and penniless students.

On Caste System, Raja Ram Mohan Roy's strongest objection to the caste system was on the grounds that it fragmented society into many divisions and subdivisions. Caste divisions destroyed social homogeneity and the integrated texture of society and weakened it politically. Caste divisions deprived the people completely of political feeling, i.e. the feeling of commonality, of solidarity. A people so divided become incapable of undertaking any great task. Besides the divisive role of the caste system, Roy was also critical of its discriminatory nature. He was against the inequities inherent in the traditional caste hierarchy. He thought it to be illogical to assess the worth of an individual on the basis of birth and not on his merits. He was in favour of inter-caste and inter-racial marriages, which he thought, could effectively break the barriers of the caste divisions.

On Women's Rights Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a champion of women's rights in India. He laid the foundations of the women's liberation movement in this country. He revolted against the subjection of women and pleaded for the restoration of their rights. The condition of the Hindu women in those days was very pitiable. They were subjected to different kinds of injustices and deprivations. According to Roy, the root cause of the all-round deterioration of Hindu women was the complete denial of their property rights. The Hindu girl was not given the traditional right to share with her brothers the property of her deceased father. The married Hindu woman was refused the right to share with her sons the property left by her deceased

husband. In 1822, Roy wrote a book entitled *Brief Remarks Regarding Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Right of Females*. He pointed out that the ancient Hindu givers 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 1/4 part of the portion which a son could inherit in the property left by the father. Roy indicated how these rights were gradually taken away by modern lawgivers. He tried to prove that all these deprivations were blatant violations of the provisions in the ancient texts written by the authorities such as Yagnyawalakya, Narad, Katyayana, Brihaspati and others. The utter helplessness and humiliation of the Hindu widow were one of the major reasons that prompted the inhuman practice of Sati. Women completely robbed of their property rights quite naturally lost their independence and became the slaves of the male members of the family. They were thought to have less intellectual capabilities than the males.

They were supposed to have an existence only at a physical level. Men were free to marry as many women as they thought fit for the satisfaction of their lust. Women however were not allowed to marry a second time. As the equality of sexes was an article of faith for Roy, he could not accept that women were inferior to men in any respect. He believed that they were even superior to men in some respects. Whatever inferiority seemed to be on their part was the result, Roy argued, of keeping them away for generations from the sources of knowledge and the opportunities to shoulder different responsibilities in life. Roy vehemently opposed polygamy and with utmost vigor brought to light, its shameful evil consequences. He pleaded for an enactment allowing a Hindu male to marry the second wife only after getting a clearance from the magistrate. Roy was in favour of the remarriage of women under certain circumstances. Brahma Samaj which he founded paid special attention to women's education.

On Sati Perhaps the greatest social reform with which Roy's name will be permanently associated is the abolition of the cruel practice of sati. Roy used all the means at his disposal to stop this inhuman practice, which forced the helpless widow to burn herself alive on the funeral pyre of her husband. In 1818, Roy wrote his first essay on sati in which he argued that the woman had an existence independent of her husband and hence, she had no reason to end her life on the demise of her husband. Society had no right over her life. The right to life of both men and women was equally important. That the practice of Sati was centuries old could be no argument to make it just. All that comes through centuries need not always be right.

All customs need to be adjusted to the changing circumstances, if they are to survive. According to Roy, Sati was nothing short of murder and was therefore a punishable offence under the law. Roy fought against the practice of sati on three fronts: The first and the most important was that of public opinion. Roy through writings, speeches, agitation and discussions prepared the minds of the people in favour of the abolition of sati and explained how the practice had no support in any of the religious texts and hence governmental action in the matter could not be an interference in religious affairs. Secondly, he tried to convince the rulers that it was their responsibility as civilized rulers to put an end to the cruel custom. The third front was the inquiry into the causes that led a Hindu widow to commit Sati and to make arrangements to eliminate those causes. Roy found that ignorance of the women about their legitimate rights, their illiteracy, customary denial of the property rights to the widow and the consequent helplessness, dependence, misery and humiliation were some of the causes behind this practice. Roy pleaded strongly for the restoration of property rights of women as well as for facilities for women's education.

ROY'S POLITICAL LIBERALISM

Roy can be described as the earliest advocate of liberalism and the precursor of the liberal movement in India. Liberalism had emerged as the most valuable product of the renaissance and reformation in Europe. It captured some of the best brains in the 19th-century Europe and America. It became the dominant ideology of the first phase of religious and social reform in India. Liberalism, in brief, stands for the value and dignity of the individual personality; the central position of Man in historical development; and the faith that people are the ultimate source of all power. Quite naturally liberalism insists on the inviolability of certain rights of the individual without which no human development can be thought of; it insists on human equality and also on the tenet that the individual should not be sacrificed for the sake of society.

In liberalism, there is no scope for arbitrary and despotic use of authority in any field whether it be religious, social, political or economic. Roy advocated liberal principles in all walks of life. In the religious field, Roy stood for tolerance, a non-communal approach to all problems and secularism. He valued the freedom of the individual to follow the dictates of his conscience and even to defy the commands of the priestly class. Politically, Roy was a supporter of the impersonal authority of law and opposed all kinds of arbitrary and despotic power. He was

convinced that the existence of a constitutional government is the best guarantee of human freedom. He insisted on the use of constitutional means when required to safeguard the rights. He preferred the gradual improvements in the condition of this country because, to him, such improvements were more lasting and profound.

True to the liberal principles in the economic sphere, Roy believed in the sanctity of the right to property. Similarly, he believed that a strong middle class had an important role to play in socio-political dynamics. He was for the emancipation of poor peasants who were exposed to the exploitation of zamindars. He wanted the government to reduce its demands of landlords. He wanted to preserve the ryotwari system and the rural basis of Indian civilization and also establish a modern scientific industry. He however differed from the other western liberal thinkers in one important respect, viz. role of state and sphere of state activities. In his scheme of things, the state is expected to bring about social reform, in protecting the rights of the tenants against the landlords etc.

On Liberty

Liberty was a pivot around which the entire religio-socio-political thought of Roy revolved. His protest against idolatry, his agitation against Sati, his demand for modern western education and his insistence on freedom of press, right of women, and his demands for "separation for powers" and for the codification of laws were all expressions of his intense love for liberty. For him, liberty was a priceless possession of mankind. He was the first to deliver the message of political freedom to India. Although Roy recognised the positive gains India would get from British rule, he was never in favour of an unending foreign rule in India. He considered the British connection necessary for India's social emancipation. Political freedom was bound to follow. His love for liberty however was not limited to one nation or community. It was universal. He supported all struggles which aimed at human freedom. Freedom for him was indivisible. He celebrated the establishment of constitutional governments in Spain and Portugal and was pained when such a government collapsed in Naples in 1821. Freedom was the strongest passion of Roy's mind. He believed equally in the freedom of body and mind, so also the freedom of action and thought. He shunned all restrictions imposed by consideration of race, religion and customs on human freedoms.

On Rights of the Individual Roy was the first to create awareness for civil rights amongst the Indians. He was grateful to the Britishers because they made available to Indians all those civil rights which were enjoyed by the Queen's subjects in England. Though Roy did not specifically enlist the civil rights, he seems to include in it the following rights. Right to life and liberty, right to have opinions and freedom of expression, Right to property, Right to religion etc. Roy gave the greatest importance to the right to freedom of opinion and expression. To him, it included the freedom of creativity of mind and intellect, as well as the freedom of expressing one's opinions and thoughts through different media. According to Roy, freedom of expression was equally useful to the rulers and the ruled. Ignorant people were more likely to revolt against all that the rulers did, they could turn against authority itself. In contrast, an enlightened public would be opposed only to the abuse of power by authority and not to the existence of authority itself. The free press, the Raja argued, had never caused a revolution in any part of the world. But many examples could be cited where, in the absence of a free press, since the grievances of the people remained unrepresented and unredressed, the situation had become ripe for a violent 'revolutionary' change. A free and independent press alone could bring forth the best in the government as well as the people. Roy, however, was not against reasonable restrictions on the freedom of the press. He even accepted some additional restrictions on the Indian Press, which were not imposed on the press in England. Such restrictions, he believed, might be necessary here as some Indians were likely to encourage hatred in the minds of the natives towards the British rulers. Roy also justified the restrictions imposed with a view to check the seditious attempts of creating hostilities with neighbouring friendly states. He, however, strongly objected to the restrictions imposed by the bureaucracy in India. These restrictions, in his opinion, were arbitrary and uncalled for by the circumstances in this country.

On Law and Judicial Administration Law, Roy claimed, was the creation of passionless reason. It was the command of the sovereign. Hence, even the highest officer in the East India Company did not possess the competence for enacting the laws for India. The king-in-Parliament alone could have that authority. What is more, Roy argued that the English parliament, before finalising every piece of legislation relating to India should take into account the views of the economic and intellectual elites in this country. Another important Idea that Roy has contributed in the context of law relates to the codification of law He thinks that such codification was in the interest of both the rulers and the ruled. He suggested that the codification should be done on the

basis of the principles common and agreeable to all groups and factions in the society. In the course of codification, the long-standing customs of this country should not be overlooked. Of course, only those customs which are reasonable and conducive to the general welfare of the people should be picked up. Codified law should be simple, clear and exact. Codification would make the interpretations of laws more impersonal and their application more uniform. Roy had a clear perception of the distinction between law, custom and morality. He accepted that evolving customs were an important source of law, but the two could not be identified. He also made a distinction between law and morality. Some laws, according to Roy, might be legally valid, but morally indefensible. Conversely, some practices might be morally sound but could not be given legal force. Principles of morality are relative to the social realities and any law to be effective must take into account these ethical principles prevalent in a given society. In his book entitled 'An Exposition of Revenue and Judicial System in India' Roy presented a profession on urgent reforms in administrative and judicial matters. He stressed the point out that the administration could not be efficient and effective unless there were officials speaking in the language of the masses. There should also be several channels of communication between the administration and the people. Roy's suggestions of reform in the judicial field are more numerous because for him an efficient, impartial and independent judiciary was the supreme guarantee of liberty. Roy believed that the association of the natives in the judicial process had to be an essential feature of judicial administration.

Other measures advocated by him included: constant supervision of the judicial proceedings by a vigilant public opinion, the 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 also suggested the revival of the age-old Panchayat system of adjudication. Roy thus urged several - reforms and corrections in the Indian Judicial system in keeping with political liberalism.

On Sphere of State Action Though Roy was a liberal thinker, he did not believe in the policy of laissez-faire. He could never accept that the sphere of state activity was limited only to the political field. He had appealed repeatedly in his writings to the state authorities to undertake many social, moral and cultural responsibilities which did not strictly come under the category of

'political'. He wanted the state to protect the tenants against the landlords, to make arrangements for useful and liberal education, to eradicate the ugly practices like Sati and to give equal protection to the lives of both males and females, and to make efforts to create a new social order based on the principles of liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice. To Roy, the existence of any government becomes meaningful only if it performs all these functions besides the functions for which it originated.

On Education, Roy believed that unless the educational system of this country was overhauled, there was no possibility of the people coming out of the slumber of so many years. On International, Co-existence Thoughts of Ram Mohan Roy on this subject are the expressions of his future oriented imagination and insight. He has portrayed a beautiful picture of international coexistence. He was perhaps the first thinker of the 18th century who had a clear vision of internationalism. This vision might have occurred to him in the course of his search for universal religion. Roy, the prophet of universalism, argued that all nations of the world must be placed on an equal footing in order to achieve global unity and a sense of broad fraternity. It is only then that the contradiction between nationalism and internationalism can be ended. Roy held that the different tribes and nations were merely the branches of the same family and hence, there must be a frequent exchange of views and frequent give and take in all matters among the enlightened nations of the world. This, according to Roy, was the only way to make the human race happy and contented. Differences in political perspective could be eliminated by thrashing out the differences on the common platforms composed of an equal number of delegates from each of the contestant countries. Such a common forum could also be useful for the settlement of all international issues, which would enable mankind to live in peace for generations together. Roy's ideas in this respect proved prophetic, the League of Nations and the UNO are in a sense institutional expressions of these ideas.

Jotirao Phule – Social Justice

Phule was born in a Mali (Gardner) family of Poona in 1827. The Malis belonged to shudra Varna and were placed immediately below the peasant caste of Maratha-kunbis of

Maharashtra. He was educated at a Marathi school with a three-year break at a mission school in Poona. In 1848 Phule began his work as a social reformer interested in the education of low-caste boys and girls, when he started a school for girls of low and untouchable castes. Since no female teacher was available, Phule asked his wife Savitribai to teach in the school. He opened two more schools for girls in 1851. He was honoured by the Board of Education for the work he did for girls' education in 1852. Phule established a school for untouchables and a night school in 1852. By 1858, he gradually retired from the management of these schools and entered into a broader field of social reform. He supported the movement for widow remarriage in 1860 and in 1863 established a Home for the prevention of infanticide. Phule and his wife Savitribai adopted one orphan child from the Home because they had no child of their own.

In 1865 he published a book on the caste system written by one of his friends Padval. The organisation with which Phule's name is associated and for which he is remembered even today is the Satya Shodhak Samaj. It was established in 1873 by him and his colleagues to organise the lower castes against the Hindu social order based on Varna and the caste system. One of his colleagues started the first newspaper of the Movement, *Din Bandhu*, in 1877. The government appointed him a member of the Poona Municipality in 1876. He continued as a member till 1882 and fought for the cause of the downtrodden.

Writings (1827-1890)

Besides being a leader and organiser of the lower caste movement, Phule was also an original thinker and therefore, found it necessary not only to write polemical pamphlets but also to put forward his basic philosophical position. In *Brahmanache Kasab* (1869) Phule exposed the exploitation of Brahmin priests. In *Gulamgiri* (1873) he has given a historical survey of the slavery of lower castes. In 1883 he published a collection of his speeches under the title *Jhetkaryaricha Asud* (The cultivator's whip-cord) where he analyzed how peasants were being exploited in those days. We find a text of his philosophical statement in *Sarvajanik Satyadharma Pustak* (A book of True Religion For All) published in 1891 a year after his death. From his writings, we come to know that his thinking on social and political issues was influenced by Christianity and the ideas of Thomas Paine (1737-1809). He was known for his religious radicalism in England. Phule himself has recorded that he was influenced by the ideas of Paine. As a recognition of his great work for the lower castes, he was felicitated and the title of

'Mahatma' were conferred on him by the people in Bombay in 1888. In this unit, we are primarily interested in his social and political ideas. The scholars who have worked on nationalist movements and thought have on the whole neglected the ideas of thinkers like Phule. So far as Phule is concerned, a difficulty encountered by scholars is that of language. He wrote mainly in Marathi and that too in a Marathi meant for the masses

Welcoming the British Rule:

British rule had brought to an end the tyranny and chaos of the regime of the last Peshwa in Maharashtra. The colonial rulers had not only established law and order but also the principle of equality before the law. The earlier regime of Brahmin Peshwas had imposed strict limitations on education, and occupation-arid living standards of the lower castes and women. The new rulers opened opportunities for education and mobility in occupation for the members of all castes. Missionary schools and government colleges were ready to admit any student irrespective of caste origins. New ideas of equality and liberty could reach the moderately educated sections of the lower caste. Phule was probably the best product of this process. High-caste reformers and leaders also welcomed colonial rule.

It is not surprising that Phule who was concerned with the slavery of the lower castes also favoured British rule. He hoped that the new government which believes in equality between man and man would emancipate lower castes, from the domination of the Brahmins. The British rule opened up new employment opportunities in the administration.

The political power at the local level was also being given to the Indians. Phule who had worked as a member of the Poona Municipality could visualize how lower castes would be able to acquire power at the local level during the period of British rule and also enter the colonial bureaucracy. He believed in the benevolent attitude of the British rulers towards the lower castes and therefore asked for a number of things from them. He was not sure how long the British rule would continue. Therefore, he wanted lower castes to exploit the opportunity and get rid of the tyranny of Brahmins. Brahmin rulers used to collect huge wealth out of taxes levied on poor lower castes population but never used to spend even a paisa for their welfare.

On the contrary, the new regime was showing signs of doing good things for the deprived people. Phule assured the colonial rulers that if the Shudras were made happy and contented,

they need not worry about the loyalty of the subjects. He wanted the British government to abolish Brahmin Kulkarni's position, and the post of village headman (Patil) was filled on the basis of merit. In fact, Phule would have liked the British government to put an end to the salutary system which was connected with caste-specific occupations in the villages. He asked the government to make laws prohibiting customs and practices which gave subordinate status to women and untouchables. Phule wanted Brahmin bureaucracy to be replaced by non-Brahmin bureaucracy. But if the non-Brahmins were not available, the government should appoint, he thought, the British men to these posts. He believed that the British officers would take an impartial view and were likely to side with lower castes. Phule knew that education had not yet percolated to the lower castes. The masses had not yet become politically conscious. The high caste elites claimed that they were the true representatives of the people and therefore they were demanding political rights. This process, Phule thought, would reestablish the political supremacy of the high castes. Phule advised his followers from the lower castes not to participate in the movement for political rights. He argued that the Indian National Congress or other political associations were not national in the true sense of the term because they represented only high castes. Phule warned his followers against the selfish and cunning motives of the Brahmins in forming these associations and advised them to keep themselves away from such associations. In his Satya Shodhak Samaj, he had made it a rule not to discuss politics. In fact, we find that he had expressed more than once complete and total loyalty towards the new government. He firmly believed that the almighty God had dethroned the tyrannical rulers and had established in their place a just, enlightened and peaceful British rule for the welfare of the masses. It does not mean that Phule did not understand the significance of politics. In fact, he has said at one place that the conditions of lower castes had deteriorated because they were deprived of political power. His efforts to organize lower castes under the banner of Satya Shodhak Samaj should be seen as a political activity. It is true that he gave preference to social reform rather than political reform in the 19th century. But that does not suggest that he would have continued to hold the educated, they would become conscious of their political rights vis-a-vis I same views in the changed circumstances. He knew that if the lower castes were 1Brahmins and not only demanded a share in political power but would dethrone the Brahmins and establish their own supremacy. His writings were directed towards that.

Criticism of the British Rule

Though Phule preferred British rule to the regime of the Brahmins, he was aware of the shortcomings of the former and he never hesitated to point them out openly. Since his mission was to bring about an egalitarian society where all men and women would enjoy liberty, Phule criticized the contemporary rulers if he felt that their policies went against this idea. He was mainly interested in destroying forever the supremacy of Brahmins in social, economic and political fields. Therefore, he used to attack the British government whenever its policies favoured the Brahmins even indirectly. It was the educational policy of the British government which came under severe attack from Phule. He complained that the government was providing more funds and greater facilities for higher education and neglecting the masses. He brought it to the notice of the government that the greater portion of the revenue of the Government was derived from the labour of the masses. The higher and rich classes contribute very little to State's exchequer. The government, therefore, should spend a large portion of its income on the education of the masses and not on the higher classes.

Due to the educational policy favouring the upper classes, the higher offices were virtually monopolized by them, if the government wished the welfare of the lower castes, it was its duty to reduce the proportion of high castes in the administration and increase that of the lower castes. Phule's object in writing a book on slavery was to open the eyes of the government to the pernicious system of high-class education. This system, Phule said, was keeping the masses in ignorance and poverty. The government used to collect special cases for educational purposes but the funds so derived were not spent for the education of the masses. He criticised the primary schools run by the government by saying that the education imparted in these schools was not satisfactory. It did not prove practical or useful in the future career of the students. He also criticised similar lines the higher secondary schools, colleges and system of scholarships. The scholarship system, he observed was unduly favourable to literary castes while there was a need to encourage the lower castes' children. Moderate nationalists had always held high the liberal principles on which the British government was founded and criticised the colonial bureaucracy for departure from them. Phule agreed with them on this point. However, he made a distinction between British officers and Brahmin officers and preferred the former. But he observed that the British officers were concerned about their own comfort and salaries.

They did not find sufficient time to know about the real conditions of the peasants. They did not understand the language of the peasants. The Brahmin officers were thereby used to get an opportunity to mislead the British officers and exploit the poor and illiterate peasants. Phule probably did not realise that colonial rule depended upon the elites of the colony to maintain its dominance and therefore recruited them to the bureaucracy.

His biographers tell us that when he was a member of the Poona Municipality he showed rare courage in opposing a move to spend one thousand rupees on Viceroy's visit. In 1888 a dinner was organised in honour of the Duke of Connaught at Poona. Phule went there in the typical dress of a poor peasant and delivered a moving speech after the dinner. He told the audience that the people of the country were to be found in the villages. He had intentionally come in that dress so that the British guests would come to know how a common peasant lived: He also told them that it was the duty of the government to formulate policies for the welfare of these peasants. In his writings also come across a criticism of the government's policies which went against the peasants. We will take note of it while discussing his views on economic issues.

Critique of Social Order

Phule's criticism of the British government emanated out of his concern for the welfare and the status of the lower castes in contemporary society. According to Phule, Indian society was based on inequality between man and man and the exploitation of ignorant masses by the cunning Brahmins. Phule believed that God who is the creator of the Universe has created all men and women free and capable of enjoying their rights. The creator has created all men and women as the custodians of all human rights so that a man or a group of men should not suppress an individual. The Maker has bestowed upon all men and women religious and political liberty. Therefore, no one should look down upon anyone's religious faith or political opinion. Every individual has a right to property. The Maker, Phule thought, has given all human beings the liberty of thought and expression. But the thought or opinion one is expressing should not be harmful to anybody. The creator has made all men and women capable of claiming a position in civil service or municipal administration according to their ability. No one should encroach upon the equal liberty of other human beings. Phule believed that all men and women are entitled to enjoy all the things the Maker has created. All men and women are equal before law. Phule held

that the magistrates and judges of the court of law should be impartial in their judgements. Phule developed a critique of Indian society in the light of these fundamental principles.

Attack on Varna and Caste System

Indian society was founded on the Varna system. Phule challenged the view that it was god-ordained. He held that this claim was made to deceive the lower Varnas. Since this claim was made by the religious texts of the Hindus, he decided, to expose the falsehood of these texts. Phule depended upon contemporary theories and his own creativity to interpret these texts. Accordingly, he believed that Brahmins who were known as Aryans descended upon the plains of North India few thousand years back, possibly from Iran. They came as conquerors and defeated the original inhabitants of this land. Under the direction of the leaders such as Brahma and Parshuram, Brahmins fought protracted wars against the original inhabitants. They initially settled on the banks of the Ganges and later on spread out over the other parts of the country. In order to keep a better hold over the masses, they devised the mythology, the Varna and caste system and also the code of cruel and inhuman laws. They founded a system of priest craft which gave the Brahmin a prominence in all rituals. The caste system was a creation of cunning Brahmins. The highest rights and privileges were given to the Brahmins whereas Shudras and Atishudras (untouchables) were regarded with hatred and contempt. Even the commonest rights of humanity were denied to them. Their touch or even their shadow was considered as pollution. Phule reinterpreted the religious text of the Hindus to show how Aryans had conquered the original inhabitants.

The nine avatars of Vishnu were seen by him as various stages of the Aryan conquest. From those days, the Brahmins enslaved the Shudras and Adishudras. For generations, they have carried the chains of slavery of bondage. A number of Brahmin writers like Manu have added from time to time to the existing legends which enslave the minds of the masses. Phule compared the system of slavery fabricated by the Brahmins with slavery in America and pointed out that the Shudras had to suffer greater hardships and oppression than the blacks. He thought that this system of selfish superstition and bigotry was responsible for the stagnation and all the evils from which India was suffering for centuries. After narrating the story of Brahmin domination in the past. Phule tells us how in his times' things had not changed much except for the advent of the enlightened rule of Britain. The Brahmin continued to exploit the Shudra from his birth to

death. Under the guise of religion, the Brahmin intervened and meddled in each and everything the Shudra did. A Brahmin tried to exploit him not only in his capacity as a priest but did so in a number of other ways also. Due to his higher education, he had monopolized all the positions in the administration, judiciary, social, religious and political organizations. In a town or village, the Brahmin was all in all. He was the master and the ruler. The Patel of the village had become a nonentity. Instead, the Brahmin village accountant known as Kulkarni had acquired power in the village. He was the temporal and spiritual adviser of the people, a money-lender and a general referee in all matters. The same was the case at this level where a tahsildar used to harass illiterate masses. Phule tells us that the story holds good at all levels of administration and in the judiciary, as well as various departments of the government. The Brahmin bureaucrats used to exploit the poor and ignorant masses in each and every case by misguiding British superiors. It is essential at this stage to note that Phule who belonged to the gardener caste - Shudra caste - was concerned about not only Shudras but also Atishudras, i.e. the untouchables also. He advocated that these lower castes and untouchables should organise against the dominance of the Brahmins and strive for an egalitarian society. It is not, therefore, surprising that Dr. Ambedkar whose ideas you are going to study of later regarded Phule as his Guru.

