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FEATURES & THEMES

Modern Indian Political Thought

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Past year's questions

- **Syllabus: Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought**
- 2018: Notes: Essential Features of Modern Indian Political Thought
- 2019: Write an essay on major characteristics of Modern Indian Political Thought
- 2017: Discuss the pre-dominant themes of Modern Indian Political Thought

What is Modern Indian Political Thought?

- How and in what manner India as a community/society and nation, in modern times- beginning late 18th century- conceptualized or understood the meanings of political values and concepts such as
 - State, nation, nationalism
 - Individual vs State
 - Liberty, equality, fraternity
 - Religion vs Politics
 - Ideal Society
 - Political Freedom vs social reforms and individual freedom/emancipation
 - Democracy

Essential Features of Modern Indian Political Thought

- Developed in the context of Colonialism, India coming into contact with European modernism- Enlightenment, Liberalism, nationalism
- Intimately linked to National Freedom Movement
- Also affected by:
 - Rise of Italian and German nations in 1861 and 1871 respectively
 - Rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, Japan
 - Communist Revolution in Russia
- Break as well as continuity with Ancient/medieval Indian Political Thought
- Overarching elements of Humanism, oriental spiritualism, socio-religious reforms
- **Multiple themes or strands:** Liberal, Idealist, humanist, socialist, feminist, Sub-altern reformist, etc

Essential Features of Modern Indian Political Thought...2/3

- 3 attitudes towards Western Modernity
 - **Positive**; God sent opportunity; helpful in socio-religious reforms
 - First wave; Liberal strand; Indian Renaissance
 - Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ranade, Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
 - **Negative**; corrupting effect on Indian society, culture, civilization
 - Second wave: Idealists or revivalists- recovering glory of ancient Indian culture/civilization
 - Dayanand Saraswati, Lala Lajpat Rai, Tilak, Sri Aurobindo, Veer Savarkar
 - **Balanced**; synthesis of western modernity with Indian spiritualism
 - Vivekanand, Tagore, Gandhi, Nehru, Lohia, Ambedkar

Essential Features of Modern Indian Political Thought-3/3

- Lack of grand political theories
 - As in ancient/medieval period- Kautilya's Arthashastra, Rajadharma by Veda Vyas, Barni's advise to Sultans, and Fazl's 'Sulh-i-Kul'
 - Or as in western world- Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, Marx
 - Most of theorization came from political leaders/activists
- Lack of syncretic tradition in modern political thoughts
 - More like Hindu revival, could not take along Islamic, Buddhist, and other streams
 - Gandhiji was lone voice
- Was elitist and Bourgeois in character
 - sub-altern and feminist thoughts at margin
- Political freedom vs social freedom(social reforms- caste system)
 - Which should come first?
 - Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore, Ambedkar, Gandhi- first social reform
 - Tilak, Lal-Bal-Pal, Aurobindo, Savarkar, Nehru- first Political Freedom

Liberal Theme or Strand

- Led by well educated upper caste/class men in big cities- Kolkata, Mumbai
- First wave or generation of Modern Indian Thinkers
 - Indian Renaissance beginning in late 18th Century
- Influenced by western Liberalism
 - Individual freedom/autonomy, natural rights of life, liberty, property, toleration, multi-culturalism
- Considered British colonial rule good for Indian society/nation
 - Modernity, modern education, scientific values, reason/rationality, rule of law
- Help socio-cultural reforms, social reconstruction, economic development
- Proponents: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, M.G.Ranade, G.K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

Pros and cons of Liberal Strands

In favour

- Started Indian Renaissance
- Social Reforms
 - Brahmo Samaj, Prathna Samaj, Servants of India society
- Egalitarian: Equal worth and dignity of each individual
- Peaceful, gradual change

Criticism

- Accepted superiority of western civilization
- Elitist, Bourgeois in character
 - Limited in big cities
 - No mass participation
- Sub-altern rights and issues were neglected.
- They talked of gender rights but only within the limits of Patriarchy and existing social norms.
- Wrongly believed in sense of justice and benevolence in British colonial rule



Idealist or Nationalist strand

- Critical of western Modernity and liberal political ideology
- Revivalists
 - Reviving ancient intellectual and spiritual resources to bring new civilization
 - Glorified Veda, Vedantic Philosophy- Upanishad, Geeta, Mahabharat, Ramayana
- Considered British colonial rule bad for Indian society/nation
 - Corrupting, exploitative, subjugating
- Nationalists
 - Believed in India as a nation, idea of cultural nationalism, national identity, raising national consciousness
 - National self-determination- Swaraj
- Second wave or generation of modern thinkers:
 - Radical socio-political thoughts in 19th and early 20th Century
- **Proponents:** Lal-Bal-Pal, Dayanand Saraswati, Sri Aurobindo, Veer Savarkar, Iqbal

Pros and cons of Idealist Strands

In favour

- generated proud in our past traditions, civilization, culture
- Swadeshi- belief in Indian-ness ; self-reliance
- Social Reforms
 - Arya Samaj, caste reforms, DAV and other educational institution
- Raised national consciousness
 - Bipin Chandra Pal- Image of Bharat Mata
 - Tilak- 'Swaraj is my birth right'
 - Savarkar- 'Hindutva'-cultural nationalism
- Started radical phase of national freedom movement