Equality between Man and Woman

Another oppressed group in Indian society was women. Phule always mentions women along with men. He did not assume that when men are mentioned, women are automatically included in that category. He makes a special reference to women when he discusses human rights. Just as Shudras were deprived of rights by the Brahmins by keeping them ignorant, Phule thought that selfish men had prohibited women from taking to education in order to continue male domination. The Hindu religious texts had given a number of concessions to men but had imposed severe restrictions on women. Phule was mainly concerned about the marriage system of those days. He attacked the customs and practices such as child marriage, marriage between young girl and an old man, polygamy, objection to remarriage of women, prostitution, harassment of widows, etc, He advised Shudra peasants not to have more than one wife and not to marry their young children. He had given serious thought to the institution of marriage and had devised a simple and modern contract type ritual for the marriage ceremony of the members of Satya Shodhak Siimaj (Truth Seeking Society). It is interesting to note that Phule did not stop

at visualising equal status to women in marriage, family education and religion but claimed that woman was superior to man in many respects.

Swami Vivekananda's Cultural nationalism

The closing decades of the nineteenth and the dawn of the twentieth centuries are very important in the history of modern India. During this period, religious & cultural nationalists emerged as a powerful force in opposition to western-inspired liberal and British rule. Ramkrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda in Bengal and Swami Dayanand Saraswati in Punjab led a revival of inter Indian tradition. The movement resulted in a major attempt to reinterpret the Indian tradition so as to instil a sense of pride in the Indian youth.

The political ideas of the three important figures that you will be studying in this unit represent, in religious terms, three different approaches and ideas. Dayanand Saraswati was a passionate believer in the final authority of the Vedas. His appeal for the revival of Vedic Hinduism had little patience with polytheism and the countless meaningless rituals associated with it. Swami Vivekananda, on the other hand, despite an equally fervent desire to reform Hindu society and protect it from the 'evil materialistic' influences of the west, drew his inspiration mainly from Vedantic philosophy. He, therefore, stood for polytheism and idol worship. V.D. Savarkar on the other hand was more outspokenly political. He was himself an atheist of Hindu society. His emphasis on 'Hindutva' was mainly in order to enthuse the nationalist spirit with a purpose and direction. His nationalism was therefore also much more stridently aggressive.

However, despite these obvious differences, these strands represent an underlying I unity- the effort to elaborate the concept of nationalism on the basis of religiosity. It was this interface of religion and politics that a whole gamut of Indian nationalists embodied: Sri Aurobindo, the various "terrorist" i.e. revolutionary nationalist groups down to the Congress leaders like Bal Gangadhar tilak. In fact, even the Gandhian leadership of the Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi represented this interface. Gandhi's concept of Ram Raiya and his constant use of Hindu religious symbols also show the continuing impact of this conception of nationalism based on Hinduism.

Philosophy and Concept of Swami Vivekananda

Swami Vivekananda was one of the most influential religious thinkers of 19th-century India. His writings basically dealt with the freedom of man, its nature, norms, scope, and the idea of equating freedom with equality.

According to Vivekananda the Universe was an illusory expression of Brahma, the creator. Maya or illusion contains virtues such as knowledge, creativity, and instinctive desires which in fact, are the visible image of the Creator. 'Brahma' had immense power to hold the universe together and its influence was felt in each and every object of its creation. The difference between 'Brahma' and his creations was the finitude of virtues in its material forms. The reference here is to mankind at large. What separated man from the creator was the kind of virtues ingrained in him. Each person had a different combination of unequal development of virtues. In contrast, this relationship was complete and perfect in 'Brahma' that no difference could be discerned between the triple virtues of knowledge, creativity and instinctive desires and those which lay beyond virtues. Every person with his dominant virtue, therefore, formed a part of the larger whole; that is, the all-encompassing, all-comprehensive totality, in the form of 'Brahma'. Hence, the goal of an individual could only find its true expression in the entire humanity (the Brahman mould). Vivekananda called the attaining, of the 'Brahma-ness' by man, the state of 'moksha'.

Vivekananda goes on to add that man was born free but life constrained his natural freedom making him an atomized, isolated 'individual' who was solely interested in the unrestrained pursuit of his desires and aims which would sooner or later bring him into conflict with the equivalent freedom of another, thus cancelling each other out. While the virtues of individuality were essential for the development of his creative potentialities, so also was it necessary to bring out his social nature, his spiritual self. Vivekananda felt that it was possible for both individuality and sociality to go together so that when man's individuality was restrained by his built-in sociality it would provoke resistance from others of his kind.

Since freedom was natural to human beings, limits to freedom would also have to be natural in order to retain its spontaneity. Hence such constraints on freedom will have to come from religion since it alone could develop in human beings the relationship between individuality and sociality and raise it to a sufficiently higher place of spiritual consciousness. Vivekananda

felt that certain circumstances compelled man to act in a way which inhibited the freedom of others as well as went against his own will. This could not amount to a realization of true freedom. Thus, the purpose of limiting man's freedom should be refinement and not suppression. Religion defied any precise formulation and at times gave prominence to 'raj' relegating 'satwa' to the background for a time.

The pursuit of one's goals through freedom as well as acknowledging similar freedom for the other goes on to prove that man is essentially social, and therefore, would very much prefer living in a community. Vivekananda elucidates his thoughts with some examples. He stresses the evolution of natural communities in India as an outcome of the 'varna' system in which the 'Brahmins' and the 'Kshatriyas' were categorized under the 'raj' (creativity) and the 'Vaishyas' and the 'Shudras' under the 'Tam' category (instinctive desires). Such a categorization finds a similar reference in ancient Greece where Plato talked of three virtues: Reason, Courage, Appetite.

Vivekananda also adds that while social life in India called for an emphasis on the role of specification of man as such within the society, comprehensiveness or totality was stressed by its western counterparts. Therefore with the decline of the pre-political age in India, the importance of 'man' steadily decreased while he held the center stage in western society for a long. This naturally sensitized western society towards liberal principles such as freedom, equality, liberty etc.

Freedom, in a materially conditioned world, no longer remained freedom but became a right. Freedom in his view belonged to the natural man i.e. pre-political man. Once the political order was created it became clear that freedom degenerated into rights. Since men fought for rights, not for true freedom which was a spontaneous and universal process; for instance:

PURE FORM

1) Varnashrama (free mobility on merit) 2) True Freedom 3) Social Man

CORRUPT FORM

Transformed into a hereditary, hierarchical caste system (caste status and inter-caste mobility restricted by birth)

Degenerated into a fight for Rights Characterized by the fight for power, patronage and supremacy; the decline in the position of Shudras

Thus, it was precisely due to the overriding concern for rights (*adhikarvad*) that India has been reduced to its present state. According to Vivekananda '*adhikarvad*' had become synonymous with '*tam*' (instinctive desires) since man, even if he belonged to the privileged class could not maintain his privileges as he had been drained spiritually. So, whether a man belonged to the higher strata or the lower one made no difference whatsoever as all were interested in the realization of their material desires. Since the hierarchical caste system had rigidified the role of the individual, Indian civilization had also become inhuman. Thus, nothing short of a cultural revolution would bring India back to its blissful state of affairs. Vivekananda also set out to explain that the British as well as the previous foreign conquerors were able to establish their suzerainty over India because India lay enchained in the tentacles of '*adhikarvad*'. Vivekananda said that the establishment of a British political order would not bring back India's freedom since it did not lie in their hands. He, however, urged the people of India, especially the youth, to join the nationalist struggle under the auspices of the INC against the British in the hope that it would wake up the 'sleeping nation from all sides and perhaps free India from the vice-like grip of '*adhikarvad*'.

Vivekananda singled out the prevailing caste system in India as the all-important cause for the present state of affairs in India. The way out would be to return to one's true religious self, and the first step towards freedom would be the emancipation of the poor by restoring dignity and respect (Ramakrishna Mission/ Mathias). He spoke at length about '*Daridra Narayan*' or the 'poor as God' where service to the cause of their upliftment would raise the impoverished to a desired level of prosperity. This would then become the single most important desire of all within the folds of '*satwa*', since true concern for others could only be the result of 'Truth' that bound. Vivekananda seems to be a supporter of equality since equality could bring back freedom. He also made a distinction between material and spiritual communism. One of the basic aims of the former was an equal distribution of material resources. What appealed to Vivekananda was its' obsession with equality. However, in such a system man was treated as a mere functionary composed of matter itself. The latter one was favoured by Vivekananda. Its setting was pre-political communism where there would be perfect harmony between freedom

and equality. Thus a communist society appeared to be standing at both ends of the spectrum of human civilisation. Society begins as a body of individuals equal to one another, then passes through instability, disequilibrium and turmoil and finally ends up as a community of equals. However, freedom formed the core of the former while in the latter one it was absent.

Concept of Nationalism and Politics

Vivekananda elaborated and developed a theory of nationalism that was based on religion. According to him, like music, each nation had "a main note, a central theme" compared to which everything else was secondary. India's theme, he identified as religion and it had to be made the backbone of national life. The future greatness of any nation could be built only on the foundations of its past greatness. Religion had been a creative force of integration and stability and it helped to retrieve and strengthen even political authority when it became weak. He thus advocated the organization of national life on the basis of a religious ideal. But religion, in his conception was not a set of barbaric customs or a set of dogmas and rituals etc. It was rather, the realization of certain eternal principles.

On the basis of such a theory of nationalism, Vivekananda developed a conception[^] about the relation of nationalism to politics and power. This conception of Vivekananda's had a lot in common with the western anarchist thought which viewed politics and power anywhere with suspicion. In his conception politics and power in India were linked to western influence. Anyone who knows India, in his opinion, must understand that politics, power, and even intellect form a secondary consideration here. Religion, therefore, is the one dominant consideration in India "So he showered ridicule on western political institutions like 'parliaments' which he referred to as 'jokes' and party politics, as degenerate 'fanaticism and sectarianism'. Preoccupation with political power was part of a-distinctly western 'vanity' and 'material tyranny'.

In line with such a conception of nationalism, politics and power, was Vivekananda's emphasis on individual morality and social change. He believed that a nation is great' or good because of the innate greatness, and goodness of its people, and not because the state so desires and enacts legislation to that effect. Here again, religion is much more important since it moulds the individualities and conduct of people-makes ' they good or great. In his view, the spiritual

tradition of Hinduism calls for resistance to the legalized oppression embodied in the crushing tyranny of castes, kings and foreigners.

It is no exaggeration to say, therefore, that Vivekananda's ideas influenced the theory and practice of politics in India in such a decisive manner that hardly any subsequent political trend could break with the anarchist parameters set by him.

Aurobindo – Nationalism and Democracy

Another aspect of this movement was its radical political outlook. These two aspects reinforced each other. Sri Aurobindo represents the best example in this tradition of a leader who provided a spiritual foundation to Indian nationalism. A sketch of Sri Aurobindo's life and the major landmarks influencing his thought has been provided. Then, we will analyse the philosophical foundations of his views on nationalism, swarajya and the course of political action prescribed by him have been analysed. In the end, his contribution to Indian political thinking has been evaluated.

SRI AUROBINDO: HIS LIFE AND WORK

Born in Calcutta on 15th August 1872, Sri Aurobindo lived an eventful life and contributed immensely to the fields of philosophy and politics. His life span can be studied by dividing it into four stages.

Early Life - Formative Stage Aurobindo's upbringing was completely western. For a period of fourteen years from 1879 to 1893 he studied in England. During this period, he showed extraordinary intellectual abilities. He learned various classical and modern European languages. During his Cambridge University days, he began to take an interest in Indian politics and came in contact with some young revolutionaries from India. He was also deeply influenced by Irish nationalists and their efforts for achieving independence for Ireland. He returned to India in 1893 at the age of 21 with the fire of nationalism burning in him and a strong and resolute will to work for it.

Preparatory Phase

On arriving in India he joined government service in the princely state of Baroda. At Baroda, he undertook a serious study of Indian history, philosophical texts and Bengali literature. He was impressed by the spiritualism underlying Indian philosophy and literature and this added a new dimension to his political thinking. During this period, Aurobindo wrote extensively on the then situation in the country and elaborated his ideas about nation, nationalism etc. He also remained in touch with the freedom movement generally and particularly with revolutionary activities in Bengal. His interest in revolutionary politics, however, did not keep him away from his spiritual quest.

Phase of Political Activism

In 1905 Bengal was partitioned. This event evoked strong resentment throughout the country. Aurobindo resigned from his job in Baroda (1906) and plunged into ' active politics which marked the beginning of the third phase of his life. This phase of political activism was very brief (1906-1910). During this period, he participated actively in politics and supported the radical group led by Tilak. He participated in the Surat session of Congress. He also wrote extensively on various topics of national importance in this period. In 1908, he was implicated and arrested in the Maniktola Bomb Case. He was honourably acquitted in 1909. After his release, he remained involved in politics for a short while. In 1910, he withdrew from active politics and went to Chandra Nagar and later on moved to Pondicherry. His sudden withdrawal was a result .of his desire for spiritual development.

Later Phase: 1910 Onwards Duringl this period, Aurobindo wrote mainly in the wider context of humanity and it spiritual future. He elaborated his ideas and ideals in the context of human development and its ultimate goal of human unity. His important works like the Life Divine, Essays on Geeta, The Synthesis of Yoga and the epic poem 'Savitri' were written during this period. To sum up, we can say that his political activism and spiritual development were not separate but went together, His political thought was an extension of his yogic and spiritual vision. Therefore, before we study his views on the key concepts in politics. It is necessary to understand the philosophical foundations from which his political thought emerged.

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATION OF AUROBINDO'S POLITICAL THOUGHT

Aurobindo's writings reflect diverse influences. Of these, the Indian tradition of idealism in philosophy seems to have impressed him the most. The great European philosophers from Homer to Goethe influenced him the maximum during his formative period and the study of Geeta, Upanishads and Vedanta had a deep impact on his political thinking. As Romain Rolland said, Sri Aurobindo was "the highest synthesis of the genius of Asia and the genius of Europe". He tried to integrate the materialist trend in western philosophy with the idealist tradition in Indian philosophy. Vedanta philosophy as propounded by Ramakrishna and Vivekananda also influenced Aurobindo's thinking. He was also inspired by the remarkable vitality and diversity of the Indian intellectual tradition. He believed that the writings of the Vedanta sages and the Buddha reflect the genius of the Indian mind. However, at a later stage, according to Aurobindo, the Indian philosophical tradition became narrow in outlook and lost its dynamism and vitality. As against this, western philosophy managed to retain its dynamism and continued to grow. Aurobindo wanted to combine the best elements of the Indian and western philosophical traditions. , - He explained the origin, nature and destiny of this world in his theory of evolution. According to his theory of creation, matter passes through various stages of development; from the plant and animal stages to that of the mind and the super mind. In his view, the matter is a spirit in a hidden form, growing progressively towards the revelation of the spirit which is the supreme, unconditioned and absolute reality. In this process of evolution, in the transformation from the mind to the super mind, the technique of 'yoga' helps human beings to hasten the process. Sri Aurobindo developed his own technique called 'Integral Yoga' or 'Purna Yoga' which incorporates the techniques of four yoga i.e. Karma yoga, Bhakti yoga, Jnana yoga and Raja yoga-as well as the Tantrik philosophy. Through this integral Yoga, a Yogi can rise to the supramental level, which will bring him joy (Ananda). The. Attainment of Ananda helps in self-realization and assists in the service of humanity. According to him, since 'matter' is not different from 'spirit' 'the gradual evolution of matter will convert it into pure spirit. Despite the obstacles in the way which may slow down the process, the advancement of humanity in the direction of spiritual perfection will continue. In this process, a few developed souls will work as pathfinders and will struggle hard to find the path for others. Aurobindo believed that India's tradition of spiritual thought and practice was very advanced and the whole of humanity could benefit from

this in its spiritual journey. He wanted India to take the lead and for this reason, thought that India ought to be free, to play her true role in the spiritual regeneration of the world.

POLITICAL THOUGHT: EARLY PHASE

Close scrutiny of Aurobindo's writings shows that he wrote extensively on the problem of current political importance in the early phase of his political activity. His political thought at that time consisted of His views on the Indian National Congress and British rule in India. The Concept of Nation and the Theory of Spiritual Nationalism. His programme of action - Theory of Passive Resistance etc., His writings in this period must be seen against the political background of our country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His objective was to mobilize the masses for the fight against the foreign ruler~~and his ultimate goal was full freedom for the country. Aurobindo's thoughts in the later phase, i.e. from 1910 onwards reflect clearly the need for humanity to return to spiritual motivations in life. In this section, we will concentrate on his political thought, which he expressed in the earlier phase of his life (1883-1905) and the first phase of his political activity (1905 to 1910). Later, we will proceed to study his views on human unity.

His Views on the Indian National Congress

When Aurobindo returned from England, he observed the political scene and expressed his views through his writings in journals like 'Bande Mataram'. He was critical of the Congress organization and its leadership at that time. He criticised the Congress on four counts-viz.

i) its aims and objectives, ii) its composition, iii) the motives of the leaders and iv)'the methods adopted by them for the realisation of their aims and objectives. This does not mean that he was basically against the National Congress. On the contrary, he declared that " The Congress was to us, all that is to man most dear, most high and most sacred." But at the same time, he did not hesitate to express his disillusionment and dissatisfaction about its working.

About the aims and objectives of the organization, he thought that Congress did not have a clearcut goal of national freedom. The leaders of the Congress were wasting time on trifles like certain administrative reforms, which were totally inadequate to meet the need of the time. Their demands, he delivered were 'shamefully modest.'

About the composition of the Congress, he thought that the Congress was a middle class organization and therefore, did not represent the Indian masses. The newly educated middle class leadership was only interested in gaining power and a place in the Indian polity. He emphasised the need for converting the national movement into a mass movement by including in it the vast numbers of the proletariat. He believed that the emergence of the Indian 'proletariat' on the horizon of the national movement would be an important key to the solution of the problem of transforming the Congress into a truly national and popular body.

Thirdly, regarding the motives of the Congress leaders, his observation was that they were not sincere leaders. They were timid and afraid of displeasing their rulers. He believed that these defects in the organization had adversely affected the national movement in the country.

He felt that the Congress leadership had not perceived the British rule correctly and therefore, instead of boldly asserting their goal, the leaders relied on the sense of justice and benevolence of the British rulers. They resorted to futile petitions and requests in the annual sessions of the Congress.

He therefore stressed the need for a broad based organization that could channelize the entire power of the country to free it from foreign rule. Thus, his insistence on enthusing the masses with the spirit of independence was one of the first efforts to give a mass character to the freedom movement.

Nature of the British Rule

Aurobindo's first political writings in 'Indu-Prakash' - an Anglo-Marathi paper - was a direct attack on British rule. Of course, some leaders participating in the national movement were also criticizing British rule at that time, but their criticism was quite indirect. His writing was a departure from this style of expression. He created such a sensation in the country that justice M.G. Ranade had to warn the editor of Indu-Prakash to be careful, and subsequently the editor had to request Aurobindo to modify his tone, which he did rather reluctantly.

The purpose of Aurobindo's criticism of the British rule was twofold. In the first instance, he wanted to strengthen the anti-British sentiments in the country and secondly, to break the myth of British superiority.

He expressed the view that the British political system was in no way the best as was widely believed by Indian intelligentsia. He was also critical of the absence of social freedom and equality. Hence, he believed that copying the British model was not in the interest of our country. Regarding the nature of the British rule in India he expressed the view that, "It is mercantile in foundation and exploitative in character". It must be, therefore, weakened from its base itself, in order to achieve freedom and independence of the country.

Aurobindo described the behavior of the British officials as rude and arrogant. He believed that the system of administration set up by the British in India was thoroughly unsuitable to the Indian people, their socio-economic system, their mind and genius. He was also critical of the anglicised Indians who regarded the British way of life and culture worth emulating.

He, however, did not object to learning from the experience of the British, though he was against the thoughtless aping of European ideas and ideals. He objected to the growing tendency among Indians to ignore the past and of having no clear vision for the future.

Concept of Nation and Theory of Spiritual Nationalism

Aurobindo's concept of nation was deeply influenced by Bankimchandra-a great Bengali novelist. He believed that the nation is not just a piece of land or a mass of human beings. It is neither a figure of speech nor the creation of the mind. It is something more than a geographical unit or a figment of people's imagination. Thus, his concept of nation is profound and very different from the commonly held patriotic notions about the nation.

To him, India was like his mother and hence he was highly devoted to her. He glorified India as a Mother Goddess, and advised the young patriots to work for their nation which is their mother. He believed that the liberation of the motherland is the most urgent duty of her children for which they must be ready to sacrifice even their lives.

According to Aurobindo's understanding, the 'nation' is a mighty 'Shakti' composed of all the shaktis of all the millions of units that make up the nation. It is thus a living entity. He expressed his deep feelings of love and dedication to the motherland in numerous articles and poems. Such patriotism he believed could work miracles. Thus, Aurobindo's definition-of nationalism had a spiritual dimension, unlike the ordinary patriotic understanding of the terms nationalism.

Nationalism in his opinion is not merely a political movement. It is neither a political programme nor an intellectual pastime. In his opinion, nationalism is akin to religion. It is a faith and a creed that one has to live. It is a religion which has come from God. Hence, it cannot be crushed. Even if attempts are made by external forces to suppress it, it reemerges and survives due to the strength of God in it.

Nationalism is immortal. It cannot die, because it is not a creation of human beings. But it is created by God. If one wants to be a nationalist, one must work for his nation. Nationalism in his opinion was a deep and fervent 'religious sadhana'. Here in lies the difference between Aurobindo's concept of nationalism and nationalism as perceived by other thinkers and political activists of his time.

The nationalist movement sparked off by the partition of Bengal was in the opinion of Aurobindo a divinely inspired and guided movement. In his opinion, this movement was not guided by any political self-interest, but it was a religious mission which the people were trying to fulfil. Thus for him, "nationalism is a religion by which people try to realise God in their nation, and their fellow countrymen".

Final Goal - Swaraj

India's liberation from foreign domination was the final goal for Aurobindo. 'Swaraj', i.e., self rule by Indians was not merely of economic and political nature. It was necessary for India to perform its spiritual mission dedicated to the upliftment of humanity. He advocated independence for India for the following reasons:

Liberty is the first indispensable condition of rational development intellectual, moral, individual and political-is in itself a necessity of national life. Hence it was worth striving for its own sake.

Secondly, in the process of development of human beings, spiritual and moral advance is more important than material advance. Aurobindo was of the opinion that India with her spiritual development was destined to take the lead for the progress of the world and for this reason too India must be free.

India must have swaraj to live well and happily. For this Indians should not live as slaves but as free people to work for the spiritual and intellectual benefit of the human race.

The concept of nationalism which dominated his thought and activity in the early phase was just a stepping stone to move in the direction of the unity of humankind. This unity of humankind was regarded by him as a part of nature's eventual scheme and as the inevitable goal of human development. (This point is discussed in detail in Section 10.5). To achieve this goal of national independence, he explained the methods to be followed. We shall see in detail his plan of political action which he advocated in his very brief association with political activity.

Positive Programme of Political Action

In 1906, Aurobindo left his job at Baroda and plunged into active politics. It is at this stage that he thought and wrote about the political techniques to be adopted against the British. The theoretical base of the political course of action that he suggested was twofold. Complete freedom from British domination was his ultimate goal and this he believed, could not be achieved by appeals to the charity of foreign masters, but by channelising the unlimited reserved strength of millions of Indians.

According to Aurobindo, this limitless reservoir of inner strength and power of the people could be channelized through different kinds of political actions; viz., 1) through secret revolutionary propaganda by setting up the revolutionary organization. The object of this action was to prepare for an armed insurrection. 2) Secondly, continuous propaganda against foreign rule through writings, speeches, public contacts etc. This was regarded by many at that time as an impossible scheme because in their opinion the British Empire was too strong to be destabilized through such techniques. 3) Thirdly, mobilizing the masses through various organizations to carry an open and total opposition to foreign rule through methods of noncooperation and passive resistance.

Aurobindo tried all the three methods. Even when he was at Baroda, he had contacts with the revolutionary organizations in Bengal as well as Maharashtra. He tried to establish secret groups through his Bengali contacts in the Baroda Army. At the same time, he developed contacts with radical Congress. Leaders like Tilak and cooperated with him to reduce the

influence of moderates on the organization. In the situation of political turmoil following the partition of Bengal, he organized and propagated methods of passive resistance.

His advocacy of the method of passive resistance was the result of his disillusionment with the constitutional methods of moderate leaders. He was opposed to methods like passing resolutions, sending petitions, and entering into negotiations with British rulers. Instead, he advocated methods like 'boycott' of foreign goods ' non-cooperation with the rulers etc. These were, according to him, the methods most suitable at the time since Indians were faced with rulers who were oppressive and insensitive to the demands of the people.

Thus, the measures he advocated were not moral or spiritual but very practical political measures. He did not reject the use of force in the application of these methods. Violence was not taboo for Aurobindo. The use of force and violence was justified, if circumstances demanded them. Here lies the difference between Gandhiji's method of civil resistance and Aurobindo's method of passive resistance. Gandhiji regarded violence as unethical and hence, harmful and undesirable. He also regarded it as tainted by moral cowardice and as incompatible with the end for which it could be used. But for Aurobindo passive resistance was a comprehensive programme of national regeneration.

Programme of Action

The boycott was the keyword in the programme of action proposed to resist the high-handedness and oppressive measures employed by the British rulers. 'Boycott' in this context means an act of organised refusal to do anything which shall help or assist the British officialdom in the administration of it. This non-cooperation was to continue as long as the aspirations of the people remained unfulfilled. The object of putting this method of 'boycott' on the forefront of the programme was to make the administration under present conditions impossible. The main target of the 'boycott' was British goods since economic exploitation by the British rulers was to be stopped forthwith. Aurobindo believed that if this was done, the empire would collapse in consequence.

The boycott of the British system of education was another part of the programme. This system was found to be anti-national as well as faulty in its very foundations. It was completely controlled by the government and was used by foreign rulers to inculcate loyalty to them and

discouraged patriotism and the national spirit. This programme included a boycott of government-run schools and colleges and sought to establish national education institutions and a system directed towards creating awareness about the problems of the country, love for the nation and mental preparedness among the youth of the country to fight against the dominance of alien power.

It also advocated a boycott of the British judicial system. The system was regarded as partial, costly, frequently subordinated to the political objects of the rulers and ruinous as far as the people of this country were concerned. The administration of justice was criticized for being bureaucratic in nature. Finally, this programme included a boycott of the administration. The executive/ administrative machinery was regarded as ruthless, repressive, arbitrary, riddling and inquisitorial in character. The objective of the boycott was to reduce the administrative machinery to a mere skeleton so that it would be useless for the rulers in their efforts to exploit and harass the helpless masses of this country.

Aurobindo was well aware of the importance of orderliness and discipline for a nation. When he advocated boycotts, he also advocated alternative arrangements to replace the existing system. He regarded this programme as a scheme of self-development and believed that if the people were firm in enforcing these methods, British rule could be ended within no time.

Unit – III

Ramabai – Gender and Caste

Pandita Ramabai was born on 23rd April 1858 in South Karnataka, a state in South West India, where her father, Anantshastri Dongre had built an ashram, a residential school for the Sanskrit education of Brahmin boys, in the middle of the forest. In presenting Ramabai's life we cannot ignore the legacy of her father, whose unconventional and eventful life definitely influenced his daughter's future choices and mindset and, in order to understand Pandita's future activities, I will briefly cite some biographical information about her father. Anant Shastri Dongre was born in a Chitpavan Brahmin family but expressed a nonconformist attitude towards his caste and its rules. Anant was trained as a Sanskrit scholar by Ramchandrashastri Sathe, the teacher of the last Peshwa of the Maratha Empire, Bajirao II, who ruled in Pune from 1795 to 1818, when he surrendered to the British after the Third Anglo-Maratha War 10. During his years at Pune, Dongre heard Varanasi Bai, the Peshwa's wife, reciting Sanskrit verses in the Peshwa's palace, an event which was breaking all the caste rules as custom forbade women even the basic literacy in Marathi, above all the knowledge of Sanskrit, the "divine language" which was reserved only for Brahmin men. This fact deeply impressed the young Anant, arousing a desire for reform in women's education, which would be eventually carried out by his daughter some years later. When in 1818 Bajirao II lost his political power, Anant came back to his home in Mangalore District and tried to teach Sanskrit to his first wife, an attempt which immediately failed because of the hostilities of the conservative members of the family. She was the daughter of another travelling Brahmana pilgrim who was looking for husbands for his two daughters. Such marriage with a huge age gap was not uncommon in that society where Brahmin girls were obliged to get married before puberty and widowers could remarry even late in life, while widows, of any age, were strictly forbidden to get married again, even if they were child widows. Ramabai presents, without any specific references, her parents' marriage in her work *The High-Caste Hindu Woman*, in chapter 3 titled "Married life"; here she makes a critical comment regarding the event, concluding the narration underlining the positive aspect that the young girl was in good hands but criticizing the careless conduct of the bride's father who wanted to settle his young daughter without even care about her future fate. Anant's ground-breaking decision to educate his young bride caused a strong confrontation with both the family and the community,

and the regional head of his regional sect accused him of heresy but the Sanskrit scholar was able to defend his position in front of an assembly of about 400 priests and scholars, whom he succeeded to persuade about the need to democratizing sacred learning. He had collected all his arguments about this topic in a volume, which also contained a lot of quotations from various Sanskrit religious texts, which proved that women and Shudras could learn Sanskrit but not study the Veda, the earliest sacred literature of India. Unfortunately, Ramabai was never able to have access to it.

Anantshastri, tired of the pressures of his community, decided to move to a quieter place where he could carry on his scholarly activities and Lakshmibai's education so, in 1844 the family moved to the Gangamul forest, within the Mangalore District of Karnataka in Southern India, where their youngest daughter, Pandita was born in 1858. In this wild site, as previously said, Anantshastri had founded an ashram, which functioned as a residential school for 13 years. Once the financial support for the family and the school ended, Anant, Lakshmibai and their three children, among them baby Rama, who was only six months, took up a pilgrimage all over the most important holy sites of the country. Here they performed as puranikas, public narrators of the Sanskrit Puranas, the traditional texts which combined mythology and philosophy, that were recited for wide audiences in the local languages, who then gifted the performers with various presents. This was the only accepted form of earning a living for Brahmins, as they were not allowed, by tradition, to do any manual work. The family's financial situation got gradually worse during the long years of pilgrimages, as Ramabai's father performed expensive religious rituals and observances, also ruining his health and gifted Brahmins with generous holy presents. Ramabai herself will then criticize these meaningless customs and rituals.

Belonging to the Hindu tradition in her first published work *Sri Dharma Niti* (Morals for Women 1882), she makes references to her older brother Srinivas-Shastri, who wasted much of his money in following the foolish and expensive rituals of Brahmins. Despite her later criticism as far as regards her father's orthodox thinking, she will always appreciate two important and progressive aspects of his thought: his insistence on giving his daughters education and his decision not to arrange a child marriage for Ramabai, due to the sad failure of his older daughter Krishnabai's child marriage. The first task was carried out by Ramabai's mother because of the old age of her father when she was ready to start learning Sanskrit; as a matter of fact, when

Pandita was eight, her father was almost 70. The kind of education the young girl was given consisted mainly in memorising thousands of lines of the Sanskrit texts, because of the lack of printed books, as well as learning by heart the vocabulary, grammar, and other references. Ramabai and her brother Shrinivas, after the multiple losses, went on travelling to various pilgrimage sites, continuing to suffer from extreme hardships because of the frigid winter temperatures which obliged the two siblings to bury themselves up to the neck in the sand of the bank of the river Jelhum, to survive the cold weather as they did not have any warm clothes. Her unconventional upbringing and the unusual absence of early marriage, helped Ramabai to forget her own personality, escaping the rigid gender code, and giving her the chance to enter the public sphere as a public preacher, a quality which would eventually help her to join the field of social reform, commonly dominated by men, without any particular hesitation. The fundamental role played by religion and conscience, considered the only moral guide since her childhood will then explain her constant spiritual quest, her intellectual curiosity and her confrontation with rigid dogmatic truths; moreover, her strong and individualistic personality is definitely the result of the physical sufferings she was able to overcome during the difficult years of the pilgrimages with her family. The two siblings' visit to Calcutta in 1878 introduced them to the cultural and intellectual elite, who welcomed them and praised Ramabai's knowledge of the Sanskrit language and texts; she was later examined by a group of Sanskrit scholars who awarded her the titles of Pandita (woman scholar) and "Saraswati" (Goddess of Learning). During her period in the Bengal Presidency, Pandita was asked to give both public lectures on women and private speeches for women in their homes, in particular on female emancipation and women's education and her main sources were the Hindu texts and mythology. She was also introduced to the Brahma Samaj, a monotheistic socio-religious reform group which was concerned with the issue of women's education. Furthermore, it was during her stay in Bengal that Ramabai had her first encounter with Christianity, as she was invited to attend a Christian service, an episode described in her spiritual memoir *A Testimony*, but this event did not impress her much neither did the Sanskrit Bible which she was gifted during this religious gathering and which she attempted to read later, without understanding much because she found the language and the teachings very different from Sanskrit literature. The advice she was given by one of the leading Brahma reformers, Keshub Chandra Sen, to study the Vedas, which she thought were forbidden texts for women, started to arouse many doubts as regards her orthodox Hindu beliefs, and after

reading the Upanishads, the Vedanta and the Veda, she felt a general dissatisfaction with her religion. In this same period, Pandita was asked to give Purdah women some lessons on women's duty according to the Shastras, the books containing the precepts, norms and teachings on various disciplines and subjects. The reading of these texts, in particular of the Dharma shastras, treatises on duties, responsibilities and ethics in the personal, domestic and social fields, grew the young Pandita's awareness with regards to the strict limitations and the degrading treatment of women and the low castes.

Her increasing sense of alienation and distance from the religious structure of Brahmanic Hinduism, was deepened by the sudden death of her brother Shrinivas, on 15th May 1880 following a sudden illness which resulted to be fatal because of his weak health, severely proven by years of fatigues. Ramabai, who was 22 at the time, was completely alone in the world, homeless and without any economic support; she decided then to accept Shrinivas's friend's marriage proposal and the couple got married on 13th June 1880 according to the Civil Marriage Act so they did not have a religious wedding. Her husband, Babu Bipin Behari Das Medhavi, a Bengal lawyer, belonged to a different caste as he was a non-Brahmin and he was active in the Brahmo Samaji circle, the Hindu monotheistic sect, which Ramabai herself supported at the time. This inter-caste marriage, which marked an overt break with tradition, did not find the support of the groom's family, who tried to ostracize the young couple. Nevertheless, Pandita and her husband led a happy, independent life at Silchar in Assam, in the Bengal Presidency and, on 16th April 1881, they welcomed their only daughter, Manorama.

After less than two years of marriage, her husband Bipin died from cholera on 4th February 1882 and the young widow was left, once again, all alone with a baby daughter and without any financial support. Her late husband's family refused to help her and little Manorama and Ramabai's distant cousin, Anandibai Joshee²⁴, who will later become India's first woman doctor, offered the young widow hospitality but Ramabai did not accept. She was helped by Maharashtrian social reformers, like Justice M.G. Ranade and other reformers belonging to the Prarthana Samaj circle, who wanted Ramabai to join them in promoting and supporting women's education in Maharashtra. Pandita decided then to leave Bengal with Manorama and, after a long journey, she reached Pune in April 1882.

Ramabai's return to western India marked the beginning of her reformist activity and her definite active participation to the social field of her times, especially regarding her work for the improvement of women's condition. Her arrival in Pune was received with a mixed reaction because on the one hand she was immediately welcomed by the Prarthana Samaj's reformists, who considered her as "one of us", as Ramabai Ranade, Justice M.G. Ranade's wife defined her in her autobiography, easily integrating her into the Chitpavan Brahmo community; on the other hand she found the strong criticism of the conservative and orthodox Brahmin community who held extremely rigid positions as far as regards women's place in society. As a matter of fact, according to the patriarchal ideology which pervaded the most orthodox sect of Brahamans, woman's only acceptable roles were those of wife, mother and housewife, relegating in this way her action within the domestic walls, secluded and excluded from any aspects of social life. Child marriage and post pubertal consummation were compulsory, in order to control the girls' sexuality, following the subsequent path of marriage and motherhood.

The most appreciated and valued status for an Indian woman was that of being the wife of a living husband (*saubhagya vati*) and the mother of sons, because being the mother of daughters was, and is still sadly considered a misfortune and a disappointment. Childless women or women with only daughters belonged to a lower status, while the lowest and most miserable one was occupied by widows, especially child widows of childless widows. According to the Hindu customs, a widow had to be identified also by her appearances because she had to wear a simple maroon sari, she could not wear any jewels nor ornaments and she had to repeatedly shave her head as a distinctive sign of permanent mourning, covering it with her sari. Widowhood was considered as a punishment for women for the sins of their previous lives so a widow was a disgrace for a family and she had to survive with little food, she was made to sleep on the floor without any bedding and she had to spend her time performing religious rituals. The double punishments of both the physical disfigurement through head-shaving and the austere living conditions the widow had to endure, These extreme measures were not always successful, as many widows were seduced and abandoned themselves to carnal passion, as it was documented in the newspapers and literature of the 19th century. In order to stem these unhappy consequences a process of rehabilitation for widows was undertaken and it included the possibility for child widows to remarry and the training for adult widows for occupations in the teaching field and others.

Ramabai herself was seen with suspicion by mainstream Maharashtra because of her unconventional past, which was still obscure, especially regarding her single status until she was 22, about which there were many speculations circulating at the time. Furthermore, she was accused, with harsh criticism, by the Brahmin women in Pune, to have married a “Bengali Babu”, being incapable of leading an acceptable and proper domestic life and having “come to defile the world”²⁵ with her unorthodox behaviour. Perhaps the most relevant impediment for Pandita to be completely accepted and absorbed into the Maharashtrian Brahmin community was her break from Hindu tradition in her stubborn but determined rejection of the traditional confinement for widows into the domestic sphere.

Despite her unconventional behaviour, she respected the Brahmin rules for her clothing and appearance because she followed the typical norms for Bengal widows and wore white for the rest of her life and kept her hair short. Her position on the reform movement proved to be difficult and challenging because it was an entirely male project; the rigid and pervading patriarchal structure of Indian society made it impossible to introduce a radical gender egalitarian change, as the promotion of women’s education was merely seen as an opportunity to make women better wives for the English-educated men, who needed more brilliant and enlightened partners. Being the social field completely controlled by male hegemony, the issue of women’s emancipation was merely considered as an investment in this male-centred society, rather than an actual revolution towards a real gender equality.

Pandita’s actual reform career started with the setting up of the first organization for women in Maharashtra, called Arya Mahila Samaj (Arya Women’s Society) on 1st June 1882 in Pune, whose aim was to lead women’s emancipation, discussing and changing some oppressive customs like child marriage, the cruel treatment of child widows and widows in general, the lack of education for women and their marginalization and exclusion from the social discourse. The members of the association, which later would open other branches in various cities of the region, had equal rights and they were asked to dedicate to public causes with impartiality and no prejudices. The meetings of the association mainly consisted in weekly lectures on various topics concerning women’s issues and the creation of a support network for women. This incredible first attempt, promoted by a woman, to discuss with women about social reforms concerning their situation was revolutionary because it aimed at arousing the active participation of female

subjects in Hindu society, giving them voice and letting them stepping in as subjects and agents of the reform, rather than simply objects and passive and silent recipients of male reformist bias. Ramabai's reception was mixed as her new social enterprise was welcomed by liberal figures like Ranade, but it also received strong criticism and by Professor B.G. Tilak, the editor of *The Maharatta* at the time, and his faction. He showed an increasing social conservatism and he will be one of Ramabai's harshest critics and opponents throughout her long career in the social field. In the famous Maharathi weekly newspaper *Kesari*, in the issue of 8th August 1882, Tilak criticised Pandita's imprudence in entering an exclusively male domain, the one of social reform, warning the young woman about her role and her space.

Tilak would continually criticise Ramabai's position in the reforming field, considering her words, works and actions very dangerous for women's situation in India and he even wrote a really offensive and vicious article about Pandita in 1904, which she never replied back to. With the *Arya Mahila Samaj*, Pandita wanted, through her speeches, to raise women's awareness about their unhappy domestic and social conditions, exhorting them to free themselves from male oppression. Brahman men, but also women disregarded and criticised Ramabai's unorthodox words and alienated her from their social elite, despite being a Brahmin woman herself. Unfortunately, the social experiment of *Arya Mahila Samaj* did not find the actual support it needed to flourish and imposing itself as the cradle of the first feminist movement in western India, because it lacked the help of the reformist women, who did not have enough space to emerge at the time and did not have the courage to break the chains of men's domination.

In June 1882 Pandita published her first Marathi book, titled *Stri Dharma Niti*, translated in English as 'Morals for Women', which she dedicated to her late beloved husband and to her fellow country women. In this book, Pandita surprisingly adopted the position of a male reformer, inviting women to self-cultivation, as far as regards their moral conduct, domestic abilities and their education, in their social roles of wives and mothers; she also gave some pieces of advice on how to prepare for marriage and to become a good wife and a good mother.

In the first edition of the book, Pandita describes the sad condition of women in her country, underlining how their total lack of education and the desperate condition of ignorance prevents them to improve their situation. One of the main reasons for Indian women's ignorance in morality and conduct has to be found in the fact that they did not know the shastras as they

were written in a very difficult Sanskrit language, which made them inaccessible for illiterate women. 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 the objective of counselling helpless and ignorant women.

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'.

Further, her compassion for her fellow suffering humans, made her 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, and developed numerous industrial training centers 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 take care of their own financial needs and again be useful citizens in society.

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 for 12 years translating the Bible from 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 sociopolitical role in contemporary society paid off in due course.

Gandhiji – Swaraj and Satyagraha:

Gandhi put forward his political ideas in several of his speeches and writings, the most notable of which is the booklet, 'Hind Swaraj', which he wrote in Gujarati on board S.S. Kildonan Castle during his return voyage from London to South Africa in 1909. It was first published in two parts in Indian Opinion, a weekly edited and published by Gandhi and it refers to Indian anarchists living in London. The Indian anarchists stood for using terrorist methods against the foreign rulers of India. Once freed from foreign rule, India, according to the anarchists, was to pursue the same Western model of modernity. Gandhi's objective in writing Hind Swaraj was to condemn both the cult of violence and the claims of superiority of modern civilisation.

Gandhi, Extremists and British Colonialism As we have seen in the previous sections, Gandhi agreed with those extremists who denied the cultural or moral superiority of the modern Western civilisation. But he disagreed with their reactionary and revivalist attitude towards the Indian tradition. He also rejected their methods of terrorism or violence. The terrorist or violent methods, he said, will not take India on to the path of real swaraj or true civilisation. With regard to the reactionary or revivalist attitude of the extremists towards Indian tradition, Gandhi maintained that while the idea of, and tendency towards, ahimsa and true civilisation is indeed contained in Indian tradition, that tradition too has in the course of history, strayed off the path of ahimsa and true civilisation. Gandhi wrote; "There are two aspects of Hinduism. There is, on the one hand, historical Hinduism with its untouchability, superstitious worship of rocks and stones, animal sacrifice and so on. On the other, we have the Hinduism of the Gita, the Upanishads and Patanjali's Yoga Sutra which is the acme of ahimsa and oneness of all creation, pure worship of one immanent, formless imperishable God." Given the deviation of Indian tradition from the ideal of true civilisation, Gandhi told his countrymen that "to blame the English is useless, that

they came because of us, and remain also for the same reason, and that they will either go or change their nature only when we reform ourselves." In particular, he emphasised the need to overcome "our inveterate selfishness, our inability to make sacrifices for the country, our dishonesty, our timidity, our hypocrisy and our ignorance." His own theory of swaraj and praxis of satyagraha, he said, was meant to bring about the truly civilised conduct of both the Indians and their colonisers. In other words, he aimed to bring about both the decolonisation of the colonised and the recivilising of the colonisers.

Gandhi, Moderates and British Colonialism While Gandhi agreed with the moderates in their condemnation of the imperialist drain of India's economy, he differed from their appreciation of the so-called cultural superiority of modern civilisation represented by Britain. In his *Hind Swaraj*, he condemned modern civilisation as the "reverse" of what he took to be the true civilisation, which he defined as good conduct or the performance of one's moral duties towards others. Rating the civilisational status of nations in these terms (i.e. in terms of good conduct or moral duties), he wrote that the Englishmen who have come to rule over India were "not good specimens of the English nation" just as the half-Anglicized Indians were not good specimens of the real Indian nation.

Gandhi on Swaraj 1 'The swaraj of his conception, he affirmed, was not a conception of "England", i.e. the English rule without the Englishman." His conception of true swaraj and true civilisation, he clarified, was derived not from the works of such modernist thinkers as Spencer, Mill or Adam Smith, but from the perennial wisdom of Indian thought and from such non-modernist Western thinkers as Tolstoy, Ruskin and Thoreau. 'From the tradition of Indian thought, Gandhi derived the cognitive-evaluative principles of satya (truth) and ahimsa (non-violence or love towards others), which he says should inform our political, economic, scientific and technological activities. In his autobiography, entitled 'The Story of My Experiments with Truth', he wrote: For me, Truth is the sovereign principle, which includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle that is God. According to Gandhi, when our conduct is informed and governed by satya and ahimsa, it becomes dharmic conduct, which would respect the unity of life and exclude all exploitation.

Western Influences on Gandhi Gandhi's critique of modern civilisation was influenced by the writings of some Western romantic thinkers. Edward Carpenter's *Civilisation: Its Cause and Cure* greatly influenced Gandhi's critical attitude towards modern science and medicine. Similarly, Leo Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is within You* exerted a tremendous influence on Gandhi's views on the repressive character of the modern state and his commitment to non-violent resistance. Gandhi acknowledged that reading Tolstoy made him realise the "infinite possibilities of universal love" and made him a "firm believer in ahimsa". Gandhi and Tolstoy corresponded with each other. In his last letter to Gandhi, Tolstoy wrote that the former's satyagraha movement in South Africa was a new mode of emancipatory struggle by the oppressed. Gandhi's activity in Transvaal seemed to Tolstoy to be "the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world." Gandhi was also influenced by Henry David Thoreau's writings. In Thoreau's essay, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience", Gandhi found confirmation of his views on the coercive features of the state on the individual's obligation to his own conscience. "From Thoreau and Ruskin". Gandhi wrote "I could find out arguments in favour of our fight." John Ruskin's *Unto This Last* was yet another source of inspiration for Gandhi. Ruskin's moralistic critique of the so-called science of the political economy of self-interest brought about "an instantaneous and practical transformation" of Gandhi's life. He translated Ruskin's book, entitling it *Sarvodaya*. From it, Gandhi learned three lessons, viz. (i) that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all, (ii) that a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work; and (iii) that a life of labour, i.e. the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman is the life worth living

Meaning of True Civilization In *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi defines true civilization as follows: Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions.. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means "good conduct". .

Swaraj or Participatory Democracy In place of centralised, representative government, the swaraj of the masses would mean a system of decentralised participatory democracy. "True democracy," Gandhi wrote, "cannot be worked by twenty men sitting at the Centre. It has to be

worked from below by the people of every village." In fact, Gandhi likened the swarajist social set-up to an "oceanic circle" of village republic. He writes: In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening, never-ascending circles. Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be an oceanic circle whose centre will be the individual always ready to perish for the village, the latter ready to perish for the circle of villages, till at last the whole becomes one life composed of individuals, never aggressive in their arrogance but ever humble, sharing the majesty of the oceanic circle of which they are integral units.

Swaraj and Freedom Gandhi also spoke of swaraj in terms of "freedom for the meanest of our countrymen" and "the welfare of the whole people." In practical terms, this would mean, he said, "truthful relations between Hindus and Mussalmans, bread for the masses and removal of untouchability." "Hind Swaraj", he said in 1931, "is the rule of all the people, is the rule of justice.

Purna Swaraj According to Gandhi, under swaraj, the people would "shun the evils of capital" and would strive to attain "a juster distribution of the products of labour." Swaraj, he said, will not be purna swaraj until the poor are enabled to enjoy the necessities and amenities of life" in common with those enjoyed by the princes and the monied men." He defined purna swaraj as that swaraj which is "as much for the prince as for the peasant, as much for the rich land owner as for the landless tiller of the soil, as much for the Hindus as for the Mussalmans ...". Purna swaraj, thus understood, merges into sarvodaya, which is the topic of the next unit of this course.

Gandhi Raj Gandhi gave a more comprehensive description of his revised views on modern civilisation and swaraj in the following comments he made on a leaflet which had caricatured Hind Swaraj as "Gandhi-Raj":

"Gandhi-Raj" is an ideal condition ... but under swaraj nobody ever dreams, certainly I do not dream, of no railways, no hospitals, no machinery, no army and navy, no laws and no law-courts. On the contrary, there will be railways; only they will not be intended for military or for the economic exploitation of India, but they will be used for promoting internal trade and will make the lives of third-class passengers fairly comfortable ... Nobody anticipates complete absence of diseases during swaraj: there will therefore certainly be hospitals, but one hopes that

the hospitals will then be intended more for those who suffer from accidents than from self-indulgence. Machinery there certainly will be in the shape of a spinning wheel, which is after all a delicate piece of machinery, but I have no doubt that several factories will grow up in India under swaraj intended for the benefit of the people, not as now for draining the masses dry. I do not know of the navy, but I do know that the army of India of the future will not consist of hirelings to be utilized for keeping India under subjection and for depriving other nationals of their liberty, but it would be largely cut down will consist largely of volunteers and will be utilized for policing India. There will be law and law courts also under swaraj, but they will be custodians of the people's liberty, not as they now are instruments in the hands of a bureaucracy which has emasculated and is intent upon further emasculating a whole nation. Lastly, whilst it will be, optional for everybody who chooses to go about in a langoti and sleep in the open, let me hope that it will not be necessary, as it is today, for millions to go about with a dirty rag which serves for a langoti for want of the means to buy sufficient clothing and to rest their weary and starved bodies in the open for want of a roof. It is not right therefore to tear some ideas expressed in Indian Home Rule from their proper setting, caricature them and put them before the people as if I was preaching these ideas for anybody's acceptance.

SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha is Gandhi's supreme contribution to political thought and praxis. It is a way of moral-political action for attaining swaraj and for resolving basic social conflicts. As Bondurant has pointed out, satyagraha became "something more than a method of resistance to particular legal norms; it became an instrument of struggle for positive objectives and for fundamental change." In his book on satyagraha, entitled *War Without Violence*, Krishnalal Sridharani has defined it as "non-violent direct action."

Early Experiments Gandhi first used the technique of satyagraha during the resistance of the Indian workers of South Africa against the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance of 1906. At that time, the movement was called "passive resistance", which later on was changed to satyagraha. In India, Gandhi led hundreds of group satyagraha movements, or campaigns, some notable ones being those of Champaran, Ahmedabad, Vaikom, Barodoli and Kheda.

The term satyagraha means "holding fast to truth", or "adherence to truth". Explaining why he chose satyagraha as the name for his resistance movement in South Africa, Gandhi wrote

: "Truth (satya) implies love, and firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore saves as a Aynonym for force. Thus he began to call the Indian movement satyagraha, that is to say, the force which is born of truth and love or non-violence." In Hind Swaraj, Gandhi distinguished between body-force = brute force = the force of arms-soul force = love-force = truth-force. He referred to the former as the method of violence, which he said is celebrated in and by modern civilisation. Satyagraha, he said, relies on soul-force or truth-force and is appropriate to swaraj. He wrote in Hind Swaraj as follows: Satyagraha is referred to in English as passive resistance. Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering; it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soulforce. For instance, the Government of the day has passed a law which is applicable to me. I do not like it. If by using violence I force the Government to repeal the law, I am employing what may be termed body-force. If I do not obey the law and accept the penalty for its breach, I use soul-force. It involves sacrifice of self.

Satyagraha, Gandhi said was both a practically necessary and morally desirable mode of political action for Indian swaraj. He said that since the "English are splendidly armed", it would take many, many years for the Indians to arm themselves in a matching or effective manner. More than this practical difficulty, Gandhi disapproved of the moral civilizational consequences of Indian Freedom Movement'> adopting the method of violence. He pointed out that "to arm India on a large scale is to Europeanise it" or, in other words, to continue to be reduced by the morally flawed modern European civilization

Ahimsa and Satyagrah

By ahimsa, Gandhi did not mean merely non-injury to others. That would be a more negative or passive connotation of ahimsa which has also a positive or active meaning, namely, love or charity. Gandhi writes: In its negative form it (ahimsa) means not injuring any living being whether in body or mind. I may not, therefore, hurt the person of any wrong-doer or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. In its positive form, ahimsa means the largest love, the greatest charity. If I am a follower of ahimsa, I must love my enemy or a stranger to me as I would my wrong-doing father or bon. This active ahimsa necessarily includes truth and fearlessness. In the light of what has been said earlier, we may conclude that for Gandhi, action based on the refusal to do harm to others is a negative test of moral or practical

truth. Its positive test is action meant to promote the welfare of others. Our desires and motives may be divided into two classes—selfish and unselfish. All selfish desires are immoral, while the desire to improve ourselves for the sake of doing good to others is truly moral ... The highest moral law is that we should unremittently work for the good of mankind.

A third element is **Tapas** (self-suffering). Action based on love toward others, we saw earlier, is a positive test of truth. From this Gandhi goes on to say that tapas or self-suffering is the test of such love. Suffering injury in one's own person, writes Gandhi, "is ... the essence of non-violence and is the chosen substitute for violence to others. Self-suffering by satyagrahis, it must be understood, is not out of their cowardice or weakness; it is based on a higher form of courage than that of those who resort to violence and it is meant to aid in the moral persuasion of one's opponents or oppressors. In the satyagraha mode of conflict resolution, self-suffering plays a complementary role to that of reasoning. Persuading others through reasoning is indeed the essence of satyagraha. But 'satyagraha recognises the limits of reason in resolving fundamental social, religious, political or ideological conflict, in which a rational consensus may not be easily or quickly forthcoming. In fact, Gandhi insisted that the direct action techniques of satyagraha are to be resorted to only after employing the usual processes or reasoning with the opponents or oppressors and only for securing their rational consent or conversion.

He writes: Since satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to satyagraha. He will, therefore, constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinion, educate public opinion, state his case calmly and coolly before everybody who wants to listen to him; and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to satyagraha.

In a satyagraha campaign, the contested truth of a social "system" or norm is sought to be validated through three steps: (1) persuading the opponents through reasoning and being open to, and inviting the counter-persuasive efforts of the opponents; (2) appealing to the opponents through the self-suffering of the satyagrahis; and (3) non-cooperation and civil disobedience. The various methods of satyagraha are: (1) purificatory or penitential actions by the satyagrahis, such as pledges, prayers, and fasts; (2) acts of non-cooperation, such as boycott, strikes, hartal, and the like; (3) acts of civil disobedience, such as picketing, non-payment of taxes, and defiance of specific laws; and (4) works or

constructive programme, such as the promotion of intercommunal unity, the removal of untouchability, adult education, and the removal of economic and social inequalities. At each stage of the programme, the satyagrahis, while holding on to the truth as they see it, assume their own fallibility and give the opponents every chance to prove that the satyagrahi's position is erroneous. Satyagraha "excludes the use of violence because man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and therefore not competent to punish." The ideal to be kept in mind is that of a self-regulated society of communitarian truth, in which every one "rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour".

"The claim for satyagraha", writes Joan Bondurant, "is that through the operation of non-violent action the truth as judged by the fulfilment of human needs will emerge in the form of a mutually satisfactory and agreed-upon solution." Hence the important operative principles to be observed by the satyagrahis are the admission of truths as relative, non-violence and toleration, and the self-suffering of the satyagrahis. People's conceptions of true interests and just laws differ. That is the main reason why violence is eliminated and a Satyagrahi gives his opponent the same right of independence and feelings of liberty that he reserves to himself and he will fight by inflicting injuries on his person. Evolution of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents, or having listened. Make fun of them. If intolerance becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. Whilst, with the limits that nature has put on our understanding, we must act fearlessly according to the light vouchsafed to us, we must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be truth was, after all, untruth.

Jinnah – Liberal constitution, and Islam

The creation of Pakistan was based on the ideology of Islam which provided authority to the leadership and established a massive Islamic sympathy transcending the political, economic and social realms. There is a great deal of difference between Jinnah's idea of Pakistan as a state and the shape it took later. Brought up in a Western environment, Islamic religious orthodoxy never appealed to Jinnah. He, therefore, confined his idea of Pakistan to a picture of the fundamental principles of Islam based on liberal ideology. The political elites believed that in the course of time, the introduction of liberal democracy would marginalize the fundamentalist

elements represented by the Jamaat-i-Islami and other Islamic parties. However, the irony is, "...some expect it to appear as soon as religious faith is circumscribed or dropped.

" Islam proved to be a powerful instrument in the hands of politicians in a time of "uncertainty and confusion over the *raison d'être* of Pakistani society and the goal it had meant to pursue." Feudalism and economic disparity undermined the liberal political system which the elites wanted to establish. After the creation of Pakistan, the form of its state structure was debated. The nature of the state, including its ideology, was discussed. Since religion had played an important role in the creation of Pakistan, the role of religion in the context of an independent Pakistan assumed significance. Jinnah, from the very beginning of the state, made it clear that Pakistan was not going to be a theocratic state ruled by religious priests. Advocating equal citizenship to all communities and hinting at religious freedom which would set free any kind of religious identity, in his opening address to the Constituent Assembly, he said "...in the course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus, and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is the personal faith of the individual, but in the political sense as citizens of one nation."

While framing the Constitution of Pakistan, a debate ensued in the Constituent Assembly regarding the form of the Constitution and its Islamic content. The unitary formula of the state was approved by stating that it is in accordance with Islam. Moreover, the political elites of Pakistan, comprising the Muslim middle Class, feudal lords and bureaucratic elites, were not in favour of an Islamic state: rather they wanted to confine the role of Islam to cultural identity. This is due to the fact that "the system of education under which they were educated made them familiar with only the Western type of democracy based on the principle of separation of religion from politics...Their position was subsequently strengthened by Pakistan's alignment and dependence on the West in economic and defense matters."

Another interesting fact about the movement for Pakistan is that it was not supported by religious group, who went to the extent of declaring Jinnah a kafir (infidel). After the creation of Pakistan, the ulema (Muslim Scholars) lacked credibility due to their known opposition to the creation of Pakistan. Hence, to prove their credentials and commitment to Islam, they tried to press for the Shariat to be the basis of the Constitution. The demand became more convincing because "the very ideology of Muslim nationalism, howsoever ambiguously formulated and

wrapped in populist terminology, contained immanently a religious character." Jinnah was not willing to allow religion to have pre-eminence in the Constitution.

Thus, immediately after his death, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan formed a committee of the ulema (Muslim Scholars) to decide the Islamic guidelines for Pakistan's Constitution."

The Jamaat-i-Islami led by Maulana Mohammad Maudoodi and other religious parties played an important role in giving an Islamic orientation to Pakistani policy through the Objectives Resolution. In the 1970 elections, Pakistan's Peoples Party (PPP) fought the election on the plank of anti-Indianism (nationalism?) and economic issues rather than any religious issue. Prime Minister Z.A. Bhutto declared that the question of Islam in the political context of Pakistan is irrelevant because both the exploiters and the exploited are Muslims. Bhutto slowly changed his mind from socialism due to domestic compulsions and pursued Islamic idioms. Being unable to fulfil its poll commitments, his party, the PPP gave in to cheap populism. Moreover, relegating Islamic feelings to the background was not appreciated by his political opponents like the Muslim League or the Jamaat-i-Islami.

Thus he used the term "Islamic socialism" to gain political legitimacy. Bhutto emphasized strengthening Pakistan's ties with the Muslim states of the Middle East and stressed Islamic unity. This heightened the sense of Islamic identity in Pakistan. The orthodox parties taking advantage of Bhutto's failure to conform to their brand of Islam demanded Nizam-i-Mustafa (Golden Age of Mohammad's rule). To please these groups, he passed a law approving minority status for the Ahmediyas, and also allowed enough power to the orthodox parties in the educational institutions to satisfy the radical groups.

In April 1977, Bhutto announced a set of Shariat laws banning horse racing and drinking of alcohol, and declared Friday as the official holiday in conformity with Islamic ideology on July 1, 1977. Due to corruption and his failure to bring about economic changes, nine Opposition parties formed an alliance under the umbrella of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The PPP in its election manifesto used the word Musawat-i-Mohammad which means equality of Mohammad and Islami Musawat (Islamic equality). Other things which were promised included the teaching of the Holy Quran, an integral part and a centre of community life, establishing a federal ulema academy and other institutions and a variety of concessions to Islam.

In spite of this limited experimentation with the tenets of Islam, the election was rigged to ensure the victory of the PPP and, hence, the PNA boycotted the elections. Thus, Islamisation adopted during Bhutto's period can be characterized as a strategy for regime survival. In 1980, compulsory collection of zakat (alms) and ushr was introduced. This required a 2.5 per cent deduction of taxes from the banks and other financial assets of the Non-Muslims and Muslim majority-owned commercial enterprises. The government created zakat committees to distribute this money to needy Muslims and to various religious organizations. This founded the sectarian difference which otherwise had remained dormant in the post-British colonial rule phase. Shias strongly criticized the state's role in collecting zakat which according to them is integrally related to the issue of legitimacy. According to the Shia doctrine, only those governments considered to be legitimate successors of the Prophet can claim this legitimacy. President Zia, through Ordinance No. 18 of 1980, made zakat compulsory and replaced the word compulsory collection with a contribution. But due to violent demonstrations, he later exempted the Shias from paying zakat. Thus, the Sunnis started demanding the application of Hanifi law to all Muslims in Pakistan. A substantial amount of funds generated by zakat was distributed through the madrassas largely belonging to the Sunni sects of Deoband, the Ahl-e-Hadith and Barelvi. This funding led to an increase in the madrassas.

Moreover, during his period, through an ordinance, President Zia made the writing of Quranic verse (Kalima) on Ahmediya places of worship a crime. The most controversial among President Zia's Islamisation programmes was the introduction of Hudood Ordinances imposing Islamic penalties for certain offences. The sectarian divide took place under President Zia's regime with the introduction of Hanifi Fiqh. It should be noted here that the Shias are the second largest Muslim religion in Pakistan.

In 1979, the Tehrik-e-Nafaz-e-Fiqh-e-Jafaria (TNFJ) was born and it put forward a six-point demand to the government for the first time on the basis of belief which included a demand for fiqhe-Jafari for the Shias as they believed that Pakistan was becoming Sunni, even Hanifi (a sub-sect among the Sunnis). Simultaneously, the Anjuman Sipah-e-Sahaba (ASS), a close associate of the Jamaat-i-ulema-e-Islam (JUI) representing the Deobandi school came into existence. The Jamaat-e-ulema-Pakistan (JUP) represented the Barelvi school. President Zia had established a Council of Islamic Ideology whose task was to formulate a plan of governance

based on Islamic principles, consistent with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. On August 27, 1983, the Council announced that a Presidential form of government was in the interest of Islam and recommended the formation of a Majlis-i-Aata for Islamic Affairs (highest council), a Majlis-i-Shoora, a representative Majlis for minorities from among non-Muslims. The President was to be "the Head of State, a true Muslim, at least 40 years of age, physically and mentally fit and knowledgeable in Islamic matters."

All these imply that the recommendations were tailor-made for Zia. In 1985, President Gen Zia decided to make the Objectives Resolution which is the Preamble, an operative part of the Constitution, through the 8th Amendment. This also amended Article 270-A which reads "All other laws made in between the 5th of July, 1977 and the date on which this article came into force...shall not be called into question in any court on any ground whatsoever." From the sentence in the Preamble which reads, "Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities (freely) to profess and practice their religion and develop their culture," President Zia removed the term "freely."

The same provision has been continued by the successive governments. President Zia introduced separate electorates in 1985, alienating the minorities (Christians and Hindus). All these measures widened the gulf between different religion, sects and communities and radicalized the society. Thus, there is no doubt that "Since 1978, probably more houses of worship of non-Muslims Shia Imam Bargas and churches were attacked and destroyed than ever before in Pakistan's history." Reading of the Quran was introduced at the matriculation level in all schools even for minorities. Maktab schools (Islamic Schools) were elevated to the status of regular schools and their certificates were considered equivalent to a Master's degree. An Islamic university was established in Islamabad, funded largely by Saudi Arabia, with that country retaining a say regarding the choice of faculty. In selecting teachers at all levels, knowledge of Islam became essential. In 1981, Pakistan Studies was introduced as a compulsory subject for all degree students. The textbook authors were given directives to guide students towards "the ultimate goal of Pakistan—the creation of a completely Islamized state." Modern textbooks emphasized the formal or ritualistic aspect of Islam and defined the ultimate goal of Pakistan as the creation of a completely Islamized state. The growth of religious school and accordance of state patronage to these can be linked directly to the growth of conservative Islamic thought

which found expression through cultural dikats. This was evident from the madrassas which at the time of partition numbered 137; by 1971, the number had grown to an estimated 893, with a total of 3,186 teachers and 32,384 students.

The following table reflects the steady growth of religious schools in comparison with primary schools during the Fifth to Seventh Plan periods. With the induction of M.K. Junejo as the Prime Minister, the Islamisation process slowed down but was not completely abandoned. In 1988, a Shariat Ordinance was passed, in tune with President Zia's obsession with Islamisation. After President Zia's sudden demise, there was no let up in the Islamisation tendency of the ruling elites to gain legitimacy. Thus, the PPP government under Benazir Bhutto could not completely abandon President Zia's Islamisation legacy with General Ishaque Khan, formerly a key adviser to Zia, as the President of Pakistan, and the Senate hostile to any move to reverse Zia's Islamisation process. Thus, in 1989, a modified version of the 1985 Shariat Bill was passed but it lapsed when the Assemblies were dissolved in 1990. Due to her political vulnerability, Benazir even put the anti-women Hudood laws onto the backburner rather than attempting to repeal them. In 1990, Nawaz Sharif, a protégé of President Zia Ul-Haq and a favourite of the establishment, raked up the Shariat Bill issue to gain legitimacy since the fairness of the 1990 elections was questioned. Moreover, the Jamaat-i-Islami was a coalition partner of Sharif's Islami Jamhoori Ittihad. His government passed the Shariat Bill which was vague in content.

However, certain provisions were in consonance with democratic principles. By enforcing the Shariat Act in 1991, the ruling elites of Pakistan put the principle of democratic election outside the jurisdiction of clerics and also saved interest-related laws which had become extremely controversial.

Hindutva and critique of caste system.

The ideology of 'Hindutva' was essentially the ideology of Hindu nationalism. The first prominent exponent of Hindu nationalist ideology was Mr. V. D. Savarkar. He wrote a book called 'Hindutva' in 1924 to explain the basic principles of Hindu nationalism. In 1925, the R.S.S. or the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh was formed to protect the Hindus from the Muslim 'aggression'. The R.S.S. was established by Dr. Keshav Baliram Hedgewar. In the subsequent period, Savarkar and the R.S.S. propagated the Hindu nationalist ideology against the ideology of the composite Indian nationalism expounded by Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress. Mr. M. S. Golwalkar, who succeeded Hedgewar expounded the Hindu nationalist ideology of the R.S.S. The basic difference between Hinduism and Hindutva is that Hinduism stands for Hindu religion, but Hindutva is a political ideology that wants to establish Hindu nation in India. Hinduism does not have any political agenda, but Hindutva has a specific political agenda.

Political Career of V. D. Savarkar

V. D. Savarkar (1883-1966) was a charismatic leader, who played a significant role in the freedom struggle of India. For his revolutionary activities he was sent to Andamans in 1911 and was brought back to India in 1922. Subsequently, he was kept confined to Ratnagiri town from 1923-1937. During this period, he suffered great hardships and made countless sacrifices in the cause of freedom of the country. There were two phases in the ideological development of Savarkar. In the first phase of his life, he was influenced by the philosophy of the Italian nationalist Joseph Mazzini and supported the concept of the composite Indian nationalism, which was not different from the nationalism of Aurobindo and Tilak. During this period, religion played an important role in his concept of nationalism, but it did not exclude any religious community from it. But in the second phase of his career after 1922-23, Savarkar became the supporter of Hindu nationalism. After his release from the confinement in 1937, he joined the Hindu Mahasabha and became its President from 1938 to 1945.

Savarkar's Views on Social Change

V. D. Savarkar was a product of renaissance in the Western India and in his early days he was influenced by the philosophy of Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, a rationalist philosopher. Agarkar was deeply influenced by the ideas of Herbert Spencer, J. Bentham and J.S.Mill. Savarkar was

not a religious man and throughout his life, he eschewed all religious practices. From the European philosophical tradition, he borrowed three important ideas:

i) In nature and in all human societies, the principle of life struggle determined the course of action because in this life struggle, the fittest survived and those who could not stand the struggle got eliminated.

ii) Violence was in-built in the creation of nature and the nature abhorred absolute non-violence. But due to gradual development of human beings, both violence and non-violence got intertwined. Hence, in this difficult life, man should acquire strength and power to overcome the problems he faced.

iii) There was no absolute morality in the world. Morality or immorality of a particular action was ultimately determined by the factors such as time, space and object. The use of all weapons was desirable provided it was directed against slavery and imperialism. Thus it was relativistic ethics. Savarkar was a supporter of positivist epistemology and accepted the direct evidence of the senses as the only valid source of knowledge. He rejected the sanctity of religious scriptures and maintained that all religious scriptures were man-made and their teaching could not be applied to all societies in all times. He rejected otherworldly philosophy of Shankara and Ramanuja and discounted otherworldly pursuits of man. He held that to secure the progress of the country, to acquire more power and strength and to live good and prosperous life, we must pursue these worldly goals. For that purpose, we must use science and technology. He favoured the pursuit of science and reason and criticised 'irrational and superstitious practices of Hindus. Thus, in Savarkar's theory of social change, the principle of life struggle played an important role. For him, reason, science and technology were important to bring about the change in the society.

V. D. SAVARKAR ON SOCIAL REFORMS

Savarkar was a great supporter of social reforms and he exhorted the Hindus to accept modern practices based on science and reason and reject the religious superstitions and customs which were standing hindrance to the social progress. All the religious scriptures were man-made and they were subject to scrutiny of reason. Due to blind faith in the scriptural authority, the

Hindus became superstitious, fatalist and credulous. This weakened their desire to know more. They neglected science and technology.

Savarkar was a critic of caste system. He held that both 'Chaturvarna' and caste system proved very disastrous for the unity of Hindu society. The 'Chatruvarna' was based not on any scientific criterion, but was a creation of scriptures and age old beliefs. It gave birth to inhuman practice of untouchability. The caste encouraged and institutionalized inequality, divided Hindu society into numerous compartments and sowed the seeds of hostility and hatred among the Hindus. Historically, Hindus constantly faced defeats at the hands of invaders because of the caste system. The untouchability was a distortion and it was wrong to consider any human being as untouchable. It militated against the spirit of human brotherhood. Hindus had developed several shackles that had been keeping them in chains which were based on the principles of purity and impurity. Hindus enslaved women due to these wrong customs. Savarkar wanted the Hindus to reject blind faith in the Vedas and customs and tried to acquire material strength. They should accept the supremacy of machines and technology and break all bonds of blind faith and customs. It was incumbent upon Hindus to weed out all the defects in their society so that they could emerge as a strong nation in the world. For Savarkar, social reforms, rationalism and science were needed for the development of a Hindu society which would enable it to acquire the necessary strength. He said that in modern times, nation was accepted as a viable unit for human beings. In the international politics, conflict and competition was raging between different nations of the world. In the international politics, language of strength was understood. Hence, Hindus should acquire strength through the pursuit of science and technology, so that they could protect their national interest as well as self-interest

HINDU NATIONALISM OF V. D. SAWRKAR

Savarkar was the first systematic exponent of the Hindu nationalism. He elaborately described his theory of Hindutva in his book 'Hindutva' published in 1924. By that time, he had abandoned his concept of Indian nationalism that he borrowed from Joseph Mazzini in favour of Hindu nationalism. In the process of developing his concept of Hindu nationalism, he rejected some of the arguments of territorial nationalism. He held that the existence of a mere territory did not make nation but nation was made by the people who constituted themselves as a political community, bound together by cultural affinities and traditions.

Hindutva as Cultural Nationalism

Savarkar was a supporter of cultural nationalism. He was of the opinion that identity formation was the essence of nationalism. India had received such identity from the Hindu religion. This identity was evolved over a long period of time. Despite having outward differences, the Hindus were internally bound together by cultural, religious, social, linguistic and historical affinities. These affinities were developed through the process of assimilation and association for countless centuries. It moulded the Hindus into a homogeneous and organic nation and above all induced a will toward a common national life. This homogeneity was important because other sections of the society had divergent cultural traditions. Savarkar argued that it was cultural, racial and religious unity that counted more in the formation of the nation. While defining nation, Savarkar wrote that nation meant a political community which had occupied a contiguous and adequate territory and developed an independent national identity. This community was internally organised and bound together by cultural and racial affinities. He held that the Hindus had become a nation because they possessed all these characteristics. Savarkar was of the opinion that Hindus constituted a nation because they had developed close affinities with the land bound by the Himalayas to the Indian Ocean and the Indus River. Hindus considered India as their fatherland and holy land.

Savarkar tried to show that those people constituted a nation that considered India as a fatherland and holy land. In this definition, Savarkar effectively excluded those people who did not consider India as their holy land - because their sacred religious places were not situated in India. For him, Hindu nationalism stood for the unity of all Hindus. For him, Hindu society and not Hindu religion came first; Hindus were a nation because they were a self-enclosed community which was internally organized on the basis of racial, religious and linguistic affinities. The Hindus shared a common historical past Savarkar knew that ultimately, nationalism was a psychological feeling and it was necessary to cultivate national consciousness along the Hindus. The common affinities should be used to strengthen the national consciousness. He wanted Hindus to cultivate the affinities that encouraged national consciousness and undermine the tendencies that divided the Hindu society.

Hindu Nation and Indian State

Savarkar wanted the Hindu nation to be strong and powerful so that India could survive as an independent strong nation in the ferocious life struggle that was going on between different countries of the world. He held that in modern times, nation had been recognized as the only viable political entity and all the societies of the world had been recognized on the basis of nation. Hence, everybody had to think about his national policies in the context of nation only. There was nothing parochial or sectarian about it.

For Savarkar, Hindus as a community, formed nation. Hence, he laid stress on the principle of exclusion. He excluded Muslims and Christians from the Indian nation because they did not consider India as a holy land because their sacred religious places were situated outside India. Hence, he laid emphasis on the difference between Hindus and Muslims. Therefore, He wrote that everything that was common among us weekends out. Resolve to oppose them; Hindus were constantly fighting against Non-Hindus to save their community. Hence, he launched the Shuddhi movement to reconvert the converted Hindus to Hinduism and purge Marathi language of Arabic and Persian words. The Muslims were not assimilated into India, in fact, they tried to absorb Hinduism but they failed in their efforts. The prolonged resistance of the Hindus to Muslim invasions moulded them into a strong and resolute nation. 'What were the rights and positions of minorities in such a Hindu nation? Savarkar held that nation was a cultural category but the state was a political category.