Criticism

- Themes, symbols mostly from Hindu religion and culture
 - No Syncretism, synthesis
 - Left Muslims, other religious minorities, tribal, Dalits
- Militant nationalism
 - Inspired by western nationalism
 - Italian & German nationalism
- Reactionary- completely rejected western modernity and modern political values
- Patriarchal, traditionalist
 - Neglected or suppressed gender rights, and rights to sub-altern class



Socialist strand

- **Multiple sub-strands**
 - Communist, Social democrats, Third or Indian way of Socialism; Socialist revolutionaries
- **Communist** : Influenced by Marxism; **Social democrats**- by Fabian Socialism, **Third way**- Marxism, Fabianism, and Gandhian Philosophy of decentralization and social reconstruction ; **Socialist revolutionaries**- by Communist revolution in Russia
- **Vision of Caste less and Class less Society**
 - Social ownership of production, worker's rights, Socio-economic equality, social justice, positive rights and liberty, Welfare State
- Wanted **substantive democracy**- socio-economic democracy
 - Critique of liberal democracy as political and nominal democracy
- Linked Nationalism in 3rd world to anti-capitalism and anti-imperialism
- Secular- strict separation of Religion and Politics; but **mixed spiritualism to materialism** of western socialism
- **Proponents: Communist:** S.A.Dange, M.N.Roy ; **Social Democrats:** Ambedkar, Nehru ; **Third way:** Lohia, Jay Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendranath, Minoo Masani ; **Socialist Revolutionaries:** Bhagat Singh, Chandrashekhar Azad

Pros and cons of Socialist Strands

In favour

- Aimed for substantive democracy
- Positive & substantive rights, socio-economic equality , distributive and social justice
- Vision of caste-less & class less society
- Gave voice to worst off, marginalised people
- Secular- didn't used religious emotions and symbols
- Respected cultural diversity

Criticism

- Like liberalism, adopted from Europe/West
- Communists and revolutionary socialists used violent means
- Undermined individual liberty & autonomy
- Radical changes, anti-establishment, somewhat utopic, towards anarchism
- Fragmented- multiple strand



Humanist strand

- Primacy to human dignity, worth of human life, human agency over anything else
- **Universalism** : unity of humankind, equal worth, same nature, same fate
- Each human being as end in itself; cannot be used as means for any other end.
- Humanity as one big tree, nations are only its branches
- **Cosmopolitanism**: Bond of humanity above bond of religion, culture, nation, any other external identity
- **Unity of religion** ; Universal Synthetic Culture
- **Influenced by** : European Humanism, Vedantic philosophy of **Adwaitwad-**
अद्वैतवाद
- Proponents: Vivekananda, Tagore, M.N.Roy, Deen Dayal Upadhaya

Pros and cons of Humanist Strands

In favour

- 'वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्'
- Egalitarian vision- no caste/class hierarchy, differences
- Service to human- service to God
- Became the voice of worst off, marginalised people
- Secular- used only spiritual part of religion- philosophy of religion
- Respected cultural diversity

Criticism

- Generally against Nationalism and nation-state
- Couldn't become part of national movement
- Not much focus on Gender issues
- Idealism, romanticism
- Somewhat Utopic



Feminist strand

- Raised Women's question: Women's subjection, their status in marriage, family, society.
- **2 Sub-strands**
 - **Liberal** Feminists
 - **Raja Ram Mohan Roy**, M.G.Ranade, Ramabai Ranade, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, Keshav Chandra Sen, Jyotibha Phule
 - **Radical** Feminists
 - **Pandita Ramabai**, Rakhmabai, D K Karve, Tarabai shinde, Annie Besent, Anandibai Joshi
- They fought for women's equality, economic independence, education, socio-cultural reforms to end practices harmful to women
- **Pluses:** brought 50 % of Indian population into mainstream socio-political debate; ended many deplorable social practices/customs, women's education, organization to help women, feminist literature, etc.
- **Minuses:** Liberals were too much embedded in patriarchal social order, radicals were lonely voice, couldn't become mainstream

Gandhian Thoughts

- Gandhian Thoughts
 - Enlightenment Anarchism
 - **Hind Swaraj** : moral goodness & moral re-generation, self-governing autonomous community life without any formal coercive authority
 - **Satyagraha**: Resistance against injustice with truth & non-violence
 - **Sarvodaya**: Good for all, participative governance, true decentralization
 - **Antyodaya**- good for the last one
 - **Oceanic Circle**: India as community of communities, at bottom self-reliant village, at center Individual
 - **Trusteeship**: Capitalist class trustee of wealth of masses
 - **Bread Labour**: Each one need to do physical labour equivalent to his/her consumption
- **Vinoba Bhave**, JP, Lohia carried forward Gandhian philosophies in their own thoughts
- **Pluses**: Brought Masses into national movement, was the voice for all
- **Minuses**: not much on gender issues, caste system, anarchic and utopic, couldn't become mainstream of Indian Polity post-Independence

References

- **Books:**

- Indian Political Thought by O.P. Gauba
- **Political Thoughts in Modern India, edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch**

- **DU reading list:**

- V. Mehta and T. Pantham (eds.), (2006) '**A Thematic Introduction to Political Ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations, History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian civilization**' Vol. 10, Part: 7, New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. xxvii-ixi.