All Hindus were members of the nation. Non-Hindus might not become members of the nation but they were members of the Indian state. He maintained that Hindus did not advance any claims, privileges and rights over and above non-Hindu sections. He wrote, "Let Indian state be purely Indian, and let there be no distinction as far as franchise, public services, offices and taxation on the ground of religion was concerned. Let all citizens of the Indian state be treated equally according to their individual worth irrespective of their racial and religious percentage in the general population." He was ready to concede all rights to the minorities but did not think it necessary to concede the demands of special interests advanced by Muslims. Thus, Savarkar made a distinction between the Indian state and Hindu nation and considered the Hindu nation as a part of the Indian state.

Hindu Nationalism of V. D. Savarkar - A Critical Study Savarkar was the first Indian thinker who declared that Hindus formed separate nation in, India. He stood for a strong Hindu nation which would withstand and survive ferocious life struggle among the nations. He sought to popularise the Hindu nationalism throughout his life with the help of the Hindu Mahasabha. There are obvious tensions and logical inconsistencies in the Hindu nationalism of V. D. Savarkar. He could not properly define the concept of nationalism because Hindus, Muslims and Christians shared common traditions and affinities in India even in the religious field. His advocacy of reason, science and technology was instrumental in the sense that for him they were useful because they helped him forge strong Hindu nation. Reason and science in the West were the culmination of the development of social philosophy which fought against religious prejudices and superstitions. The same could not be used to strengthen the cause of religious nationalism. From that point of view, the use of the word 'reason' was deplorable because rationally speaking the whole of communities could not be excluded from the definition , of the nation on the grounds of loyalty and patriotism because the betrayers of the national interest could come from any community. Also, his distinction between the nation and the state was not convincing because both of them (nation and state) could not be separated and they came together as nation state. He conceded all the citizenship rights to non-Hindus except the membership of the nation. This would definitely create distinctions among the people and destroy national unity. A large section of the society would feel that they were excluded from the national mainstream for no fault of theirs. Savarkar's advocacy of the relativist ethics did not resolve these tensions because reason, science and relativist ethics did not recognise ascriptive loyalties. They had to be applied to all human beings across the board.

Unit – IV

Nehru – Ideas of Development

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) with whom the word ‘Nehruvian’ is associated, subscribed to certain political, social and economic ideals. These ideals found place in his vision for independent India. Nehru was associated with the Independence movement since his teenage years and became a rising figure in Indian politics during the upheavals of the early nineteenth century. In 1929, Nehru was elected Congress President with the unstated approval of his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi. As President of the Congress Party, Nehru called for complete the Indian independence or ‘Poorna Swaraj’ from the British Raj at the Lahore Session of Indian National Congress, and instigated the Congress’s decisive shift towards the left. A committed nationalist, Nehru and the Congress dominated Indian politics during the 1930s, as the country inched towards Independence. He wanted to see India progress industrially like the Western Nations, but without compromising on the ideas of equality, equity, social justice and freedom. This Unit would explain the nature of Nehruvian ideology and vision. It would also discuss Nehru’s vision for India’s social, agricultural, foreign and economic policies. We are studying Nehru’s policy and vision in this Course as he laid the foundation of public policy in India. Without having a grasp of Nehru’s vision and policy, it is not possible to understand the nature and essence of public policy in India today.

UNDERSTANDING THE NATURE OF NEHRUVIAN IDEOLOGY AND VISION

The term ‘Nehruvian’ simply means a philosophy or ideology espoused by Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India. Politically, the term ‘Nehruvian’ means a steadfast commitment to ‘secularism’, ‘scientific temper’ and ‘inclusive liberalism’. In economic terms, ‘Nehruvian’ stands for active ‘State intervention’ in formulating the direction of the ‘country’s economy’, and also ‘planned development’. This means implementation of policies exhibiting a mixture of the ‘Fabian socialist’ ideals and the ‘Soviet model’ of planned economy. Socially, the term Nehruvian means a commitment to social well-being of the oppressed communities. Now talking about ideology; in normal parlance, it simply means “a body of ideas concerning economic, social and political values and goals, which can posit action programmes for attaining these goals”. The term ‘ideology’ is simply a set of opinions and beliefs that characterise a particular culture. ‘Ideology’ is a set of ideas that purports to give meaning to the

past, to explain the present and to prognosticate the future”. In other words, ideology is a set of ideas or principles, which seek to explain a phenomenon in particular, either to support or reject a particular socio-economic-politico-cultural order .Oxford Dictionary of English defines ‘vision’ as “the ability to think about or plan the future with imagination or wisdom”. This simply means a mental image of what the future will or could be like. Jawaharlal Nehru is regarded as a ‘visionary’ leader who thought about or planned the future of India with imagination and wisdom. He is also known as the architect of modern India. Having clarified the meanings of ‘Nehruvian’, ‘Vision’ and ‘Ideology’, we can understand the philosophy behind Nehru’s ideas and beliefs better. After the British rule, which ended in August 1947 as we all know, Nehru was elected by the Congress to assume office as Independent India’s first Prime Minister. The question of his leadership had already been settled in 1941, when Gandhi acknowledged Nehru as his political heir and successor. As Prime Minister, Nehru set out to realise his vision of India. With the adoption of the Constitution on 26 January 1950, Nehru embarked on an ambitious programme of economic, social and political reforms. Mainly, he oversaw India’s transition from a colony to a republic, while nurturing a plural or a multi-party system. Under the leadership of Nehru, the Congress emerged as an important party, dominating national and state-level politics and winning consecutive elections in 1951, 1957, and 1962.

Nehru remained popular with the people of India, in spite of political troubles in the last years of his Prime Ministerial tenure, and the so-called failure of leadership during the 1962 Sino-Indian War. Nehru died on 27 May 1964 after a severe heart attack in New Delhi. In his lifetime, he was known as Pandit Nehru as he belonged to the Kashmiri Pandit community, while Indian children knew him as Chacha Nehru. Let us now focus on Nehru’s vision on policy and governance.

NEHRUVIAN VISION AND GOVERNING POLICIES

Nehru, as we all know, took over the office as the Prime Minister of India on 15 August 1947 and delivered his famous inaugural address titled “Tryst with Destiny”. It read: ‘long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a

nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity' has attributed this inaugural address to the national philosophy of India that Nehru formulated. For Nehru, as has been observed, modernisation was the national philosophy, with seven goals: national unity, parliamentary democracy, industrialisation, socialism, religious harmony, development of the scientific temper, and non-alignment. Nehru advocated "State-sponsored industrialisation, increasing the wealth-producing capacity and using atomic energy for civilian use".

Specific policies:

Nehru on Economic Policies Nehru advocated a mixed economy, where the government-controlled public sector would co-exist with the private sector. He believed that the establishment of basic and heavy industry was fundamental to the development and modernisation of the Indian economy. The government, therefore, directed investment primarily into key public sector industries such as steel, iron, coal, and power; thereby promoting development with subsidies and protectionist policies. In the field of defining policies, Nehru's vision has been overwhelming. He was the major brain behind the Industrial Policy Resolutions of 1948 and 1956, and the promoter of the concept of public sector. He wanted policy to be oriented towards science, and in particular, Atomic Energy. Nehru laid the foundation of rapid industrialisation of the country and it was due to his vision and efforts that today India is regarded as one of the major technologically advanced nations of the world. Under Nehru's stewardship, the public sector acquired a "commanding height" in the Indian economy. In the Parliament in May 1956, Nehru stated that: "he wanted the Parliament to realise how vast and unexploited a field lies there for the public sector to occupy, and the public sector is occupying. We do not mind if the private sector advances also, provided that in regard to basic and strategic things, the public sector holds the field". Thus, it was Nehru's conviction that the public sector could play an important role in wiping out poverty and economic backwardness from the country to a significant extent. He also attached importance to the role of the private sector. He called them Temples of Modern India. He was of the clear view that "the distinction between the public and private sectors was one of the relative emphasis...The private and public sectors cannot be looked upon as anything like two separate entities: they are, and must function as, parts of a

single organism” . Nehru had advocated that sufficient autonomy should be given to the public enterprises. He was against the use of bureaucratic style of management for these enterprises. He clearly stated: “I have no doubt that the normal governmental procedure applied to a public enterprise of this kind will lead to the failure of that public enterprise. Therefore, we have to evolve a system for working of public enterprises where, on the one hand, there are adequate checks and protection, and on the other, enough freedom for that enterprise to work quickly and without delay”. He was also opposed to rigid parliamentary control over them. “We cannot sit down in this house everyday and control public enterprises from here. It just cannot be done. But if we are too insistent, we shall lose a great deal of money, and it will develop a kind of static atmosphere, which is very bad for growing industry”(Ibid.). Thus, Nehru was keen on securing proper balance between parliamentary control and autonomy of the public enterprises. Nehru’s preference for big State controlled enterprises, however, as per his critics, created a complex system of quantitative regulations, quotas and tariffs, industrial licenses and a host of other controls. This system, known in India as Permit or License Raj, was responsible for economic inefficiencies that stifled entrepreneurship and curtailed economic growth for decades until the liberalisation policies initiated by the Congress government in 1991 under P.V. Narasimha Rao. Nevertheless, his vision of State sector in core and basic areas was way ahead of his times and carries import even today Nehruvian Vision on Agriculture Policies Under the leadership of Nehru, the government initiated agrarian reforms alongside rapid industrialisation.

He realised, as has been observed, that for industrialisation to be viable, it needed a supportive agrarian economy and a small-scale industrial base. His ideas on town planning-going beyond roads and parks to education, recreation, employment and business- were remarkably modern. Slums distressed him; he visualised a symbiotic relationship between the city and the village. A successful land reform policy was introduced, which abolished giant landholdings, but efforts to redistribute land by placing limits on landownership did not succeed to a large extent. Again, under Nehru’s leadership, government attempted to introduce large-scale cooperative farming, but its efforts were frustrated by landowning rural elites, who had considerable political support in opposing the efforts of Nehru. Agricultural production expanded until the early 1960s, as additional land was brought under cultivation and some irrigation projects began to have an effect. The establishment of agricultural universities also contributed to agriculture development. During Nehru’s leadership, Green Revolution was a huge success story. The Revolution was

seen as an effort to diversify and increase crop production. It transformed Northern India as a large producer of High Yielding Variety of Wheat. The Green Revolution, however, has its share of critics with many environmentalists criticising it for use of excessive fertilizers. The Green Revolution has been criticised for creating economic and regional inequalities too. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that this very Revolution brought self-sufficiency in agricultural production. It brought in new tools and techniques of production to the fore and put India high on agriculturally advanced countries' map.

Nehru on Social Policies

When we talk of social policies; we mean policies that aim to better the social conditions of targeted population. Education, health, legal benefits, social upliftment etc., are social areas, where Nehru focused and worked. Let us discuss these now: Education: Nehru was a great visionary of education system of India. He advocated education for India's children and youth, believing it essential for India's future progress. His tenure oversaw the establishment of many institutions of higher learning, including the All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), the Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), the National Institutes of Technology (NITs) and the Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), New Delhi. The dialectics of few "first-rate institutions" and a plethora of "institutions without 'any education'" disturbed Nehru. He wrote of academic freedom and supported foreign academic collaboration. At the same time, he was pained to see that many of the foreign experts were "second-rate stuff", and yet ironically, paid more than their much-abler Indian counterparts. He suggested a more effective deployment of Indians trained abroad through special recruitment channels, if necessary. Nehru also outlined a commitment in the Five-Year Plans to guarantee free and compulsory primary education to all children in India. For this purpose, Nehru oversaw the creation of mass village enrollment programmes and the construction of thousands of schools. Nehru also launched initiatives such as the provision of free milk and meals to children to fight malnutrition, adult education centers, vocational and technical schools organised for adults, especially in the rural areas.

Hindu Marriage Law:

Under Nehru's leadership, the Parliament enacted many changes in Hindu Personal Law to increase the legal rights and social freedoms of women. On Nehru's insistence, Article 44 was

incorporated into the Indian Constitution which states: 'the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India'. The Article has formed the basis of secularism in India. Most notably, Muslims had the freedom to keep their Personal Law in matters relating to marriage and inheritance. While Nehru exempted Muslim Personal Law from legislation, his government did pass the Special Marriage Act in 1954. The idea behind this Act was to give everyone in India the ability to marry outside the personal laws under a civil marriage. This Act declared polygamy as illegal, and also stated that inheritance and succession would be governed by the Indian Succession Act, rather than the respective personal laws.

Nehru and Reservation Policy:

A system of reservations in government services and educational institutions was created to eradicate the social inequalities and disadvantages faced by people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Nehru also championed secularism and religious harmony, increasing the representation of minorities in government. For him, solution to the refugee problem lay in rehabilitation and resettlement, not in handing out doles. He disapproved of the word 'dalit', because he believed it "stigmatised" the individual, and he was all for affirmative action.

Nehruvian and Socialist Ideals:

Nehru was convinced that India could attain economic prosperity on the basis of Socialism. He was committed to the philosophy of Socialism. But his concept of Socialism was quite different from the one defined by Marx and other political theorists. Long before India's independence, Nehru, in his presidential address at the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress in 1929, declared that he was a socialist and a republican and did not believe in feudal aristocracy. At the same time, his ideal of socialism implied individual freedom also. "I do not see why under Socialism, there should not be great deal of freedom for the individual; indeed, far greater freedom than the present system gives. He can have freedom of conscience and mind, freedom of enterprise, and even the possession of private property on restricted scale"

Nehru's visit to Soviet Union in 1927 was a landmark in the formation of his philosophical and political views. He turned decisively to democraticism and became an ardent supporter of socialist convictions. Nehru (Ibid.) has observed: "so long as private monopolies

remain, it is not possible for any socialist structure of society to develop. It becomes essential, therefore, for society to control the major means of production and to prevent these monopolies from developing. If “democratic socialism” formed the ideological core of Nehruvian political economy, what he envisaged was a Welfare State based on people’s consent, bereft of dogma and violence, and strongly grounded in ethical values.

His thoughts on planning, community development, decentralisation, employment, public health, family planning, secularism, and equal opportunities collectively bring out the “egalitarian India” he envisioned. He was critical of society’s acquisitive tendencies, and thus endorsed the State’s role in curbing them. He proposed that every village should have a panchayat, a cooperative society, and a school.

Nehru’s Views on Public Administration

Apart from the laying down of certain policies for the development of the country and the structures for implementing them, Nehru’s contribution to the study and application of the science of administration is overwhelming. He had great interest in bringing about administrative reforms in the country. The Indian Institute of Public Administration (IIPA), New Delhi with which he was associated since its inception as its President, is an example of his interest in improving and developing administration in the country. He took a lot of interest in the Institute's working and development. Nehru is credited for setting up of the structure of implementing certain policies and the choice of personnel to maintain the structure. In setting up of the autonomous Atomic Energy Commission under the leadership of the renowned scientist, Dr. Homi Bhabha, Nehru evolved the right organisation. Likewise, he chose Professor Mahalanobis (called the “Father of Statistical Science in India”) for directing the nation’s highest Statistical Institute, namely Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata (then Calcutta). These organisations, and many more which were given autonomy with government control, were new patterns of organisations, which owe their emergence to Nehru’s thinking. Nehru anticipated the ills to which governance is vulnerable: corruption, administrative delays, and conniving links between the unscrupulous officials and the people. For him, civil service neutrality was a fiction, although he encouraged bureaucrats to cultivate objective and detached thinking. He wanted State governors to play their part strictly within the Constitutional framework and not perceive themselves to be a “superior class”

Nehru was also highly critical of corruption, which had come to pervade administration as well as the society. Nehru has pointed out: “the government, in spite of its best intentions, has become incapable of checking corruption among the rank and file and is shielding the police and other officials to save their faces. It can only succeed if it has the voluntary backing of the Indian police.

Nehru was the driving force behind Community Development and Panchayati Raj programmes. You all know how three-tier Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs) were started in various states; and also, the Community Development Programme (CDP), which was launched in 1952. Nehru believed that these could help in bringing administration nearer to the people. These were chosen as the via-media through which every active member of the public could be drawn to do something or other in some form or the other for the good of the community.

Nehru wanted to strengthen these institutions by giving them real powers. He was of the view that the officials’ role vis-à-vis these institutions should be advisory in nature. He felt that the Panches and Sarpanches needed to be given greatest latitude to the extent of committing mistakes because he thought that such mistakes would help them learn and take care of their immediate and day-to-day problems. He (Ibid.) rightly said: “The mistakes of Panchayat will not endanger the security of the country”. To Nehru, the Panch was also an administrator. Every member of the Panchayat was an administrator in a particular sphere, and he should be recognised and respected as such. He wanted Panchayati Raj Institutions to continue. He lent support to the concept of democratic decentralisation. In the latter part of his Prime Ministership, he preferred to use Appleby’s term ‘Decentralised Democracy’ rather than ‘Democratic Decentralisation’

Nehru's Views on Defence and Foreign Policies

After independence, Nehru wanted to maintain good relations with Britain and other Commonwealth countries and signed the London Declaration, under which India agreed that, when it becomes a republic in January 1950, it would join the Commonwealth of Nations and accept the British monarch as a “symbol of the free association of its independent member nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth”.

Although Nehru believed in peace and friendly relations with every country, he led the preparations and actual campaigns against Pakistan with regard to Kashmir. He also used overwhelming military force to seize Hyderabad in 1948 and Goa in 1961. He was keenly sensitive regarding the geostrategic and military strengths and weaknesses of India in 1947.

Nehru envisioned the development of nuclear weapons and established the Atomic Energy Commission of India in 1948. From the outset in 1948, Nehru had high ambition to develop this programme to stand against the industrialised states, and to establish a nuclear weapons capability as part of India's regional superiority over other South Asian states, most particularly Pakistan. Nehru commissioned the first study of the ill-effects of nuclear explosions on human health, and campaigned ceaselessly for the abolition of what he called "these frightful engines of destruction".

His greatest contribution was his policy of Non-alignment during the Cold War. It meant that Nehru received financial and technical support from both power Blocks (US and the then USSR) in building India's industrial base from scratch. It meant that India maintained neutrality towards both the Blocks. Steel Mill complexes were built at Bokaro and Rourkela with assistance from the Soviet Union and West Germany. His idealistic approach focused on giving India a leadership position in Non-alignment.

There was substantial industrial development. Industry, in fact, grew 7.0 per cent annually between 1950 and 1965 almost trebling industrial output and making India the world's seventh largest industrial country.

Nehru has been regarded as the sole architect of Indian foreign policy. He sought to build support among the newly independent nations of Asia and Africa in opposition to the two hostile superpowers contesting the Cold War. Being a strong supporter of the United Nations, Nehru was taken aback by the Graham Report on Kashmir that suggested third party intervention. Emphasising that the country's defense depended more on its morale than on weapons, he made a case for resolving contentious issues between India and Pakistan, particularly those related to mutually beneficial development projects, in a spirit of cooperation.

On the international scene, Nehru was an opponent of military action and of military alliances. The speeches Nehru delivered in Parliament provided a brilliant analysis and

evaluation of the contemporary developments across the world — from Sri Lanka's Tamil question to foreign intervention in Indonesia, anti-colonial struggles in Vietnam and Algeria, de-Stalinisation, to Nepal. He welcomed the Soviet suspension of nuclear tests, but condemned Moscow's intervention in Hungary. He was firmly against India intervening in disputes between other countries, except with the consent of the disputants

On 29 April 1954, Nehru signed with China Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence known in India as the Panchsheel as the basis of the Sino-Indian border treaty. In later years, Nehru's foreign policy suffered from increasing Chinese assertiveness over border disputes and Nehru's decision to grant asylum to the 14th Dalai Lama from Tibet to the annoyance of China, which led to the Indo-China War in 1962. The War with China caused a radical shift. After that Nehru became more realistic and defense-oriented.

Although Nehru attempted to lay down the country's basic policies, the structures for implementing them and the principles of administration, he was unable to give a complete shape to the fundamental changes in the system of administration, which he thought essential for the post-independent democratic governance. The Nehru government not only maintained the privileges of the Imperial Services, but even guaranteed them with a Constitutional provision. Though, as he himself admitted, "they hardly fit into democratic structure and they produce that sense of class division which is the base of all our social structure".

Despite commending Appleby's recommendations for changes in India's administrative system, Nehru was not able to do much to bring about a complete change. The new service structure, which was brought into existence, continued to reflect the same colonial type of rigid class divisions among the civil service structure.

Thus, Nehru's thinking and personal dedication and the goals he held supreme, even though could not be put into practice in letter and spirit, would continue to remain a source of strength and inspiration in building a better India.

Nehru is regarded as the builder of modern India. He has gone down in history as an outstanding statesman and political leader who devoted his life to passionate quests and gigantic endeavors to national development. He is considered a multifaceted personality a statesman with an instinct for democratic fusion and Socialism, a charismatic leader with an international

outlook of amity and friendship, a writer with a distinct vision, an upholder of peace and Secularism, a thinker on contemporary events and a leader of masses. This Unit elaborated on some of his ideas and beliefs.

M.N. Roy – Twentieth Century Renaissance

Communist thought in India has its origins in the writings of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and their followers. The Bolshevik Revolution of October 19 17 had a tremendous impact on the entire world. The social democratic parties, reflecting the thoughts of Marx and Engels, had already been established in the major countries in Europe. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia created the erstwhile Soviet Union and the communist parties came to be established in various parts of the world, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin American countries for strengthening the ongoing liberation struggle mid providing a boost to the spirit of communist thought.

The Indian communist Party was established in 1924 and worked in close association with communist movements guided and inspired by the communist t International also called the communist M N Roy, with his characteristic Marxian views, influenced the world communist movement, though lie was disillusioned by communism in later life, The Indian Communist Leader and Theoretician EMS Namboodiripad kept holding the red flag till the end of his life. Communist thought in India is an interesting account of the development of Marxian thought and philosophy as it grew in the Indian conditions.

EVOLUTION OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA

The communist movement in India drew on the basic tenets of Marxism by accepting the Marxist analysis of dialectical materialism and the materialist interpretation of history. As such, the socio-economic cultural evolution period has been interpreted by the Indian Communists in terms of the sociology of class struggle. Like all the Marxists, the Indian communists together wittily the other communists, believe in the destruction of capitalism and the eventual establishment of a socialist/communist society. The Indian Communists regard imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism, just the way Lenin did. In India, the communists believe and in

fact, propagate that the working class in alliance with the other toiling masses is alone capable of bringing about the socialist revolution.

They also believe in proletarian internationalism. The communist involvement in India, thus, it has its intellectual arid ideological roots in the philosophy of Marxism. The Indian Marxists not only accept Marxism, but also interpret the Indian socio-political developments in the Marxian style; at times, the interpretation seem imposed while at others, it becomes a victim of oversimplification. They accept the following Marxist formulations as gospels beyond ally doubt:

- i) The .state and society are distinct entities: the type of society dictates the type of state. Accordingly, the state is not independent of society; its relationship with society is that of a superstructure and a base.
- ii) The state is an instrument of society: those who control the society also control the state; the state is the state of the dominant class.
- iii) The state, in a class society, is also a class institution and as such serves to establish the values of society. 'The capitalist slate is the state of the capitalists, by them and for them.
- iv) In a capitalist society, the working class will organise itself and will seek to overthrow the capitalist society; in pre-capitalist society, the workers along with the capitalists could overthrow the feudal society.
- v) The abolition of the capitalist class society, there would usher in the classless socialist society, which with its political organ - the dictatorship of the proletariat - would establish socialism and pave way for a classless - stateless communist society.
- vi) In the struggle for liberation, the socialist forces all over the world would support the colonial exploited people in their conflict against the capitalist-imperialist society.
- vii) At first, the struggle between the colonial people and the imperialist state first, and thereafter, the struggle between the socialist states and the capitalist states would end in the victory of socialists.

The Indian communist writers/scholars have made significant contributions at the level of theoretical construction. They have tried to apply the Concepts and propositions of historical materialism to the studies of Indian history and philosophy. Their analysis of the Indian situation of past and present has been instructive though with loopholes here and exaggerations there.

The establishment of the communist party in India.

The Communist Party of India was founded in September 1924 possibly at the initiative of Satya Bhakta of Uttar Pradesh. There were only 78 members, belonging to the Indian communist Party at the time of its foundation. Later the membership rose to 250. Muzaffar Ahmed (The Communist Party of India and its Foundation abroad) holds that the communist Party of India was founded abroad and was affiliated with the communist international. He states that the Communist Party was founded towards the end of 1920 at the Theskant Military School, David Druha thinks that the communist party was founded in 1921 at Tashkent. In December 1921, the communist conference was held at Kanpur and was chaired by Singaravelu Chettiar where a resolution was adopted calling for the formation of a communist party of India (CPI) with the headquarters in Bombay.

Some differences emerged with the communist party in relation to its link with the communist international. Although the Communist party of India was not legally a component of the Communist International, its ties with the international revolutionary movement were nevertheless being consolidated. There were closer links with the communist party of Great Britain. Its delegation of George Allison and Philip Spratt came to India in 1926-27.