- **Online Resources:**

- IGNU study material on this theme :
<http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/20623/1/Unit-2.pdf>
- J STOR Articles :
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 - **2. The 'Modern' of Modern Indian Political Thought: Outline of a Framework of Appraisal** by Sasheej Hegde
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 - **3. Reviewed Work: Political Ideas in Modern India: Thematic Explorations.** History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization, Vol. X, part 7 by V. R. Mehta, Thomas Pantham
Review by: Pahi Saikia
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Socio-Religious and Political Thoughts
of

**RAJA RAM MOHAN
ROY**

BA HONS. POLITICAL SCIENCE EXAM HELP

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Ram Mohan Roy: Rights

2019: Do you agree that Raja Ram Mohan Roy was father of Indian Renaissance? Explain.

2018 : Evaluate Raja Ram Mohan Roy's contribution to political and religious rights.

2017 : Evaluate the impacts of West on the thoughts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

2015: What were the modernizing elements on Raja Ram Mohan Roy views on education?

Life and Time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy

- **Was born** in 1772, in Radhanagar village in Murshidabad district of West Bengal.
- **His father**, Ramakant Roy, was revenue official under the Burdwan Estate; later on, he became Zamindar under the Permanent Settlement of 1793
- **His Time**: Bengal, after 1765, came under British East India company. Colonial rule, centred in Kolkata, was expanding in all parts of India. Limited constitutional reforms, capitalist economy, English education, etc were being introduced.
- **Studied** Arabic & Persian in Patna, Sanskrit in Banaras, English later on a company official. Besides Bengali and Sanskrit, Roy had mastered Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and many other leading languages
- Besides Hinduism, he learnt Islam, Buddhism, and Christianity. Through this he developed belief in unity of God, and Religion.
- **Career**: worked in Murshidabad as Company official(1803-14) mainly under John Digby, moved to Kolkata; Zamindar, money-lending, investment in trading houses, advocacy, educationalist, socio-religious reformer, writer, journalist.
- **Influence**: John Locke(liberalism, natural rights), Bentham (Utilitarianism), David Hume, Advaita Vedānta Philosophers, Sufi Saints
- **1830**: went to England with many purposes- one was requesting more pension to Mughal King Akbar-II, who gave him the title of Raja. He died there on 27 Dec, 1833.
- **Books**:
 - *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin* (A Gift to Monotheism)- 1803 ;
 - *The Precepts of Jesus- The Guide to Peace and Happiness* (1820)
 - *Modern Encroachments on the Ancient Rights of Females* (1822)
 - *The Universal Religion* (1829) ; *History of Indian Philosophy* (1829)
 - Many translations of Vedic texts and Upanishads in Hindi, Bengali, English



Raja Ram Mohan Roy(1772 – 1833)

‘Father of Modern India’

‘Pioneer of Indian Renaissance’

Journals : Brahminical Magazine, Bengali weekly ‘*Samvad Kaumudi*’, Persian weekly ‘*Mairat Al Akbar*’, English weekly ‘*Bengal Gazette*’

Societies: *Atmiya Sabha* in 1815, the *Calcutta unitarian Association* in 1821 and the *Brahmo Sabha* in 1828

Educational Institutions:: Hindu College; the Anglo-Hindu School; Vedanta College

His Religious Thoughts: Right to Freedom of Religion

- Influenced by Enlightenment spirit and Utilitarian Liberalism
- Human have **God gifted sense of reason** and intellect to assess the truth and social utility in religious doctrine; no need for any intermediary- Priest, Pandit
- **Unity in all religion:** 1. Universal Supreme being 2. Existence of soul 3. Life after death
- But all religion suffer from dogmas, ritualism, irrational beliefs & practices; to benefit the intermediaries and keep people in dark
- Hinduism suffered from polytheism, idolatry, superstitions, ritualism
- Ancient purity of Hindu religion- as contained in Veda & Upanishad- lost in faulty interpretation, orthodoxy, conservatism in the wake of tyrannical and despotic Muslim and Rajput Rules
- Believed in Vedantic principle of **Monotheism (अद्वैतवाद)** and **Unitarianism**
- Religious reform (ethical/moral reform) must for socio-political reform and modernization. To him, Hindus must accept some changes in their religious practices at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort
- Individual should have right to adopt good elements from any religion and reject anything irrational and against social comforts/utility in his/her own religion

Religious Thoughts: His Endeavours

- He attempted a spiritual synthesis, the unity of all religious experiences- synthesizing a transnational humanist culture
 - by combining the world affirming rationalist deistic and democratic strands of Islamic thought, the liberal, normative, and scientific attitudes of modern western thought and the Spiritual and communitarian values of Advaita (अद्वैत) Vedanta of Oriental culture
- Synthesis of 'private' and 'political' : He sought to combine the deep experiences of spiritual life with the basic principle of social democracy
- He founded **Atmiya Sabha** in 1815, the **Calcutta unitarian Association** in 1821 and the **Brahmo Sabha** in 1828 – as instruments of religious reforms and through that socio-political transformation of India of that time.
- Between 1815 to 1823, he translated an abridgment of the *Vedanta* principles and translation of several of the *Upanishads* to Bengali, Hindi, and English.
- Created awareness for religious reforms through his periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets, town-hall meetings, and associations.
- He sought Govt. intervention in form of legislation for socio-religious reforms.

His cosmopolitanism: First Truly International Thinker of Modern India

- To him **all mankind are one great family** of which numerous nations and tribes are only various branches, hence dependence, Corporation, and moving together hand in hand is required
- For him, like Tagore, nationalism was more like a chain than liberating idea
- Believed in fundamental unity of all religion, synthesis of all culture into rationalist universal humanist culture
- **Cosmopolitanism** : He rejoiced 1830 French Revolution, supported Liberal movement in Spain, Portugal, Latin America, Naples,, passage of reform bill in British Parliament, grieved Austria's suppression of Neapolitans
- **His proposal for 'World Congress'**
 - Composed of an equal number of members from parliament of each country. all matters of political or economic difference were to be discussed and sorted out.
 - The chairman of the International Congress was to be chosen by each Nation by turn and the places of the meeting was to vary with each year

First and Foremost Social Reformer of Modern India

- Social reform was an essential precondition of political liberation
- **Multiple strategies** for social reform
 - Invoking rational thinking, building public opinion
 - Re-inventing traditions- selective appropriation of Hindu Sashtra/Shutra to prove his point for reform
 - Modern English education
 - Seeking socially progressive legislations from colonial Govt.
- Vision of **cosmopolitan modern Indian society** based on the principles of, reason, rationality, tolerance, liberty, equality, and fraternity(universal brotherhood)
- **Pillars of his social reforms:**
 - Improving Women's condition
 - Modern education,
 - Ending all socio-religious practice, such as caste-system, purification, 'Sati', Child-marriage,'Parda Pratha' etc., inhibiting intellectual flourishing of individual, against social comforts/utility, socio-political unity.

His Views on Education

- Strong supporter of **modern scientific education**- viewed it as essential for intellectual development, social utility, and have civil and political rights
- **Favoured Western English Education** not as means for career advancement but for its scientific spirit and emancipatory Idea.
- Western education will make students aware of normative political values of Liberty, rights, and Justice, which they would aspire to attain under any rules.
- **Suggested teaching mathematics**, natural philosophy, chemistry, and anatomy and other useful Sciences
- **Sanskrit education system load young minds with grammatical complexities**, and speculative or imaginary knowledge. Continuance of traditional educational system would keep Indian in darkness.
- Ardent(strong) supporter of **same education to women**.
- **Educational institutions set up by his efforts:**
 - Hindu College in Calcutta in 1817, in collaboration with David Hare (today's Presidency Univ/college)
 - the Anglo-Hindu School in 1822
 - Vedanta College, a synthesis of western and Indian learning, in 1826.
 - He also helped establish the Scottish Church College in Kolkata with Alexander Duff, a Christian missionary in 1830.

Champion of Women's Right

- Linked improvement in women's condition to national development as women are bearers of national identity
- Did not limit women's rights only to equality with men, but linked it to compassion, justice, liberty, rights- as a matter of faith
- **Root cause of miserable condition of women-** no property and inheritance rights
- Ancient shastra/tradition gave these rights, which were encroached by men in modern times by faulty interpretation of legal codes- 'Meetakshara' and 'Dayabhaga'
 - Manu smriti, and shutra by Yagnyawalakya, Narad, Katyayana, Brihaspati mentioned equal share with son on husband's property; 1/4th of brother's share to sisters.
- No inheritance rights led to polygamy, miserable life of widow, and also factor behind 'Sati Pratha'.
- **By nature, women not inferior**, rather superior to men in some respect. Their inferiority due to denial of right education/knowledge, and confining them to 'private domain'- domestic chores.
- **He vehemently opposed 'Sati Pratha'** as violation of every human and social feeling and symptom of the moral debasement of a race. By his efforts, this was decalred illegal by law in 1829.
- **He also fought against child marriage**, for widow re-marriage, removing 'Parda pratha', and for modern education to Women

His Political Thoughts

- **Liberal utilitarian.** Supported limited constitutional Govt, rule of impersonal laws, individual rights-Life, liberty, property, equality
- **But more active role of state** in social reform and improving socio-economic conditions of poor, marginalized.
- **Broke 'Private-public' dichotomy:** liberty and rights in political domain meaningless unless the civil society is reformed.
- Hence, he supported British rule, as it was better in modernizing and reforming Indian society and extending civil rights, than the tyrannical and despotic Muslim and Rajput rules.
- Anti-Monarchist, against despotic rules- constitutional government best guarantor of individual freedom and rights.
- **Political freedom-** self-governing only after social reform and civil rights.
- **Separation of power-** British parliament making laws for India, **codification of laws, administrative and judicial reforms-** more Indians in higher Bureaucracy and Jury services, substitution of English for Persian as Court language

Thoughts on political economy

- **Contradiction** between his liberal capitalist and feudal aristocratic values
 - Was a Zamindar, earned from money lending, free trade under evolving colonial political economy
- **Supported right to property**- on same logic as of Locke
- **Supported British capitalist system** as modernizing influence on Indian feudal economic system
- To him, **liberal capitalism better for individual rights**, and socio-economic progress than the despotic monarchical rules and feudal economic system
- **Advocated reform in 'Permanent Settlement'** - less revenue demand, better condition of actual tillers, security of tenants
- Supported free trade and ending monopoly of East India Company on British trade in India and China.
- Opposed heavy export duties imposed on Indian goods. He was the first one to figure out '**Drain of Wealth**' under colonial rule - East India Company was flowing approximately three million pounds a year from India to England.