The communists, much before the formation of the legal communist party of India, had associated themselves with the liberation struggle. The Kanpur conspiracy Case in 1924, was decided against the communist leaders. - S A Dange, Nalini Gupta, Muzaffar Ahmad and Shaukat Usmani - awarding them imprisonment, In the conspiracy case, in 1920 more than two dozen Communist leaders including S A Dange, S V Ghote, Joglekar, Nimbalkar; Mirojkar, Shaulat Uslnani, Philip Spratt Bradly, Muzaffar Ahamed was involved, and they were all sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

'The Communist Party of India, by 1928-29 had before itself the goal of creating a mass-scale revolutionary organisation and an anti-imperialist alliance. The sixth world congress of the Communist International, in September 1928, had passed a resolution to strengthen the communist parties and the trade union organisations in the colonial countries and warned such bodies against the national-reformist bourgeois organization, including the temporary agreements with them over agitations launched against imperialistic forces.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

Years after its formation, the Communist Party of India sought to strengthen its position in the trade unions, organizing them, guiding them and propagating Marxism and Leninism. So as to prepare them for a revolutionary struggle against the nationalist bourgeoisie and the imperialistic-capitalistic forces. In the sphere of the trade union movement, the communist Party of India (CPI) did achieve definite success by making inroads into the workers' bodies. Therefore, in the 1930s, it was able to have influence among the peasants and workers. As the labour movement gained ground, the activities of the workers, peasants and political parties, including the CPI became more intensified.

In the 1930s the CPI adopted a United Front from above by aligning itself with the nationalist movement, but it kept its separate identity among the workers and the peasants. The CPI, as it was a banned organisation, came closer to the Congress and numerous communists joined the Indian National Congress (INC) and formed a socialist group within the congress, which came to be known as the Congress Socialist Party (CSP). They remained in Congress until 1939 when they were expelled on the issue of double membership. With the axis power Germany invading the Soviet Union in 1941 during World War 11, and with the Soviet Union joining the Allied powers, the situation of the Indian Communists became precarious. The ban on the CPI by the British in Italia was lifted and the CPI which was until then, considering the 1939 war bourgeois war, began not only suffering the war but also declaring it as the people's war against fascists. The CPI did not support the 1942 Quit India Movement. Professor Vernia (Modern Indian Political Thought) has stated that when the Congress leaders (following the 1942 Quit India Resolution) were in jail and the foreign government was following a ruthless policy of repression, suppression and terrorization of all nationalist forces, the communists strengthened themselves and claimed to have 30,000 members while, in 1942, the party had only 2500

members. During the War, the communists cleverly established their control over the All India Trade Union Congress also.

The communists were divided over the question of the independence of the country which was only a couple of months away, especially after the formation of the interim government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru. They were plagued by questions such as: Was the country really free? Was the transfer of power notional or real? Should the CPI support Nehru's Congress? In this debate within the CPI, P C Joshi thought that the transfer of power and independence were real and that the Nehru Government should be supported. On the other hand, B T Ranadive and Dr. Adhikari held the view that independence was not real and that real independence could be achieved only under the leadership of the CPI and that the CPI, instead of supporting the Nehru Congress Government, should fight against it. The opposite view also believed, in harmony with the Soviet theory that India only appeared to be independent within the framework of a modified imperialistic system. That is why in the second party congress held in Kolkatta (1948), the CPI accepted Stalin's view of Iwo camps: the capitalist and the communist, and therefore attacked imperialism, and feudalism as well as the bourgeois Congress. B T Ranadive replaced P C Joshi as the General Secretary of the CPI.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Towards Parliamentary Strategy

With relatively a more militant left, the CPI immediately after independence, adopted a United Front tactic from below: aligning itself with the workers and peasants against the Indian National Congress. Now the CPI strategy was on the course of a revolution – with strikes, sabotage and violence. For Ranadive, following the Soviet Line, the working class was an instrument of revolution. He discounted the peasant uprising in the Telangana Region, much to the annoyance of the Andhra Pradesh communists, even at the cost of losing the office of the General Secretary of the CPI. Rajeshwar Rao became the General Secretary of the CPI in 1950.

With this shift of the Nehru Government towards the former Soviet Union, the CPI was officially advised to abandon 'adventurous' tactics and to adopt the policy of contesting parliamentary Elections. Moderates like PC Joshi, S A Datige and Ajoy Ghosh welcomed the policy shift and the politburo of the Central Committee drew up a draft calling for the creation of

a broad anti-feudal and anti-imperialistic front embracing the national bourgeoisie. The path of the parliamentary strategy was clear; Ajoy Ghosh became the General Secretary of the CPI in 1951.

The CPI moved, from 1950 onwards to a process of gradual change- from a class conflict approach to the class alliance, from revolutionary strategy to parliamentary strategy. The 1957 Lok Sabha elections saw the victory of the Communist Party of India in Kerala and later on, forming the Government. The 5th Extraordinary Congress of the CPI held in Amritsar (April 1958) maintained that though it was not possible to achieve success through peaceful and democratic means, the parliamentary road to socialism was not altogether infeasible.

Towards Divisions From Within

The dismissal of the Kerala Communist Government in 1959 made the CPI's relations with the Congress strained. The Chinese invasion of India in 1962 made polarisation rather evident in the CPI beyond any repair. The right faction, headed by S A Dange recognised the Indian claims to the territories occupied by the Chinese in 1962; the left faction of the CPI regarded all right pleas as a betrayal of the international proletarian unity. A centrist group led by EMS Namboodiripad and Ajoy Ghosh blamed both the Indian and the Chinese leaders for the border conflict. In 1962, the balancer, Ajoy Ghosh died; Dange became the Chairman of the CPI and EMS Namboodiripad, and the General Secretary was, however a short-lived unity. As the split or the International Communist movement became clear with the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China taking opposing stands, the division of the CPI could no longer be delayed; the CPI came closer to the former USSR and the CPI (Marxist), to the People's Republic of China.

The Soviet Union recognised the CPI as India's legitimate Communist Party; the CPI attributed the split to the Chinese machination. The CPI (M), though neutral on the ideology issue, came to be dubbed as hostile to the Soviet position. But even the Chinese distanced themselves from the CPI (M).

The two communist parties remained divided on certain issues. The CPI, by adopting the national democratic front strategy thought of aligning itself with the Indian National Congress,

which the CPI regarded as the vehicle of "bourgeois" nationalism. The CPI (M), by adopting the people's democratic government strategy thought of remaining away from the Congress which it regarded as an anathema. In the coming years, the CPI came to be associated with the Congress and its laurels and failures came to be counted with those of the Congress. The Congress began losing ground, votes and legislative seats after 1977, the exception being the brief spell in 1980; so did the CPI. In the meantime, the CPI (Ad) became popular both with the urban and rural poor and was successful in forming governments in Kerala and West Bengal.

Towards Cooperation of the communist Forces

Ideologically, the two communist parties remained apart; the CPI aligned with nationalist bourgeois forces while the CPI (M) worked its own strategy of people's democratic government. On the question of Sino-Soviet differences, the CPI supported the Soviet Union and the CPI (M), while disapproving of the Soviet Position, did not however support China either. On the border issue between India and China, the CPI's position is that the Chinese should vacate the Indian territories while the CPI (M) favours a mutually agreed formula on the border issue.

With the CPI on the decline, especially after the disintegration of the Soviet Union as a single state, the two communist parties are drawing close to each other, and, now coming up with a United Front election manifesto. In fact, the two communist parties have not had much of a difference in economic demands. Both condemn the monopoly-capitalistic strategy; both disapprove of the role of multi-national companies in India's economy; both seek to strengthen socialist institutions; both demand social security legislation in favour of the workers and the peasants. Both, in general, are functioning, in spite of their revolutionary -Marxist basis, primarily as socialist-oriented democratic parties within the parliamentary democratic framework.

FROM MARXISM TO RADICAL HUMANISM

Manvendra Nath Roy (1887-1954), whose original name was Narendra Nath Bhattacharya had the unique distinction of having worked with Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin. He began his political life as a military 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 from its aim of being a movement all over the world.

Roy passed through three phases in his career. In the first phase, which lasted up to 1919, he was a national revolutionary, struggling with arms for the terrorists of Bengal. In the second phase, Roy was a Marxist engaged in an active communist movement 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 Nationalistic 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 Marxist towards Radicalism. Marxism and Radicalism constitute the characteristics of his philosophy.

Roy's Marxism

Roy's baptism as a Marxist began in Mexico in 1917 where, along with Bosedin, he accepted Marxism as a philosophy for excellence. He accepted all the Major tenets of Marxism and, sought to interpret the Indian situation along Marxist lines. This is evident from the following

- i) Roy submitted his thesis on the Colonial Revolution at the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920. To him, world capitalism was drawing its main strength from modern European capitalism and so long as the latter was not deprived of this source of super profit, it would not be easy for the European working class to overthrow the capitalist order. Thus, he concluded that the revolutionary movement in Europe was absolutely dependent on the course of the revolution in India and other Asian Countries. In order to overthrow foreign capitalism, it was advisable to make use of the cooperation of the bourgeois nationalist elements, but only in the initial stages. The foremost task was to form a communist party to organize peasants and workers and lead them to revolution. If from the outset, the leadership is in the hands of a communist vanguard, the revolutionary masses will be on the right road towards their goal and they will gradually achieve a revolutionary experience.
- ii) Roy gave a Marxist interpretation of Indian history. Its main features were the gradual decay of the rural economy, the steady rise of capitalism, and the

conquest of India by the British bourgeois to capture new markets, find new fields of exploitation and export capital. The 1857 uprising was the last effort of the de-thrown feudal potentates to regain their power; Indian National Congress was the organization of intellectual bourgeois to carry out their political struggle and to facilitate economic development. Colonial exploitation prevented the normal economic development of India and the working class was too backward to fight for socialism.

- iii) Roy does not identify Marxism with communism; Marxism is a philosophy while communism is a political practice. Roy believed in the socialization of the process of production. When labour is performed collectively, its product must be collectively owned. Private property must cease to be an economic necessity before it can be abolished. Roy rejects the dictum that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to achieve communism. He believes that a revolution cannot be made to order. In an industrially backward country like India, the establishment of a proletariat dictatorship cannot be envisaged. In India such a thing cannot happen; nor did he agree with the idea of 'withering away of the state'.
- iv) Roy foresaw two things in establishing socialism in India-an agrarian revolution and the building up of modern industry under the control of a really democratic state. Roy did not consider socialism an immediate issue for India. Socialism was not a matter of desire for him, it was a matter of necessity. . Socialism becomes a historical necessity when the majority feels a necessity for it.

The introduction of the mechanical means of production on a large scale, the abolition of precapitalist restrictions on production, and the attainment of a certain minimum economic level are the historic pre-conditions for establishing socialism. A socialist India could not be built overnight. The problem of transition to socialism in India had two parts viz., (1) Achievement of free Indian democracy and (2) Transformation of the social order into a socialist democracy. Roy gave precedence to political freedom over economic freedom and socialism.

Humanist Critique of Marxism

According to Roy, Marx's theory of class struggle has subordinated individual consciousness. He was also critical of Marx giving too much prominence to the working class. To him, the polarisation of capitalist society into the exploiting and the working class never takes place. The middle class does not disappear. It is the middle class which produces revolutionaries. Lenin recognized this fact but failed to recognize the middle class as a class. Thus, Roy denounced the theory of class struggle. Society could never survive without some kind of a socially cohesive force and as such, class struggle cannot be the only reality. Roy considered the proletariat as the 'most backward stratum of the society. He gave a place of pride to the middle class and the individual. He also denounced the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat as this would establish totalitarianism. Revolutions cannot bring about miracles. What was needed was a judicious synthesis of rationalism and romanticism. As a radical humanist, he thought that revolution was to be brought about not through class struggle or armed violence, but through proper education. Revolution would not bring about any sudden change. He also did not agree with the Marxian economic interpretation of history as it had many flaws. For Roy, the biological urge of self-preservation preceded the economic motive of earning a livelihood. He criticized the Marxian dialectics. The evolution of democracy to socialism was a continuous process, and not a dialectical process.

Roy did not regard surplus value as a peculiar feature of capitalism. The creation of surplus value and the accumulation of capital was also necessary for a socialist society. The only difference between socialist societies, unlike a capitalist societies, was that the Surplus value was not appropriated by a particular class.

Roy made very serious observations about India's policy. He remarked that the Indian traditions of leadership lend themselves to authoritarianism. A leader is considered infallible. The presence of charismatic leadership indicates the fascist tendencies in Indian politics. One inlay agrees with Roy that India lacks a democratic tradition and the existence of a particular social structure and

the tendency to hero worship makes for an authoritarian tradition. His warning about the Fascist danger in Indian politics has proved to be true.

Roy feels that no country's interests are ever served or promoted by war. He welcomed the U.N. as a positive step towards world peace. He also suggested the idea of a world government because a world composed of national states can never have peace. Roy's conception of peace was based on a humanist foundation. This can be attained through mutual trust and cooperation. It presupposes a unity outlook and a community of interest among people without national and class differences. Reason and persuasion are the foundations on which lasting peace can be built.

While discussing Roy's philosophy of New Humanism, his approach to the radical democratic state in terms of a cooperative commonwealth has to be analyzed. This problem involved the reconciliation of the concept of direct democracy with the ideal of a cooperative state. Roy was optimistic about it. He said, "Even in large political units and highly complex social organisation of the modern world, direct democracy will be possible in the form of a network of the small cooperative commonwealth". He envisaged its evolution through voluntary efforts. Its function would be subject to enlightened public opinion and intelligent public actions. The idea is also based on the cooperative aspect of human nature. To achieve a democratic spirit and outlook, Roy emphasized education. Education for democracy consists in making the people coils of their rights to exist as human beings with decency and dignity. It helps them to think and to exercise their rational judgment. This would also make democratic institutions vibrant, where universal suffrage is given. He did not agree with state-managed education, as it creates a high degree of conformism and subservience to an established order. Roy also visualizes a polity in which economic democracy and political democracy support each other. He recognizes planning with freedom.

Roy's Radical Humanism

In the later years of his life, Roy became an exponent of "New Humanism". He distinguished this from other humanist philosophies and termed it radical. Though Roy is influenced in his approach by the scientific materialism of Hobbes, the 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 coordinate 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 nationalist, creative as well as determinist"

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 either 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 lifestyle. He 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 even human behavior, in the last analysis, is rational, though it may appear irrational. Man tries to find out the laws of nature in order to realise his freedom. This urge for freedom leads him to search for knowledge. He considers freedom to be of supreme value. While rationality provides dynamism to a man, the urge [or freedom gives him direction. The interaction of reason and freedom leads to the expression of a cooperative spirit as manifested in social relationships. Thus, Roy's radical humanism culminates in cooperative individualism. Roy's conception of human nature becomes the basis of society and state. He attributes their origin to the act of man 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 organization of society, each group marks out an area as its collective domain. The ownership is common because the 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 the same authority to govern the new relations, this gives birth to the state. Roy defines the state as 'The

political organization of society. The rise of the state is neither the result of the social contract nor was it ever superimposed on society. The evolution of the state is not only historical but also natural. It was a spontaneous process prolonged almost mechanically, by the common regulation of the necessity of cooperation 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 criticizes it and wants to reshape the state on the basis of the principles of pluralism, decentralization and democracy. For him, the state must exist and discharge its limited functions along with other equally important and autonomous social institutions. He reduces the functions of the state to the minimum. He pleaded for decentralization where the 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 formal parliamentary democracy nor will it allow the dangers of the dictatorship of any class or elite. The basic feature of 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 reorganization of society in which there would be no exploitation of man by man. It would be a planned society which would maximize individual freedom. This is possible when society is established on the basis of cooperation and decentralization.

Education would be important in Radical democracy. 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 emphasized the concept of a moral man. To him, politics cannot be divorced from ethics. Roy traces morality to rationality in man. The 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.

He advocates humanist politics. This will lead to the purification and rationalization of politics. Today, man is debased to the level of an unthinking beast in power politics. To him, politics can be practiced without power. "Party politics has given rise to power politics". To him, any party government can, 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 favored the abolition of the party system which will enable politics to operate without an incentive for power. In the absence of that corrupting agency, morality in political practice would be possible.

Roy's social order rises with the support of enlightening public opinion as well as the intelligent action of the people. Roy stands for 'Revolution by Consent'. He concedes 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 Gigs, that they possess the power to remake the world, Thus, education becomes the essence and condition of revolution ' and reconstruction, Revolution by consent does not operate through the politics of power, but through the politics of freedom"

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 Ethical Revisionist in the history of socialist thought. He began his academic pursuits as a Marxist, but gradually almost completely restated all the prepositions of Marx. He gave a moral restatement of Marxism. Roy's application of the Marxist concepts of arid generalisations to the structure and processes of the Indian economy and society seems thought-provoking and enlightening.

Periyar – State structure.

In this unit you shall be reading about E.V. Ramaswami Naicker, the radical social reformer of our country. Naicker or 'Periyar' as he was popularly called fought a lifelong battle against the tyranny of those placed higher in the varnashram. The crusade he launched becomes very relevant in the context of present day India where efforts are being made for bringing the deprived and disadvantaged sections of society into the national mainstream.

EARLY LIFE

E.V. Ramaswami Naicker was a prominent social reformer of India in the twentieth century. He was born of Balijsa Naidu's parents on 28 September 1879 at Erode in Coimbatore District in Tamil Nadu. He came from a prosperous business family in that district. But he did not have any formal education. His childhood days showed a rebellious character which continued with his social and political activities. He defied all caste rules and regulations in his childhood and for that, he was often taken to task by his parents. Nevertheless, his home was a meeting place for pundits and religious scholars. Their discussions and discourses provided an opportunity for EVR to come to know about some rudiments of (philosophical significance) Hinduism. But soon he changed his role from a passive listener to that of an active participant. He started asking questions about inconsistencies and improbabilities in the puranic stories and ridiculed the basic concepts of Hindu religion and philosophy. More persistent questions were asked by him about the relevance of the institution of caste in society, belief in the theory of karma and the soundness of idol worship. , None of the pundits were able to give him convincing answers. In 1904 when he was twenty-five years old, he went to Benares.'this was a turning point in his life. Benares, he found, was no holier than any other city. The Brahmins there ate meat and drank toddy and the immoral trafficking of women was a thriving business. Disgusted with all this, he came back to join his father's business at Erode.

EVR proved himself an efficient organiser and executor of various relief measures. In 1915 when there was an outbreak of plague in Erode, he organised relief work with the help of his friends and distributed food and money to the destitute families. He served on various temple committees. He was elected as the Chairman of the Erode Municipality. During his term of office from 1917 to 1919, he executed the Cauvery water scheme which ensured a regular supply of drinking water to the citizens of Erode and thereby earned their admiration.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES UP TO 1930

EVR's participation in the politics of Tamil Nadu till 1920 was minimal. He participated in a protest meeting in 1916 organised against the government's action against the Home Rule organ, new India. But he maintained political contact with important nationalist leaders from 1917 onwards. The non-Brahmin members of the Tamil Nadu Branch of the Congress organisation formed the Madras Presidency Association in 1917. It was formed to represent and safeguard the non-Brahmin interests in the national organisation 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. EVR viewed such efforts for the 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. Naicker took an increasing interest in the activities of the Association, served as one of its Vice-Presidents, participated in all its deliberations and helped to conduct its second annual conference at Erode in October 1919.

As an active member of the MPA, Naicker became familiar with the programmes and policies of the Indian National Congress. Its plans for the liberation of the country appealed to him. Especially its efforts to raise the condition of the masses and do away with untouchability and prohibition - impressed him. As the Congress held views similar to his on social reform, he thought by joining the political organisation he could bring about a new social order in the Presidency of Madras.

Once EVR joined the Congress in 1920, his rise was meteoric, Within the Congress, he had the support of C. Rajagopala Chari and non-Brahmin politicians. He 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. In 1920 itself he was elected the President of the Congress (MPCC). He fully endorsed Gandhiji's calls for boycott not only of legislatures but local taluk board elections as well. 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 organised picketing before arrack and toddy shop. In November 1921 in order to quell the situation the Madras Government imprisoned him and the other campaigners for over a month under section 144 of the Indian Penal Code.

If Gandhiji's techniques of mass participation provided EVR a chance to have a foretaste of agitation against the colonial power, Vaikom Satyagraha gave him a chance to fight social evils within the Indian Social system. 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. Fearing major clashes, the Government arrested him within 6 days of his arrival and issued a warrant to, him to leave. But he defied it, was arrested and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment. However, he was released two months earlier on account of Maharaja's death. But 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 rancour.

GURUKUL CONTROVERSY

In January 1925, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and others came to know that at the Congress-funded Gurukulam at Shermadevi, in Tirunelveli 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 meeting in Trichinopoly, 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 thing, it was the duty of the non-Brahmins to create a public opinion which was receptive to their rights.

Failure to settle the issue of the Gurukulam, in particular the refusal of the Brahmins to take a firm stand on this question, widened the rift between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins in the Congress. Even efforts made by EVR and another individual with the mandate from the TNCC to dispense with the communal restrictions failed to produce results. EVR whose criticisms so far were directed against the social evils and Brahmin domination in the bureaucracy now directed charges against the Congress organization itself. At Salem in April 1925, he spoke that the Brahmin question should be settled even while British supremacy lasted in the country. Otherwise, non-Brahmins would have to suffer under "the tyranny of Brahmanocracy"

While this question opened a rift between the Congress and EVR in the Tamil Nadu Congress, two other issues completed it. They were (1) the question of communal representation and (2) the controversy with Gandhiji on Varnashrama Dharma. On communal representation, EVR 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 denied access to economic and political power would remain low in the social hierarchy. To lift them he suggested communal representation. This was in line with MPA's aims and objectives within the Congress organisation of the Madras Presidency.

At the Kanchipuram Conference of the TNPCC in November 1925, EVV sought to get a mandate from the Tamil Nadu Congress on the question of communal representation. This body accepted the demand for communal representation 'in principle but refused to let it take a 'statutory shape' on several occasions. This EVR is interpreted as a clever move to sideline the significant question. He further interpreted such a move in communal terms. He felt that Brahmins were in the national organisation 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.

VARNASHRAMA DHARMA

EVR held very strong views against the four-fold division of caste hierarchy in 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 which engaged the susceptibilities of Brahmins. Moreover, the Justice Party's formation was itself a revolt against Brahmins and Varnashrama dharma. In such a context, any attempt to reinforce such belief in Varnashrama dharma would be counterproductive in the Madras Presidency.

Unfortunately, Mahatma Gandhi expressed his firm belief in Varnashrama dharma on September 1927 at Cuddalore. He appealed to the non-Brahmins that in their ire against Brahmins, non-Brahmins should not wreck the system of Varnashrama dharma, the bedrock 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 on interlining was an integral part of it. But to many non-Brahmins in the Tamil region, Varnashrama dharma could mean the superiority of Brahmins over the rest of the population. EVR was very condemning of Varnashrama dharma. He considered that it included the relegation of all the non-Brahmin caste Hindus to the position of Shudras in the Tamil region. He felt that if each caste were to follow its own Dharma, non-Brahmins would be forced to serve the Brahmins. "When ye think of ourselves as Shudras", said Ramaswami Naicker, "We accept ourselves as sons of prostitutes."

Naicker met Gandhi in September 1927 with a view to modifying Gandhi's stand on varnashrama dharma. He expressed his deep concern over Gandhi's statements and pointed out that this only strengthen the orthodox Hindu position on the question of untouchability and child marriage, the two evils against which Gandhi himself was fighting. As the views of both of them were diametrically opposed, talks were not successful. Naicker expressed his confirmed belief in the Kudi Arasu that true freedom for India would be achieved only with the destruction of the Indian National Congress, Hinduism and Brahminism.

This extreme step pushed him to support even the statutory Simon Commission which was boycotted by Congress. He went to the extent of criticizing the civil disobedience campaign in 1939. But soon seeing the public reaction against himself, he changed his own opinion and accepted the Indian National Congress as the sole organisation fighting for freedom. He urged

the government to abandon its repressive measures against Congress satyagrahis and made a pointed reference to the futility of convening the Round Table Conference without Congress participation.

EVR viewed the Gandhi-Irwin Pact as a moral victory for Congress. In that pact, he saw the government concede the Congress claims that it alone had the mandate to speak on behalf of a politically insurgent India and its views should be heard at all future conferences. In 1934 after 9 years of a break with the Congress, EVR was asked to come back to the Congress fold by C. Rajagopalachari. EVR accepted the suggestion provided a common programme was agreed upon as the basis for supporting the Congress. Accordingly, they jointly formulated a programme which was sent to Gandhiji for approval. The most important aspect of this programme was that the TNCC should agree to implement the principle of communal representation in all the representative bodies, in the city and the liberal professions. As this was totally unacceptable to Gandhiji, Rajaji's efforts to bring Naicker back into the Congress fold failed.