Champion of Rights and Liberty

- **Natural rights** : human have the natural rights to enjoy the pleasure of an improved mind and intellect and Comforts of society as a product of nature.
- **Civil rights to Indians as available to their British brethren**: Right to life and liberty, right to have opinions and freedom of expression, Right to property, Right to religion, etc.
- **Civil rights prior to political rights.**
- **Women's right** to property, inheritance, education.
- **Right of freedom in marriages**- inter caste and interfaith marriages
- **Right of free speech and expression**- right to freedom of press
 - 1823- John Adams re-imposed press censorship
 - He petitioned to supreme court and then to king in Council
 - Freedom of press- educating, public opinion, watchdog on executives, safety valve against popular rebellion

His Critique

- In his time, was criticized by Radhakanta Dev, Henry Vivian Dorozio and the Bengal Hurkaru. Has also been criticized in recent times.
- Conservatives attacked him for being too much liberal/western and radicals, such as Dorozio, for being half-cooked liberal/modern
- Favoured the freedom struggle in distant lands but welcomed the British rule in India as an act of divine wisdom.
- Could not grasp or anticipate the evils of the colonial rule. In his writing there were no expression of Patriotic or Nationalist sentiment.
- To Ashok Sen, Ram Mohan had sense of Identity with the forces of Empires. He helped make India a colonial political economy.
- To Sumit Sarkar, another critic, the process of modernization pioneered by Ram Mohan was a transition from Pre-capitalist society to weak and distorted caricature of bourgeois modernity
- Rajat Ray criticized him by saying that he acted as agent of British colonial rule in the development of sub-imperialist capitalism in India

Overall Assessment: Sum Up

- Too harsh criticism undermining his modernizing and liberalizing role
- He had the intellect, vision and pragmatism to compare colonial rule with Muslim & Rajput rule; liberal capitalism vs feudal economic system
- He had the wisdom and courage to defend as well as criticize his own faith, see similar faults in other faiths, and ready to take good elements from other faiths/culture.
- He saw hope in British rule for socio-religious reforms, civil rights, economic development, greater integration of India with world community- a kind of Indian Renaissance
- His efforts towards improving women's condition, freedom of press, modern education, transnational humanist culture, etc. were path breaking
- Truly, he was called '***father of modern India***' by Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and '***Pioneer of Indian Renaissance***' by many, and '***a luminous star in the firmament of Indian history***' by Tagore

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- **Book: Political Thoughts in Modern India, edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch**
- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**
 - R. Roy, (1991) 'The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness', S. Hay, (ed.) Sources of Indian Tradition, Vol. 2. Second Edition. New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 24-29.
 - C. Bayly, (2010) 'Rammohan and the Advent of Constitutional Liberalism in India 1800- 1830', in Sh. Kapila (ed.), An intellectual History for India, New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, pp. 18- 34.
 - T. Pantham, (1986) 'The Socio-Religious Thought of Rammohan Roy', in Th. Panthom and K. Deutsch, (eds.) Political Thought in Modern India, New Delhi: Sage, pp.32-52.

Online Resources:

- [IGNU study material on this theme :](http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/20631/1/Unit-4.pdf)
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- <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ram-Mohan-Roy>
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- <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/remembering-raja-ram-mohan-roy-on-his-246th-birth-anniversary/father-of-the-indian-renaissance/slideshow/64273801.cms>
- **J STORE article : RAMMOHAN ROY "and the Modern World" by Ulysses Young ;**
https://www.jstor.org/stable/29753635?seq=4#metadata_info_tab_contents

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Pandita Ramabai

**First Women Feminist of
Modern India**

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PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Pandita Ramabai: Gender

2019: Critically analyze the contribution of Pandita Ramabai on gender issues in 19th century India?

2017 : Examine Pandita Ramabai's critique of caste and gender in Hindu Society.

2015: Show how through her life choices and writings Pandita Ramabai emphasized the need to improve the conditions of women in India.

2018 : Write note on views of Pandita Ramabai on gender.

Life and Time of Pandita Ramabai Saraswati

- **Was born** in 1858, as **Rama Dongre** in Canara district of Karnataka in a Marathi speaking Brahmin family. Her father, **Anant Shastri Dongre** was a Sanskrit scholar, earned her living by teaching, and narrating Puranic stories.
- **Non-conformist family**: Father taught Sanskrit to his wife, and daughter; her parents supported her teaching men; her family was outcasted, ridiculed, had to live away from their own community.
- **Her Time**: Indian National Congress in 1885; India nationalism was taking shape. In Bengal, Brahmo Samaj, Prarthna Samaj in Mumbai; liberal leaders taking up women issues but within the boundaries of Hindu norms, social customs, and Patriarchy—women as ‘object’ for equality, emancipation.
- **Studied** Sanskrit, Marathi, Kannada, English, and many other languages.
- **Career**: Lectured in Sanskrit, narrated Puranic stories, teacher, educationist, author, social reformer, feminist, political worker, Christian Missionary.
- **Title of 'Pandita'** (Scholar) and 'Saraswati' (Goddess of Learning) **awarded to her by** the University of Calcutta. 1878 ; awarded the **Kaiser-i-Hind** Gold Medal In 1919 by Colonial Govt.
- She **attended** the Indian National Congress session of the year 1889. She also participated to the Third National Social Conference in 1889
- **Books**:
 - **'Stree Dharma Niti'** [Morals for Women in English] in Marathi in 1882
 - ***The High-Caste Hindu Woman*. 1887**
 - An unofficial Indian Feminist Manifesto; first book published in English by an Indian woman.
 - **Translated the Bible** into her mother tongue—Marathi—from the original Hebrew and Greek.



Pandita Ramabai
Saraswati (1858 –1922)
**‘First Feminist of Modern
India’**

Her Other Books: ‘The People of the United States’- Travelogue in 1889; ‘A Testimony of our Inexhaustible Treasure’ in 1907

Societies: Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882
‘Sharada Sadan’ 1889 ; ; Mukti Mission, Pune 1898 ; The Ramabai Association in Boston

Educational Institutions: Christian High school at Gulbarga

Brief Account of Life Journey and Choices-1/2

- **Childhood, orphaned, wandering: 1858-1878**
 - Parents died in great famine of 1874; only she and her brother Srinivas survived
 - They wandered for 6 years, lecturing in Sanskrit, telling Puranic stories
- **Bengal Visit: 1878-82: Marriage**
 - 1878:Invited by Brahmo Samaj Calcutta, impressed Bengali Pandits, intellegentia
 - Conferred title of 'Pandita' and 'Saraswati' by Calcutta university for her Sanskrit knowledge
 - Srinivas died; married lawyer **Bipin Behari Medhvi**, from lower caste, in 1880 ;1882, her husband died; she left Bengal
- **In Pune : 1882-83- Social reformer & Author**
 - 1882: Set up '**Arya Mahila Samaj**'- raising women's issues- child marriage, education, enforced widowhood
 - Evidence before the 'Hunter Commission' on education- pleaded for women as teacher, doctor, school inspector
 - Published '**Stree Dharma Niti**' – suggesting moral development of women as per the norms of Hinduism and Patriarchy

Brief Account of Life Journey and Choices-2/2

- **England visit:1883-86: Failed aspiration to become doctor**
 - Went with her infant daughter for medical education, assisted by Christian Mission, taught Marathi to 'sisters/nuns' there.
 - **Adopted Christianity**; became **Mary Rama**, developed differences with the missionary and Anglican church authorities
- **USA tour :1886-89 : Fund raising for her Mission.**
 - Lecture tour to all parts of USA, set up '**Ramabai Association**' in Boston, Solicited support of American Women in helping poor Indian women
 - Published '***The High-Caste Hindu Woman***'- narrating miserable condition of India women and her prescriptions, plans, etc.
- **Returning Back to Pune: 1889 : Organisational Skill**
 - Set up '**Sharda Sadan**'- home for widows- from the help of 'Ramabai Association'.
- **Second visit to USA in 1898, and later phase at Mukti Mission, Kedgaon**
 - Set up '**Mukti Mission**' in Kedgaon in 1898, Pune; merged Sharda Sadan into 'Mukti'- worked as Christian Missionary till her death in 1922

Her Life Choices: Mirror of her struggles, her resolve, thoughts

- Had a very unconventional, uncompromising, modern, meaningful life
- Was given equal right to education, vocation by her parents
- Learnt Sanskrit, and Hindu 'Shastras'- both prohibited for women!
- Married late (22 years), by her own choice, to a man of a different (low) caste
- Instead of living conventional widow and single mother's life, did remarkable things in life during her widowhood!
- Travelled across India, around the globe, founded society in her name in USA!
- Converted to Christianity, but took independent and critical views on some aspects of Christianity and Anglican church authority
- For Women's right challenged the doctrine of Hinduism and institution of Patriarchy; transgressed border of both.
- **Many Firsts:**
 - First Indian women to get title of 'Pandita', and 'Kaiser-i-Hind' medal.
 - First Indian women to get her book published in USA in English Language
 - First women feminist of modern India
 - First Indian feminist to get support of women of 'Western' world
 - First Indian women to set up so many societies and written so many books/literature.

Her Views on Gender Issues

- **3 major Gender Issues:**
 - child-marriage, the **plight** of **widows**, and **education** for women.
- **2 major socio-cultural factors:**
 - Ancient 'Shastras'/'Smritis' and legal codes
 - Patriarchy
 - Plus 3rd factor of policy of non-interference by British colonial rule
- 3 strategies for improving women's condition
 - **Self-Reliance, Education, and Native Women Teachers**
- **Self-help:** women can liberate other women; no expectation from well educated, liberal Indian man
- **Women's subjection degraded Indian nation**
 - De-based nature of Indian male- lazy, slavery-loving, dependent
 - Weak/oppressed mother- weak next generation