THE SELF-RESPECT MOVEMENT: 1925

E.V. Ramaswami Naicker gave a concrete shape to his ideas on social reform by founding the Suyamariyati iyakkam otherwise known as the Self-Respect Movement. It was a reform movement dedicated to the goal of giving non-Brahmins a sense of pride based on their Dravidianist past. The movement denied the superiority of the Brahmins and their implicit faith in the present system. The movement sought to turn the present social system topsy-turvy 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 mythology of Hinduism by which, which contended that the unsuspecting 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 target of 'Self-Respect' attacks.

The tone of the movement was determined by EVR, who represented a new type of leader in Tamil Nadu. He was uneducated in English and able to speak only Tamil in the popular idiom. The self-movement concentrated almost entirely on the Tamil Districts. It covered primarily the groups low in the social hierarchy like the Vanniya Kula Kshatriyas and the

untouchables Special efforts were also directed at women and young people. Because of the directness and simplicity of its 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. Infact the leadership of the Justice Party was drawn from the landowning groups and attempted its cover the middle classes and landowning classes.

Even before the Self-Respect Movement was founded in 1925, EVR started expressing his views on the evil in society. The Tamil language weekly Kudi Arasu (People's Government) founded in May 1924 became the organ of the Self-Respect Movement. It was specially directed at certain non-Brahmin groups that had not been reached by the Justice Party's Dravidian. Shortly after 1930, Ramaswami Naicker began a Tamil daily called Viduthalai (Freedom) and in 1935 he started a Tamil monthly called Pakkuthariuu (commonsense). But in the late 20's Kudi Arasu was the movement's propaganda weapon.

Since the Self-Respect Movement had as its target the Brahminical tradition, its symbol came under attack. On a number of occasions, the manusmriti was burned. 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. Some of these caricatured the characters of the Hindu pantheon. One of them was Vasittira tevarkal kortu (wonderful court of Deities) published in 1919. The most .important of the early activities of the Self-Respect Movement was the convening of the first Provincial Self-Respect Conference at Chinglepat 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.

At this conference, many resolutions were passed. One called on members to 'refuse money for the construction of temples or for the employment of priests or intermediaries.

Another condemned Varnashrama dharma and arbitrary division of society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, and Panchamans, and repudiated belief in superiority based on the "accident of birth". Another resolution condemned the use of all suffixes and terminations connotative of caste. And as for women, a resolution was passed claiming for them the same rights of inheritance as men and advocating that marriage should be terminable at the will of either party. True to their spirit, self-respecters uphold a total disbelief in the religious validity of Brahmins. "Self-Respect I weddings" without the use of Brahmin priests became common.

Though some Congress leaders like P. Vardarajulu Naidu opposed resolutions, like refusal to give funds to temples for renovation purposes, these resolutions remained the main plank of the Self-Respect Movement. But the anti-religious tone of the management was moderated by EVR after his visit to the Soviet Union. He toured the Soviet Union for three months as the leader of the Rationalistic; Association of South India, a new name given to the Self-Respect Movement, and when he was on tour in Russia, he visited other parts of Europe as well. The visit to the Soviet Union had a deeper impact on EVR. He was inspired by the "Phenomenal progress" the Russians had made in agriculture and industry and attributed this to Russian systems. He, therefore, maintained that unless India also made radical changes on the lines of the Soviet system, there would not be any meaningful system in the country. / Soon after the return from the Soviet Union, EVR sought the assistance of Singaravelu Chetti who was a prominent communist in South India to frame a new programme. The new programme envisaged the formation of two wings 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, distribution and public transport, 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 two wings of the movement were termed as the Erode Programme.

He carried on his propaganda on Socialism and Social reform through his Kudi Arasu and other organs. But his editorial in Kudi Arasu 'Why today's Government should be overthrown, forced the Government to arrest him and charge' him with inciting the people to overthrow the constituted authority by force." EVR did not challenge the charge but sent a written statement to the court to this effect: "For the last 7 or 8 years I have been propagating the principles of

Socialism and in a democratic way with the aim of bringing about social and economic equality among the people. This is in no way an offence. Followers should be prepared to face such repressive measures that might be let loose by the government."

But after his release, he did not stick to political programme of the Self-Respect Movement. He increasingly came to concentrate on the social reform question. Side by side, he carried on a political propaganda as well against the Justice Party for ignoring the interests of the non-Brahmins to defeat the Congress candidates in the municipal and legislative elections. But defeat of the Justice Party candidates in the Legislative elections in 1936 showed that the Justice Party was no longer a political force. But EVR moved closer to the Justice Party rather than to the Congress which won the elections.

LANGUAGE CONTROVERSY

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 forms.

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 outcome of the cultural revivalism that had taken place half a century ago. Political awakening that was brought about by leaders like C. Rajagopalachari, Satyamurthi, E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and Thiru. V Kalyanasundaram Mudaliar when they were all in the Congress organisation in the '20s was very much created in their mother tongue, i.e. Tamil. There were two main reasons for the Tamil scholar's 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 schools without a 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. It was sent off by EVR and other leaders at Trichinapally. It comprised one hundred and one members, took out a long route which passed through Trichinapally, Tanjore, South Arcot and Chinglepat and covered 234 villages and 60 mofussil towns.

The most important feature of the anti-Hindi movement was the participation of a large number of women in the agitation. EVR also participated in the women's conference on 13th November 1938 and asked the women participants to fight against "Hindi Imperialism". And on the 14th instant, he appealed to the women to protect that mother tongue 'from the onslaught of an Aryan and alien language'. After these two, 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. For the speeches made on the 13th and 14th November 1938, EVR also was prosecuted for inciting the women to participate in the anti-Hindi agitation and was sentenced to one-year rigorous imprisonment and to a fine of Rs. 1000. Public opinion did not approve of this harsh sentence. Therefore the sentence was changed to simple imprisonment of 6 months and he was transferred from a 'C' class to an 'A' class prison. But before the term expired EVR was released on health grounds. But Hindi was withdrawn from the schools only in 1940.

EVR because of his past experiences with the Congress which he considered as Brahmin dominated, opposed even liberal policies of the C. Rajagopalachari Ministry. Sometimes he sought an alliance with anyone opposed to Congress with the sole purpose of making that party unpopular. One example was his stand on the Temple Entry Bill. The Bill made it possible for Harijans in the Malabar Districts to enter and worship in the temples. One section in the Brahmin community, the Sanatanists, started agitation against Harijan entry into Hindu temples.

In spite of the Sanatanists' opposition to the temple entry bill, EVR did not support G. Rajagopalachari's efforts to bring about social change in Tamil society. Instead, he was quite willing to compromise his own cherished and much advocated social aims like the uplift of Harijans and accommodate the Sanatanists for 'immediate political gains.

Naicker's opposition to the Congress did not rest with-the Temple Entry Bill 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 that kept up for about 50 years or so. The

writings of Caldwell and G.U. Pope and other western writers, besides contributing to Tamil revivalism, also fostered a sense of a new identity of Dravidianism. But EVR gave a political dimension to a nebulous identity by passing a resolution at the Executive Committee of the Justice Party in 1940. He expressed his views in the Mail of 15 November 1939 that the concept of a Tamil nation was nothing new but had been adumbrated 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, he started a campaign. The nationalist press like the Swadesamitran criticized his demand as "mischievous" and "dangerous". Despite that, he carried on his propaganda. He joined the Muslim League and supported its demand for partition. Jinnah's two-nation theory, advocating reasons for establishing a separate Muslim nation, was conceded and upheld by EVR as the only solution for the Muslims to live harmoniously in a nation dominated by the Aryan Brahmins. The League's role in the politics of the nation, EVR said, was not to disrupt national unity; but to defend the right and privileges of the Muslims and all the other minorities in the country.

But the demand for Dravidianism did not acquire any prominence and the Justice Party itself was a decline, EVR's leadership of it did not add up to its image. At the 1944 Salem Conference, the Justice Party was rechristened as the Dravida Kazhagam. The new name was expected to reinvigorate the party's image. But the authoritarian leadership of EVR did not allow any change to take place. Again the Dravida Kazhagam under the leadership of EVR was split into two in 1949 when a considerable number of members of that body left it in protest against EVR's marriage with a woman many years younger than himself.

After 1949, EVR's role in Tamil Nadu politics was less considerable. He carried sporadic agitations against C. Rajagopalachari's education policy in 1954. He came to support the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Kamaraj as a "pure Tamilian", since he hailed from, the backward community of Nadars. But increasingly, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, a splinter group of the Dravida Kazhagam, became a major political force. The Dravida Kazhagam lost its importance as a pressure group even under his own stewardship.

EVR Naicker represented the new emerging forces in Tamil Society. He was a stout follower of Gandhian methods of struggle against colonial power. But on the question of communal representation and varnashrama 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 who were hitherto untouched and claimed to fight against social evils like untouchability. The more enduring aspect of the movement was the elevation of Tamil and Tamil culture. Some of the caste rigidities were removed and representation of non-Brahmin communities for which EVR fought consistently in liberal services was secured. But it 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 against Varnashrama dharma, and Brahmins' claim to superiority. His close association with C Rajagopalachari despite political differences was evidence of his sincerity

Unit – V

Lohia – Democracy

The growth of socialist thought as a philosophy of social and economic reconstruction is mostly the product of the Western impact on India. One of the leading saint-philosopher of India, Aurobindo Ghosh criticism of the middle-class mentality of the leaders of the Indian National Congress and his plea for the social development of the "proletariats" in his articles to the magazine "Indu Prakash in 1893, B. G. Tilak's reference to the Russian Nihilists the Kesari in 1908, C.R.Das's reference to the glorious role of the Russian Revolution in the contemporary international system, and particularly his emphasis on the role OF the trade union movements in the structural development of the social and political systems of India, in his Presidential address at the Gaya Session of the Indian National Congress in 1917, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's eloquence about the New Economic Policy of 1926 and other developments in the Soviet Union in his articles and books such as Soviet Russia, Autobiography, And Glimpses of World History are some of examples of the impact of tile Soviet ideas and thoughts on the tni~ids of the leading Indian thinkers and political leaders.

One of the leading figures of the freedom struggle in India, Lala Lajpat Rai was considered by some critics as the first writer on Socialism and Bolshevism in India. The Marxist leader, M.N.Roy was very critical of Lala Lajpat Rai's writings, particularly his book, The Future of India. I-Ie considered him as "a bourgeois politician with sympathy for socialism". Roy, in his book, "India in Transition and Indian Problem" was also critical of the bourgeois attitude of the leaders of the Indian National Congress. Roy was not a blind follower of Russian communism. He considered Russian communism as a form of state capitalism. In his book, Russian Revolution, he regarded the Russian Revolution as "a fluke of history"

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT's HISTORY IN INDIA

The socialist movement became popular in India only after the First World War and the Russian Revolution. The unprecedented economic crisis of the twenties coupled with the capitalist and imperialist policies of the British Government created spiralling inflation and increasing utlemploynt among the masses. According to John Patrick Haithcox, imperialism

was considered as a form of capitalist class government intended to perpetuate the slavery of the workers. The success of the Russian Revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky and the economic growth of that country inspired intellectuals and political leaders of the developing countries of the Third World including India.

A number of radical groups and youth leagues opposing the policies of the British government were born in India. A left-wing was created within the Congress Party under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. In November 1928 an organisation called the Independence for India League was created under the leadership of S. Srinivas Iyengar. Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose were their joint secretaries. This left-oriented pressure group within Congress spearheaded the movement for complete political, social, and economic independence. In the Lahore Session of the Congress, in 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru, with the help of this left-wing group, got a resolution for complete independence passed. After this resolution for independence was passed, the Independence for India League got slowly disintegrated.

During the first two decades of the twentieth century a number of political parties based on religion, caste, and community came into existence in India. According to a leading social scientist, Gopal Krishna, "Articulate political parochialism - characteristic of a society where primary Loyalties continue to centre around caste and community, social and geographic mobility was minimal and attitudes were not enlightened by an awareness of the larger national community - resulted in the early formation of communal and caste parties, seeking in their own way to participate in the process of political modernisation."

The Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS), the precursor of Jan Sangh, was born in 1925. The Justice Party, an anti-Brahmin movement in the Madras Presidency, came into existence in 1917. Both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha were formed in 1906. As a result of the impact of the Russian Revolution, most of the left parties were formed in the Third World countries. The Communist Party of India (CPI) was born in 1925. The left party was linked with the Communist International of Moscow. Besides, a lot of radical splinter groups also were born in different parts of India.

The Communist Party, with the help of the Communist International and the British Communist Party, made rapid progress in the field of trade union movements till the Sixth

Comintern Congress in 1928. With the criticism of the Congress Party as an instrument of 'bourgeoisie nationalism' and Gandhism, which Lenin regarded as 'revolutionary', as an "openly counter-revolutionary force", the Communist Party got alienated from the masses as well as from the freedom struggle. M.N.Roy also started his radical group in 1930 after he was expelled from Comintern in 1929.

The failure of the two civil disobedience movements of 1930 and 1932 and the compromising attitude of the Congress at the two Round Table Conferences made a number of young leaders disillusioned. During this time, Gandhi also suspended his Satyagraha government and started concentrating on constructive programmes. Many Congressmen considered this development as a failure of Gandhi's non-violent struggle. In this atmosphere of disillusionment an attempt was made to form the Congress Socialist Party, a Marxism oriented organisation, within the Congress Party in 1934.

The socialist groups were also formed in Punjab, Bengal, Benares and Kerala. In Poona, the task of forming the socialist party within the Congress was entrusted to Karnaladevi Chattopadhyay, Yusuf Meherally and Purshottam Trikamdas. Other leaders who were instrumental in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party were: Jayaprakash Narayan, Minoo Masani, Asoka Mehta, Achyut Patwardhan, N.G.Goray, M.L.Dantwala, Acliarya Narendra Deva, Dr Rammanohar Lohia and S.M. Joshi. While in prison, these leaders prepared the blueprint for the Congress Socialist Party. Thus the Congress Socialist Party (CSP) was born out of the disillusionment with the civil resistance movement, the growth of constitutionalism, and the anti-national role of the Communist Party of India and its alienation from the national mainstream. Some socialist critics are of the opinion that if the Communist Party of India would not show its anti-Gandhi and anti-freedom struggle mentality, and the Congress Party would not be dominated by the conservative elements, perhaps the Congress Socialist Party would never have been born at all.

During the thirties, Jawaharlal was considered a great champion of socialist philosophy. Every young leader of the Congress Party looked upon him as the symbol of socialism. In a letter to Minoo Masani on December 1934, Nehru welcomed the "formation of the socialist group's within the Congress to influence the ideology of the Congress and the country."

By 1934, many socialist groups were formed in different parts of the country. It was then realised that these groups were to be brought under one socialist platform. Jayaprakash Narayan organised a conference of socialist members in Patna in May 1934. He also revived the Bihar Socialist Party. The All India Congress Socialist Party was formed at this conference. Gandhi's decision to withdraw from the civil disobedience movement and the revival of the rightist Swaraj Party precipitated the formation of the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Gandhi's favourable attitude towards the Swarajists like B.C.Roy, K.M.Munshi, Bhulabhai Desai and others and the Congress's decision to withdraw the civil disobedience movement and launch parliamentary programmes in the forthcoming Patna meeting on 18 May 1934, made socialist forces in the Congress to create the Congress Socialist Party on 17 May 1934. Acharya Narendra Deva was made the chairman and Jayaprakash Narayan was the organising secretary of the committee to draft the constitution and the programmes of the Congress Socialist Party.

The birth of the Congress Socialist Party in May 1934 was a landmark in the history of the socialist movement in India. While assessing the programmes and policies of the Congress Socialist Party, it will be desirable to remember the contributions of the Meerut Conspiracy case in spreading the ideology of the early 1930s, Besides, the creation of the All India Kisan Sabha in 1936, and the role of the Youth League and the Independence for India League can never be ignored in the growth of the socialist thought in India. The Congress Socialist Party provided an all-India platform to all the socialist groups in India. The publication of the Party and the writings of the socialist leaders inspired the youth of India in different parts of the country to take part in constructive programmes for the upliftment of the downtrodden. Ashok Mehta's Democratic Socialism, and Studies in Asia Socialism, Acharya Narendra Deva's Socialism and National revolution Jayaprakash Narayan's "Towards Struggle (1946), and Dr.Rammanohar Lohia's The Mystery of Sir Stafford Cripps (1942) played a significant role in spreading the messages of socialism in India.

It was declared in the Socialist conference of 1934 that the basic objective of the Party was to work for "complete independence in the sense of separation from the British Empire and the establishment of socialist society." The Party membership was not open to the members of the communal organisations. Its basic aim was to organise the workers and peasants for a powerful mass movement for independence. Programmes included a planned economy,

socialisation of key industries and banking, elimination of the exploitation by Princes and landlords and initiation of reforms in the areas of basic needs.

The ideology of the Congress Socialist Party was a combination of the principles of Marxism, the ideas of democratic socialism of the British Labour Party, and socialism mixed with the Gandhian principles of Satyagraha and non-violence. The Party was under the influence of deep Marxist ideas in its formative phase. The leading members of the Congress Socialist Party belonged to different streams of thought. JP on the other hand was a staunch believer in the dictatorship of the proletariat, whatever that may mean. Marxism was the bedrock of his socialist faith."

Some of the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party like Acharya Narendra Deva and Jayaprakash Narayan were strong supporters of the Marxist trend in the CSP. By the 1940s, JP came under the spell of Gandhi and Gandhian socialism. By 1954, he was disillusioned with the functioning of party politics. He left CSP and joined the Sarvodaya movement, Other leaders like M.I., Dantwala. M.R. Masani, Ashok Mehta, and Purshothaman 'Trikam Das were the followers of the principles of British Fabian socialism. Masani left the CSP in 1939 and became a strong supporter of free enterprise. He was instrumental in the formation of the Swatantra Party in 1959. Achyut Patwardhan and Dr. Rammanohar Lohia was a follower of Gandhian methodology in the Party. Patwardhan became a follower of J. Krishnamurti in 1950 and left all party politics. Dr. Lohia continued to be a prominent Gandhian socialist Leader throughout.

The ideological differences among the leaders of the Congress Socialist Party had a deep impact on the policies, programmes and organisational development of the Party. In the formative phase of the Party, all the leaders remained together because of their strong sense of nationalism, camaraderie, and brotherhood, and what is often referred to as their "intensive personal friendship". According to Madhu Limaye, they were all from a similar urban, middle-class, highly educated background. They were also young and idealistic, possessed a strict code of ethics and had great "respect for values of truth and decency. Of all the leaders, JP was the most prominent cohesive factor. He was considered as the most important leader of the socialist movement. Because of his organisational capacity and strong Marxist approach, the Party, in the formative phase, followed the Marxist approach and principles."

The 1936 Meerut Thesis put emphasis on the Party to follow and develop into a national movement, an anti-imperialist movement based on the principles of Marxism. According to this thesis, it was "necessary to wean the anti-imperialist elements in the Congress away from its present bourgeois Leadership and to bring them under the leadership of the revolutionary socialism." 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 lifted by the leading members of the Congress nor by the communists and the Royalists. The communists were not part of the nationalist struggle against 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 symbols of 'left reformism'. The Congress leaders were not very sympathetic to the role of the socialists inside the Congress organisation. The socialists of the Congress, particularly the CSP members, were opposed to the constitutional arrangements of the 1935 Act and did not like the Congress's decision to participate in the elections in the states although ultimately persons like Acharya Narendra Deva participated in the elections. The Congress's decision to form ministries in the states after the elections in 1937 was opposed by the socialists.

The soft attitude of the Congress organisation towards the landlords, its policies regarding the Princely states, and its opposition to the Kisan movements in the states also embittered the relationship between the socialists and the leading members of the Congress. The Congress organisation was not very sympathetic towards the Kisan movements under the leaders of the CSP, They even went to the extent of passing an official resolution at the Haripura Session in 1938 asking its members not to associate with the Kisan organisations. The victory of Subhash Chandra Bose against Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Gandhi's candidate, was not very much liked by the Congress leaders. In March 1939, a Congress resolution moved by G.B. Pant, asked the newly elected Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose, to nominate the members of his Working Committee as per the advice of Gandhi. At this critical moment of, the CSP, and its members were divided on the issue of support towards Bose. Jayaprakash Narayan and the communists in the organisation wanted to support Bose. Dr Lohia, Masani, Ashok Mehta and Yusuf Meherally were not in Favour of Bose as they thought that the decision to support Bose would result in the polarisation of the national movement into two camps and would ultimately weaken the nationalist struggle against the British government. The decision by the socialist members to

abstain from voting on the resolution shocked Bose to such an extent that he decided to resign from the Presidentship and form his own party, the Forward Bloc. All these developments weakened the CSP as an emerging organisation of the socialist forces in the country. In the Nasik Convention of the CSP, in March 1948, the socialists ultimately took the decision to leave Congress and 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 the political emancipation of India.

The Bolshevik theory of democratic centralism deeply influenced the ideological deliberations of the Congress Socialist Party till independence. With the attainment of independence in 1947 and the death of Gandhi in the next year, the Congress Socialist Party underwent a significant transformation. It moved away from the communist principle of democratic centralism and Marxist methodology towards the area of democratic socialism. Also, in order to achieve a mass base, the CSP diluted some of its earlier ideological frameworks and methodology. Soon the electoral processes of adjustments, alliances, and even mergers were undertaken with political organisations that neither believed in democratic processes nor in the principles of nationalism, socialism and democracy. From a revolutionary path, it moved towards parliamentary methods of a coalitional approach.

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, the 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 statements the separate identity of the Congress Socialist Party was also emphasised. The Party was reluctant to have an entity 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 Gandhian ideals with socialist thought. Dr. Rammanohar 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 Pancharnarhi 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 greater cooperation ~ between the Socialist and the Congress Party. As a counterpoise to Ashok Mehta's thesis, Dr. Lohia offered the "Theory of Equidistance". This 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, One of the prominent leaders of the Congress Socialist Party, Acharya Narendra Deva was not in favour of the Socialists joining the Congress. He was a staunch believer in the principle of dialectical materialism of Marx. He said, "We can perform the task before us only if we try to comprehend the principle and purposes of Socialism and to understand the dialectical method propounded by Marx for the correct understanding of the situation and make that understanding the basis of true action we must make our stand on scientific socialism and steer clear of utopian socialism or social reformism. Nothing short of a revolutionary transformation of the existing social order can meet the needs of the situation. He believed in the moral governance of the world and the primacy of moral values. He considered socialism as a cultural movement. He always emphasised the humanist foundation of socialism; He was not in favour of the Gandhian philosophy of non-violence in its entirety. He was in favour of broadening the basis of a mass movement by organising the masses on an economic and class-conscious basis. He was in favour of an alliance between the lower middle class and the masses. He said that "They could become class conscious only when an appeal was made to them in economic terms" to understand India. He pleaded for an alliance between the Socialist movement and the National Movement for a colonial country. He said that political freedom was an "inevitable stage on the way to socialism". During the socialist movements in the pre-independence phase, and subsequently, during the 1940s, '50s and 60's, greater emphasis was put on the acceleration of agricultural production, 1 cooperative, land ceiling, reduction of unemployment, and the raising of the living standards; of the suppressed and backward communities. The socialist party always advocated for the separation of the judiciary from the administration and its decentralisation on the lines of the Balwant Rai Mehta committee report. The basic philosophy of Socialist thought in India was based on a synthesis of secularism, nationalism and the democratic decentralisation process.

SOCIALIST THOUGHT OF DR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Rammonohar Lohia articulated his approach in what he called Seven Revolutions such as equality between man and woman, struggle against political, economic and spiritual inequality based on skin colour, removal of inequality between backward and high castes based on the traditions and special opportunity for the backward, majors against foreign enslavement in different forms, economic equality, planned production, and removal of capitalism, against unjust encroachment on private life, the non-proliferation of weapons and reliance on Satyagraha were the basic elements of his thought. In his book on Marx, Gandhi and Socialism, Lohin made an analysis of the principles of democratic socialism as an appropriate philosophy for the successful operation of constructive programmes. He said, "Conservatism and communism have a strange identity of interest against socialism. Conservatism loads socialism as its democratic rival and does not fear communism except as a threat of successful insurrection. Communism prefers the continuance of a conservative government and is mortally afraid of a socialist party coming to office, for its chances of an insurrection are then deemed".

Lohia made a significant contribution to the field of socialist thought in India, He always laid greater emphasis on the combination of Gandllian ideals with socialist thought. He was a proponent of the cyclical theory of History. He believed that through the principles of democratic socialism the economy of a developing country could be improved. Although Dr.Lohia was a supporter of dialectical materialism he put greater emphasis on consciousness. He has the opinion that through an internal oscillation between class and caste, the Historical dynamism of a country could be insured. According to Dr. Lohia, the classes represent the social mobilisation process and the castes are symbols of conservative forces. All human history, he said, has always been "an internal movement between caste and classes - caste loosens into classes and classes crystallise into castes". He was an exponent of decentralised socialism. According to him small machines, cooperative labour and village government, operate as democratic forces against capitalist forces. He considered orthodox and organised socialism "a dead doctrine and a dying organisation". Lohia was very popular for his Four Pillar State concept. He considered village, mandal (district), province and centre and government as the four pillars of the state. He was in favour of villages having police and welfare functions.