Her Contribution on Gender Issues

- She lived by her motto- '**self-reliance for women**'
- **Without any men in her life**, she not only earned her living but raised enough resources to set up multiple societies for women's help
- Undertook Lecture tours- India & abroad, debated, published many books/pamphlets, gave evidence(hunter commission), participated in politics(INC and ISC)- all for raising women's issue
- Took head on **patriarchy** and **dogmas** against women in both Hinduism & Christianity.
- Helped women, widows, orphan children, single mothers through
 - **Arya Mahila Sabha**
 - A forum to make women aware of their rights and fight for them
 - **Sharda Sadan**
 - To provide shelter, education, vocational training to High caste Hindu widows to live them with dignity
 - **Mukti Mission**
 - Support and education to widows, unmarried women and girls, abandoned wives, and victims of the terrible famine and the plague

Comparative Study of Leading Feminist of 19th Century

Comparative Theme	Mary Wollstonecraft(1759-1797)	Raja Ram Mohan Roy(1772-1833)	J.S.Mill(1806-1873)	Pandita Ramabai(1858-1922)
Root Cause of Women's misery	False 'female manners' due to faulty socialisation and wrong education	no property and inheritance rights	Denial of equality and civil & political rights to women	Social customs sanctioned by religious texts denied women independence & self-reliance
Their Solution	Revolution in female manners by re-constitution of social norms and right education system	Property rights, education, and socio-religious reforms	'perfect equality', Civil & political rights	Self-reliance by education, training, economic independence. Women helping women
Acceptability	Not accepted	Yes, accepted	Readily accepted	Not accepted
Historical treatment	Was forgotten; now restored	Got due place	Got due place	Was forgotten; now restored

Criticism

- **Was criticized for**
 - Adopting Christianity, taking help of Christian women of USA & England for her organizations
 - For converting Hindu widows to Christianity in 'Sharda Sadan'
 - For her frontal attack on sacred texts of Hinduism and prevailing social norms & institutions
 - For her unconventional and rebellious life choices
 - For not using her talents for political participation, and raising national consciousness.
 - For exposing worst part of Indian social traditions to western Christian world, boosting their claim of 'civilizational mission'
 - Ambivalence on Caste System ; helping mostly high caste Hindu Women
- **Her famous critics** :Tilak and Vivekanand
- **Her famous supporter**: Keshav Chandra Sen, Jyotiba Phule, M.G.Ranade & her wife ramabai, D K Karve, Gopal Hari Desmukh(Lokhitwadi)

Overall Assessment

- Led an extraordinary life of her own choice, at her terms.
- To raise voice of her country women, broke the norms of both prevailing social customs and patriarchy
- Challenged 'Hinduism', Patriarchy, and hypocrisies and pretensions of the male liberals- for that she was erased from the history
- She contested on multiple fronts:
 - Against traditional and patriarchal Indian society
 - Patriarchy of the Anglican Church
 - Racialism and colonialism
 - Dogmas in both Hinduism & Christianity
- She lived in a world world more backward than her visions.(Meera Kosambi)
- Hence, she and her works were not understood by her own generation, to whom it appeared confusing, inconsistent and even contradictory.(Gauri Viswanathan)

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- M. Kosambi, (1988) 'Women's Emancipation and Equality: Pandita Ramabai's Contribution to Women's Cause', in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 23(44), pp. 38-49.
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- **Online Resources:**

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Pol Sc Help

Swami

Vivekananda

Ideal Society

PDF at <https://polschelp.in>

WHAT IS IN STORE?

His Life & Time

His Religious Thoughts

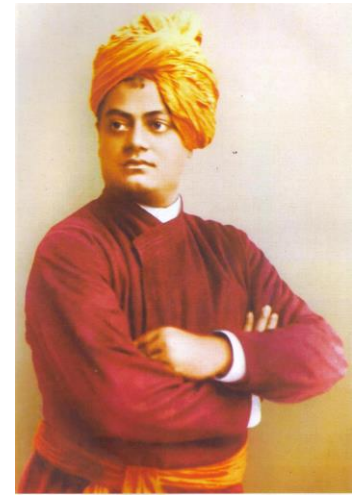
His conception of Ideal Society

His idea on Indian nationalism

Past Year's Questions on this theme

Life and Time of Swami Vivekananda

- Was born, as **Narendranath Datta**, in Kolkata on 12 January 1863 to **Vishwanath Datta** and **Bhuvaneshwari Devi**. His father was a successful legal clerk.
- He studied in Scottish Church College, got good education of both Eastern & Western cultures.
- **His Time:** Indian National Congress was setup in 1885; India nationalism was taking shape. Social turmoil. Intense discussions on social reforms, Indian culture, traditions, practices, etc.
- Got associated with Raja Ram Mohan Roy's Brahmo Samaj but faced spiritual crisis- existence of God, nature of the soul, and universe, etc.
- Met Sri **Ramakrishna** In November 1881, at the Kali Temple in Dakshineswar. Soon, he became chosen disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahansa.
- After death of his Guru in 1886, he toured across India, understanding and lecturing
- **Influence:** Indian: **Shankara** and his Advait-wad, **Brahmo Samaj**, **Ramakrishna**; European: Plato, Kant, Hegel, Locke, Mill, Hume, and **Herbert Spencer**
- **1893:** went to Chicago, USA to participate in World Parliament of Religions. He became celebrity after his famous speech
- **For three years** he spread the Vedanta philosophy and religion in America and England Upon returning to India, he found the Ramakrishna Math and Mission in 1897. In 1898, he established the Belur Math.
- He undertook **second journey to USA** and western world in 1899. He returned in 1900, his health deteriorated and he died in 1902.
- **Books:**
 - *Bartaman Bharat (in Bengali) (1899), Essay published in 'Udbodhan'*
 - *The East and the West (1909)*
 - *Practical Vedanta*
 - *Karma Yoga, raja-yoga, Jnana Yoga, Bhakti Yoga*
 - *Complete works of Swami Vevekanand.*



Swami Vivekananda (1863 – 1902)

Societies: Ramakrishna Math and Missions in all over India

His birthday, 12 January, is celebrated as **National Youth Day**.