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 relief 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 was deeply influenced by Leon Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution". He preached and practiced the concept of "permanent civil disobedience" as a peaceful rebellion against injustice. To him the essence of social revolution could be achieved through a combination of jail, spade and vote. His theory of "immediacy" was very popular among the youth. He wanted that organisation and action must continue as parallel currents and strongly pleaded for "constructive militancy" and "militant construction".

Lohia was convinced that no individual's thought could be used as the sole frame of reference for the ideology of any movement. Although he was in favour of Marx's theory of dialectical materialism, he was aware of its limitations. He emphasised both the economic factors and human will as important elements of the development of history. He was convinced that the "logic of events" and "logic of will" would govern the path of history. He was not convinced by the Marxist thesis that the revolutions were in industrially developed societies. He said that communism borrowed from Capitalism its conventional production techniques; it only sought to change the relationship among the forces of production. Such a process was unsuitable for the conditions prevailing in India. He pleaded for small-unit technology and a decentralised economy. For him, the theory of determinism was not a solution for the tradition-bound Indian society where class distinctions and caste stratifications rule the day.

The Marxist theory of class struggle is not an answer to the complex social structures of India. Lohia was convinced that the concept of "welfare statism" was not an answer to the social and economic progress of countries in the Third World. The Marxist concept of class. The struggle had no place for the peasant because he was "an owner of the property and an exacter of high prices for their food." Dr. Lohia always emphasised the role of peasants in the economic, political and social developments of the country. According to him, "Undoubtedly, the farmer in India, as elsewhere, has a greater role to play, than whom none is greater, but others may have equal roles to play. The talk of subsidiary alliances between farmers and workers and artisans and city poor must be replaced by the concept of equal relationship in the revolution." He gave a call for civil disobedience movements against all forms of injustice and for the creation of a new world order.

The main purpose of the modern ideology of keeping religion separate from politics is to ensure that communal fanaticism does not originate. There is also one more idea that the power of awarding punishment in politics and religious orders should be placed separately, otherwise it could give impetus to conservatism and corruption. Despite keeping all the above precautions in view, it is all the more necessary that religion and politics should be complementary to each other, but they should not encroach upon each other's jurisdiction. "As a socialist thinker and activist, Lohia has carved out for himself a unique place in the history of Indian socialist thought and movement. Although there has been a tendency among contemporary researchers not to recognise him as an academic system-builder in the tradition of Kant, Hegel or Comte, his democratic socialist approach to looking at ideology as an integrated phenomenon is now being widely accepted throughout the world.

Jeyaprakash Narayanan – Democratic socialism

Jayaprakash Narayan popularly known as JP was a confirmed Marxist in 1929. By the middle of the 1940s, Ize was inclined towards the Gandhian ideology. Till 1952 JP had no faith in non-violence as an instrument of the social transformation process. The transformations of Russian society in the late 1920s thereafter changed his outlook towards Marxism and the process of dialectical materialism. The Soviet Union was no more an ideal model for him for a socialist society. The bureaucratised dictatorship with the Red Army, secret police and guns produced an inherent disliking for the Soviet Pattern of development. He was convinced that it

did not produce "decent, fraternal and civilised human beings". He said in 1947, "The method of violent revolution and dictatorship might conceivably lead to a socialist democracy; but in the only country where it has been tried (i.e. the Soviet Union), it had led to something different, i.e. to a bureaucratic state in which democracy does not exist. I should like to take a lesson from history". JP was convinced that there was an inter-relationship between the nature of the revolution and its ' future impact. He was convinced that any pattern of violent revolution would not lead to the empowerment of people at the grassroots level. He said, "A Soviet Revolution has two parts: the destruction of the old order of society and construction of the new. In a successful violent revolution, success lies in the destruction of the old order from the roots. That indeed is a ' great achievement. But at that point, something vital happens which nearly strangles the succeeding process. During the revolution, there is widespread reorganised revolutionary violence. When that violence assisted by other factors into which one need not go here, has succeeded in destroying the old power structure, it becomes necessary to cry a halt to the unorganised mass violence and create out of it an organised means of violence to protect and defend the revolution. Thus a new instrument of power is created and whosoever among the revolutionary succeeds in capturing this instrument, they and their party or faction become the new rulers. They become the masters of the new, state and power passage from the hands of the people to them. There is always a struggle for powers at the top and heads roll and blood flows, victory going in the end to the most determined, the most ruthless and the best, organised. It is not that violent revolutionaries deceive and betray; it is just the logic of violence working itself out.

JP was very much critical of dialectical materialism on human development. He was convinced that this methodology would affect the spiritual development of man. His concept of Total Revolution is a holistic one. He used the term Total Revolution for the first time in a British magazine called The Time in 1969. Underlying the emphasis on the Gandhian concept of non-violence and Satyagraha he said, "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."

The concept of Total Revolution as enunciated by JP is a confluence of his ideas on seven revolutions i.e. social, economic, political, cultural, ideological and intellectual, educational and spiritual. JP was not very rigid regarding the number of these revolutions. He said the seven revolutions could be grouped as per the demands of the social structures in a political system. He said, "For instance, the culture may include educational and ideological revolutions. And if culture is used in an anthropological 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. Even spiritual revolution can be viewed as made of moral and spiritual or it can be looked upon as part of the culture. And so on." 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 of the time. During his Convocation Address at the Benaras Hindu University in 1970, he said, "Politics has, however, become the greatest question mark of this decade. Some of the trends are obvious, political disintegration is likely to spread, selfish splitting of parties rather than their ideological polarisation will continue; the devaluation of ideologies may continue; frequent change of party loyalties for a persona; or parochial benefits, buying and selling of legislatures, inner party indiscipline, an opportunistic alliance among parties and instability of governments, all these are expected to continue."

JP was deeply moved by the mutilation of the democratic process, political corruption and fall of moral standards in our public life. He said that if this pattern of the administrative process continues then there would not be any socialism, welfarism, government, public order, justice, freedom, national unity and in short no nation. He said, "No ism can have any chance, democratic socialism symbolises an incessant struggle for the establishment of a just, casteless, social and economic order under a democratic system in which an individual is provided with the proper environment." In his address in Patna on 5th June 1974, he said, "This is a revolution, a total revolution. This is not a movement merely for the dissolution of the assembly. We have to go far, very far".

JP's Total Revolution involved the development of peasants, workers, Harijans, tribal people and indeed all weaker sections of the social structure. He was always interested in empowering and strengthening India's democratic system. He wanted the participation of people

at all, levels of the decision-making process. He wanted the electoral representative should be accountable to his electors, not once in five years but if is unsuitable before the expiry of his five-year term he should be replaced. The political representative must be continuously accountable to the public. He wanted electoral reforms to be introduced in the political system to check the role of black money in the electoral process of the country. He said that some kind of machinery should be established through which there could be a major consultation with the setting up of candidates. This machinery should "keep a watch on their representatives and demand good and honest performance from them". Regarding the statutory provision for recalling the-elected representatives he said "I do recognise of course that it may not be very easy to devise suitable machinery for it and that the right to recall may be occasionally misused. But in a democracy, we do not solve problems by denying people their basic rights. If constitutional experts apply their minds to the problem, a solution may eventually be found."

JP was deeply disturbed by the growth of corruption in the Indian political system. He said "I know politics is not for saints. But politics at least under a democracy must know the limits which it may not cross." This was the focal point of JP's Peoples Charter which he submitted to the Parliament on 6th March 1975. He said "Corruption is eating into the vitals of our political life. It is a disturbing development, undermining the administration and making a mockery of all laws and regulations. It is eroding people's faith and exhausting their proverbial patience."

JP wanted a network of Peoples Committees to be established at the grassroots level to take care of the problems of the people and the programmes for development. He wanted the economic and the political power to be combined in the hands of the people. Analysing his economic programme he said, "A Gandhian frame laying emphasis on agricultural development, equitable land ownership, the application of appropriate technology to agriculture such as improved labour, intensive tools and gadgets ..., the development of domestic and rural industries and the widest possible spread of small industries".

JP's Programme of Antyodaya meaning, the upliftment of the last man was an essential aspect of his socialist thought. On 21st March 1977, in a statement he said, "Bapu gave his good yardstick. Whenever you are in doubt about taking a particular decision remember the face of the poorest man and think about how it will affect him. May this yardstick guide all their actions?"

Right to work was an integral part of his concept of Total Revolution, he said "Once the state accepts this obligation, means will have to be found for providing employment to all. It is not so difficult to do so." JP was also particular about social reforms such as the elimination of the dowry system, the development of the conditions of the Harijans and the abolition of the caste system in India's political system. Analysing his concept of an ideal state, he said in 1977 that "the idea of my dream is a community in which every individual, every resource is dedicated to serving the weak, a community dedicated to Antyodaya, to the well being of the least and the weakest. It is a community in which individuals are valued for their humanity, a community in which the right of every individual to act according to his conscience is recognised and respected by all. In short, my vision is of a free, progressive and Gandhian India." Minoo Masani said, "All through the vicissitudes and jig-jags of JP's Life, there has throughout been a non-violent means for total revolution." JP, throughout his career, highlighted the role of students and youth in the field of people's movement. He said "Revolutions are not brought about by those who are engaged in the race for power and office whether in the government or in non-official organisations. Not also by those who are totally preoccupied with the burden of providing bread to their families and are wary of adopting any risky step. The youth of a country alone is free from these constraints. They have idealism, they have enthusiasm, and they have the capacity to make sacrifices from which older men shrink." In his letter to the youth in August 1976, he said, "For the long and endless battle for Total Revolution there is a need of new leadership, the forces of history are with you. So go ahead with full confidence. Victory is certainly yours." Throughout his life, JP has always tried to put men in the centre of the picture. JP said, "In the society that I have in view for the future, man should occupy the central place, the organisation should be for a man and not the other way round. That means that the social organisation should be such as allowing freedom for every individual to develop and grow according to his own inner nature, a society which believes in and practices the dignity of an, just human being.

Dravidian ideology – Self-Respect movement

Reformation in the caste system has been the prime target of various social reform movements including the Dravidian movement. The roots of the Dravidian movement lie in the Brahman-non-Brahman conflict. In 1916, Zamindars and Maharajas in order to counter the growing clout of Brahmans in society and politics established South India Welfare Association in Madras Presidency, which later become the justice party. On the other hand, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker (Periyar) was unhappy with Brahmanical dominance to assert the rights of non-Brahmans, he established Self-Respect Movement in 1925.

Dravidian Movement which was initiated as a movement against Brahmins, after independence added one more dimension of Anti north orientation. At the time of Independence Periyar boycotted the independence celebration as he thought that now the British dominance will be replaced by the dominance of North India and Congress which was led by Brahmins. Therefore he started the demand for an Independent south Indian nation/ Dravida Nadu or Dravidsthan. However, this view was not supported by various other party leaders including CN Annadurai. The movement for Dravida Nadu reached its height during the period of anti-Hindi protests. However, after the 16th Amendment (popularly known as the Anti-Secessionist Amendment), secessionist tendency was declared illegal and the demand for a politically independent nation faded away.

Apart from that use of Hindi as the official language was opposed by people and politicians in non-Hindi-speaking states in general and Tamilnadu in Particular. Even after the amendment in 1967, the issue of language has not been resolved for example Tamil Nadu passed a resolution in 2006 to make Tamil the official language the of Madras high court.

The Dravidian movement failed to liberate women as well as the lower caste. It could not ensure equal rights for them. Also, the ambit of movement was confined only to Tamilnadu. The Dravidian movement may have succeeded in reducing the dominance of the upper castes in administration, however, it has strengthened the middle castes which is the backbone of the rural economy. Without proper land reforms, the middle-class control the rural economy which has kept the lower castes in a continued state of suppression.

However, despite limitations, the Dravidian movement was successful in the abolition of the Devadasi system, promotion of inter-caste and inter-religious marriages and legalization of marriages without Brahman priests and therefore reducing brahminical domination.

When Periyar E V Ramaswamy shaped up the Dravidian ideologies, he intended to create a social fabric based on equality and justice to all. Though Dravidian movement initially had anti-Brahminical, anti-North Indian and anti-Hindi outlook apart from having secessionist aspirations, the core values were based upon creating a society which will do away with caste system, religion, gender disparities and economic inequalities. The movement opposed upper caste people taking away a lion's share of jobs and wanted all communities to have their share in employment opportunities. The anti-Hindi agitation was not against a language per se, but against forcefully imposing something alien upon the people.

S. Ramanathan invited E.V. Ramaswamy to start this movement in Tamil Nadu, where it was very influential, in 1925. The Self-Respect Movement, also known as the Dravidian Movement, advocated for equal rights for the backward castes, with a focus on women's rights. Most importantly, as the movement's leaders stated, the movement fought for people of the lower castes to have "self-respect" in society. The Self-Respect Movement was a dynamic social movement aimed at completely destroying the contemporary Hindu social order and establishing a new, rational society free of caste, religion, and god. Inspired by the emphasis on self-respect in Tamil literature – known as *tan-Maanam* or *suya mariyadai* – Ramanathan and Periyar Ramaswamy sought to advance the philosophy that developing self-respect in individuals will end caste discrimination. Annai Meenanmbal and Veeramal were two of the movement's female leaders.

Objectives of Self-Respect Movement

The three main objectives advocated by this movement were the dissolution of Brahminical rule, equal chances for the weaker sections and women in the workplace, and the resurrection of the Dravidian languages, which included Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, and Tamil. The propounders of the movement outlined the objectives in two pamphlets “**Namathu Kurikkol**” and “**Tiravitakkalaka Lateiyam**”. The following were the major objectives of the movement:

- To build a society in which backward castes have the same basic civil rights as higher castes.
- To work towards providing equal possibilities for growth and development should to all persons.

- Complete eradication of untouchability and establishment of a just and harmonious society.
- It aimed at a social transformation after which friendship and a sense of belonging comes naturally to everyone.
- To provide shelter for the destitute, orphans, and widows and to establish schools and colleges.
- To deter people from constructing additional temples, mutts, chlorites, or Vedic schools. The movement wanted to discourage people from using their caste names in their names, and other similar practices that were blindly followed.

Significance of Self respect movement

E.V.R.'s follower's never-ending anti-orthodoxy campaign, the Brahmins' monopoly of power and influence was gradually eroded. People were energized with the feeling of self-respect and, above all, self-confidence, as they prepared to confront societal injustice perpetuated by the Brahmins. It resulted in the encouragement of inter-caste and interreligious weddings, as well as the legalization of marriages performed without the presence of a Brahman priest. Tamil Nadu was the first state after independence to approve legislation allowing Hindu marriages without the use of a Brahmin priest. The method of allocating separate seats in Municipal Councils for Harijan members was also abolished. The name boards of the hotels were changed from "Brahmins Hotel" to "Vegetarian Hotel" as a result of the movement's unwavering support. People began to take pride in abandoning their caste names.

Contemporary Relevance of Self Respect Movement.

Periyar came up with the idea of forming a self-respect movement as a means of achieving his goal of freeing society from some of the harmful social practices that go by the names of dharma and karma. The Self-Respect Movement has grown into a prominent anti-caste movement that has questioned India's social system. Inter-caste marriages, as well as women's physical autonomy, were highlighted by the movement. The feminist movement fought for a society where women could choose their own sexual, reproductive, and physical decisions. The

campaign was a breakthrough moment for feminism in India. It placed a high priority on ensuring that women had access to permanent birth control as well as contraception. One of the major societal revolutions brought about by the self-respect movement was the Self-Respect Marriage System. Indian societies have historically been dominated by Brahminical ideologies and people have been under continuous oppression. Various incidents and movements have occurred in the past to counteract this domination. The Self Respect Movement is one of the movements that resisted Brahmin dominance in Indian society. The fact remains that the Self-Respect Movement's strong ideals and demands paved the way for true democracy.

Regionalism

The first important point to consider here is to delineate regionalism as a concept. Regionalism in world politics refers to an attempt by countries in a geographical region to seek greater cooperation and support in different areas of state activity such as military, political, economic, and social-cultural interactions. At times, the need for such cooperation gradually manifests itself in the form of demand for establishing regional organizations. This phenomenon is also known as regional integration. Thus, regionalism often leads to regional integration and cooperation among the states in a particular region. Almost all the regions in the world have experienced this phenomenon and its development has seen increased emphasis since the 1990s. The next important point to ponder in this context is whether regionalism is a 'process' or a 'condition'. In a way, regionalism denotes both a process and a condition.

It is interesting to note that regional cooperation based on a sentiment of belonging to the neighbourhood is not new. We see instances of regionalism ever since the formation of organized political life. However, its most prominent avatar has been visible only in the twentieth century, more importantly, after the end of the First World War. Conceptually speaking, a blueprint for cooperation was presented by David Mitrany in his book, *A Working Peace System* published in 1943 in which he proposed cooperation in technical areas of interdependence (he calls them 'functional' areas) so as to encourage greater interaction and closer relations among member states. He believed that such interaction would eventually result in habits of cooperation and deeper understanding among participating states leading to system interdependencies and linkages in other areas as well. This, he thought, would lay the foundation for a peaceful working of the state system. His approach to peace came to be known as the functionalist approach. It means that one of the main factors responsible for the evolution of regionalism and regional cooperation is the emergence and existence of growing interdependence in technical and trade-related interactions among the states. Gradually, when member states find it beneficial to cooperate in some 'functional' areas, they extend it to other areas of cooperation. This is known as the spillover effect. The functionalist approach received the most traction in Europe after the Second World War since the European continent was witnessing the challenge of post-War reconstruction and the need for economic cooperation. What began as cooperation in functional areas gained greater subscription and utility within the

region of Europe to transform into a regional organization. It started with the formation of European Coal and Steel Community culminating in the regional European Economic Community. During the 1960s, there was a vigorous attempt to mould the functionalist approach to the specific needs of Europe by weaving political cooperation into the economic and trade matrix. A cluster of regionalists led by Ernst B Haas articulated the revised programme of functional cooperation envisioned by Mitrany. Their approach came to be known as neo-functionalism underscoring the inevitability of political elements in the regional scheme of cooperation if it were to result in regional integration.

The obvious question that arises in one's mind is why regionalism? What prompts the emergence of regionalism as an inevitable development? Based on the above-mentioned description of its evolution, we can now deduce reasons for the growth of regionalism and factors that encourage this development. If David Mitrany proposed a blueprint for cooperation in technical and functional areas, it is fairly obvious to infer that growing interdependence in technical and trade relations among member states has been a major driving force of regionalism. The evolution of public international unions in the 19th Century is a testimony to increasing interactions leading to common concerns and the need for harmonious laws that needed to be addressed at the intergovernmental level. Examples of the Universal Postal Union and the International Bureau of Weights and Measures are relevant here. This process has been further galvanized by globalisation wherein it is impossible to conceive of member states as isolated, independent entities characterised by self-sufficiency. Secondly, the regional level acts as an intermediary between national and global levels of economic and political activity. Oftentimes, issues of regional concern get lost in the melee of global problems and concerns. Universal intergovernmental organizations tend to be remote in terms of access and diffused in terms of focus and attention when dealing with specific problems of a region. Hence, regionalism fits the bill perfectly while dealing with transnational issues that are of particular relevance to a region and not of global concern. Thirdly, regional cooperation checks the authoritarian tendencies of a dominant, stronger actor within a region. It acts as a bulwark against oppressive, totalitarian behaviour towards smaller states by protecting their interest through collective endeavour as also by putting to rest their fears and anxieties. Fourthly, in a broader global context, regionalism provides visibility and voice to regional aspirations and commonly shared attributes such as language, culture, history, and orchestrated ideas based on those attributes. African Union has for

long given voice to the idea of African nationalism and African brotherhood that encapsulated the common history of colonialism and the need to shape a common destiny in future. It promotes regional solutions to problems of conflict by referring to regional challenges and the need to give cooperation a chance. After all, shared destiny is a reality that cannot be reversed by many states. Hence, regionalism helps in preventing conflicts through cooperation. Lastly, harmony and homogeneity of interests coupled with regional socio-cultural attributes galvanize the creation of regional aspirations and their articulation. Scholars like Amitai Etzioni emphasize the cultural and social aspects (non-political) of regionalism seen as a community for its continued strength and relevance in the long run. Regionalism eventually leads to what Karl Deutsch called a security community wherein members of a regional organization are held together through enmesh of cooperation, interdependence and integration. He further believed that the level of integration in a region can be measured by looking at transactions among member states. Etzioni's non-political interactions leading to a community of people or Deutsch's security community or the spillover effect of Ernst B Haas are pointers to the utility of regionalism for the peace and stability of a region.

Regionalism as a concept and as a process shares certain features which help us in identifying the trend. Firstly, regional organizations are not always exclusive in nature; they might be overlapping to let a country be part of multiple organizations or yet again, include a country that is geographically not part of a region. Andrew Heywood states that regional organizations may be continental, sub-continental or transcontinental in their membership.

What appears as a 'region' in economic and cultural terms may not be appealing in political or security terms; e.g. SAARC. The political elites of a region are, therefore, required to articulate regional political aspirations to align with its strides in economic cooperation.

Secondly, there are many dimensions of regionalism depending on the primary purpose and objective which determines its emergence. We can identify at least three main forms of regionalism, which are, economic, political, and strategic. Economic regionalism in the form of free trade area or common market is one of the earliest forms of cooperation that evolved in Europe in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. Political regionalism seeks to protect and consolidate shared political values such as democratic government, individual freedom, liberal outlook, etc in order to develop a harmonious collective image and exert greater

political influence both within and outside the region. Strategic cooperation gained recognition and ascendancy to address the needs of collective self-defence and protection from more powerful neighbours. This form of regionalism may also be driven by ideology and commitment to a certain political value system irrespective of geographical location of its members. North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Warsaw Pact are the most prominent examples of strategic (some call it military or security regionalism) regionalism.

Thirdly, regionalism in the traditional sense followed a familiar path of incremental progress in economic field from free trade area to common market to economic community to economic union. For a long time, this path of incremental progress witnessed in Europe seemed to be inevitable and was replicated in similar fashion elsewhere. Political and strategic communities/organizations formed separate, parallel projects. In the area of security regionalism, international organizations like UN largely determined tasks undertaken at the regional level. However, with the advent of new regionalism in recent decades, regional organizations have acquired a status of their own quite distinct from international organizations like the United Nations. They have transcended the inevitable centrality of state apparatus to achieve regional goals.

The decade of the 1990s witnessed a resurgence of regionalism and mushrooming of several regional organizations “a development that is considered as ‘the second coming’ (Andrew Heywood) of regionalism. After a relatively less active decade from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, there has been a renewed interest in regional groupings. In this section, we look at the features and nature of new regionalism from the standpoint of its changed context, content and contours as it emerged in the 1990s.

New regionalism is an offspring of globalization. Hence, there is an unmistakable emphasis on economic and trade issues at the regional and global levels. Regional organizations became active agents rather than passive objects of international policy processes promoting neoliberalism. In this sense, new regionalism rejected the over-determination of international organizations in world affairs. Until then, regional organizations were seen to be representing intermediary levels of cooperation. New regionalism, insofar as its content is concerned, is associated with several structural transformations in an international system such as the end of the Cold War; the transition from a bipolar to a multipolar power structure; and the post-

Westphalian nation-state system where the state has been relegated to a non-dominant position in regional and international affairs. Further, the state has been to an extent replaced by transnational economic-social-political interdependencies unleashed by globalization leading to newer patterns of interactions between state and non-state actors. The decade of the 1990s is also symptomatic of a changed attitude towards economic development and political system in developing countries as evidenced in the weakening of Third World solidarity and the Non-Aligned Movement in favour of neoliberal economic development. Hettne and Söderbaum refer to the multipolar power structure of post-Cold War era as New International Division of Power (NIDP) and globalisation of 'finance, trade, production and technology' as New International Division of Labour (NIDL). Insofar as the sentiment of new regionalism is concerned, it is an extension of nationalism at a different, higher level; it supplements in areas where national states are incapable of protecting national interests in a globalised context. This is known as 'pooling sovereignty'. Regarding the contours of new regionalism, it needs to be mentioned here that the new regional organizations are comprehensive, and multidimensional in their structure as opposed to simple structures in the common market era. The multidimensionality of regional organizations is also reflected in the convergence of culture, economic interests, security arrangement and political regimes that emerge spontaneously from within a region in the form of sub-regional aspirations to create trade blocs to protect economic/trade interests. Since we have defined regionalism as both a condition and a process, we must underscore here that 'new regionalism' is a complex process of change operating at such various levels as the global system's level. These processes display dynamic interactions at various levels to produce different forms of cooperation depending on their relative importance, which differs from one region to the other.

Regionalism may foment inter-regional or ethnonational conflict leading to disintegration when cultural difference within a state receives outside support from groups with cultural affinity. It impacts intraregional dynamics on political questions. For example, India and Bangladesh share a linguistic affinity and Sri Lanka and India have Tamil groups as a common variable between them. This in itself could lead to tensions and strife within a state. New regionalism is a baby of globalization. Unquestionably, the advent of globalization propelled regionalism to reinvent itself in a new avatar.