"The greatest man India produced in recent centuries was not Gandhi but Vivekananda." (**AmbedkarJI**)

"Vivekananda saved Hinduism, saved India"(**Chakravarti Rajagopalachari**)

"Vivekananda was maker of Modern India"(**Subhash Chandra Bose**)

His Religious Thoughts-1/2

- **Humanism**

- Man are more valuable than all the wealth of the world
- Man is divine; man is mirror of god; purer more clear vision of god in him

- **Monism- Advait Vendanta (अद्वैत वाद)**

- Human soul is part of the infinite universal omnipresent force- Brahman
- The soul is eternal, unchanging, beyond birth/death, has infinite existence
- Nature is changing, not the soul; but in delusion(Maya) we feel our self is changing

- **Perfectibility:** man is man so long as he is struggling to rise above nature- both internal & external

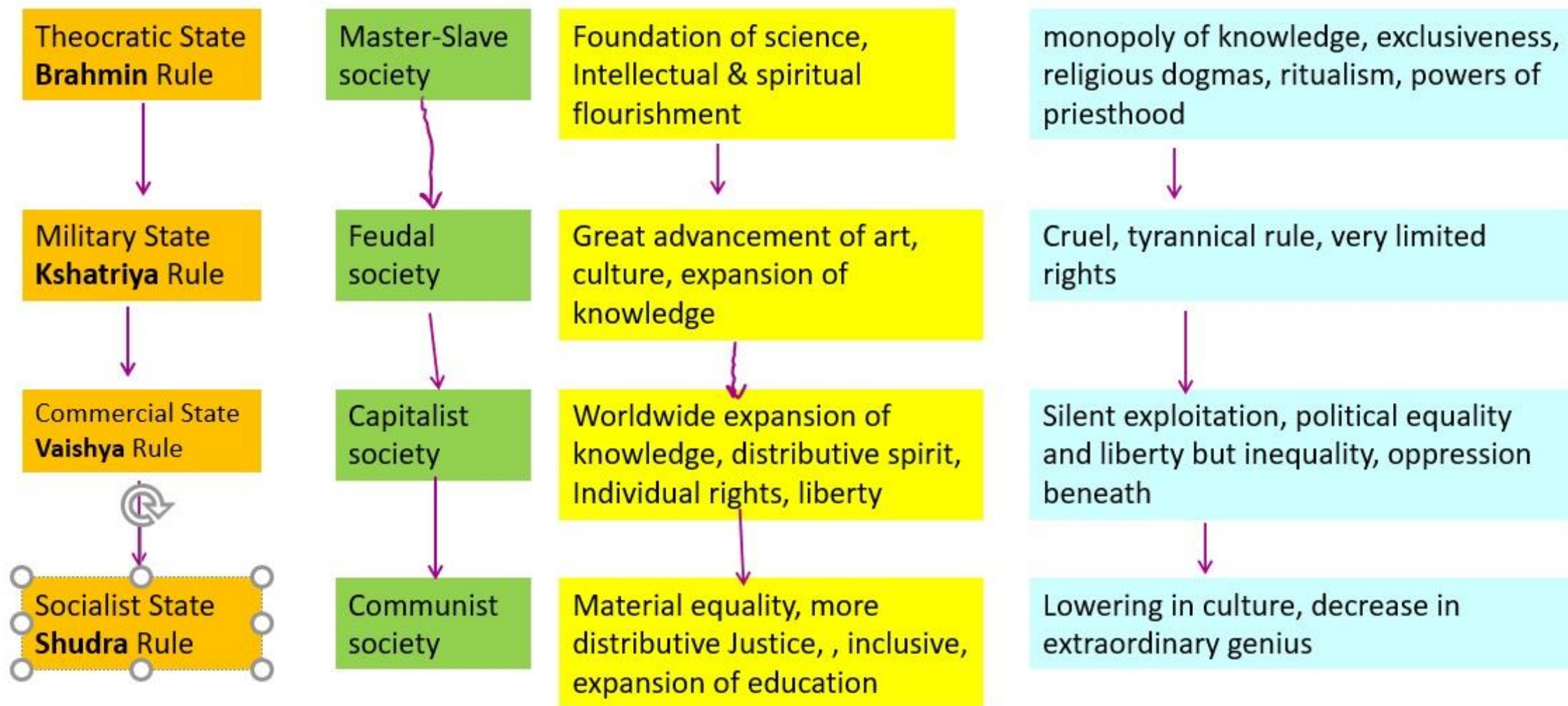
- God given virtue, reason, purity, intellect in man...but need lifelong cultivation, practice, perfection...

- Perfectness is goodness of the soul- self-regulating; self-governing; self-mastery; self-realization- **salvation**

His Religious Thoughts-2/2

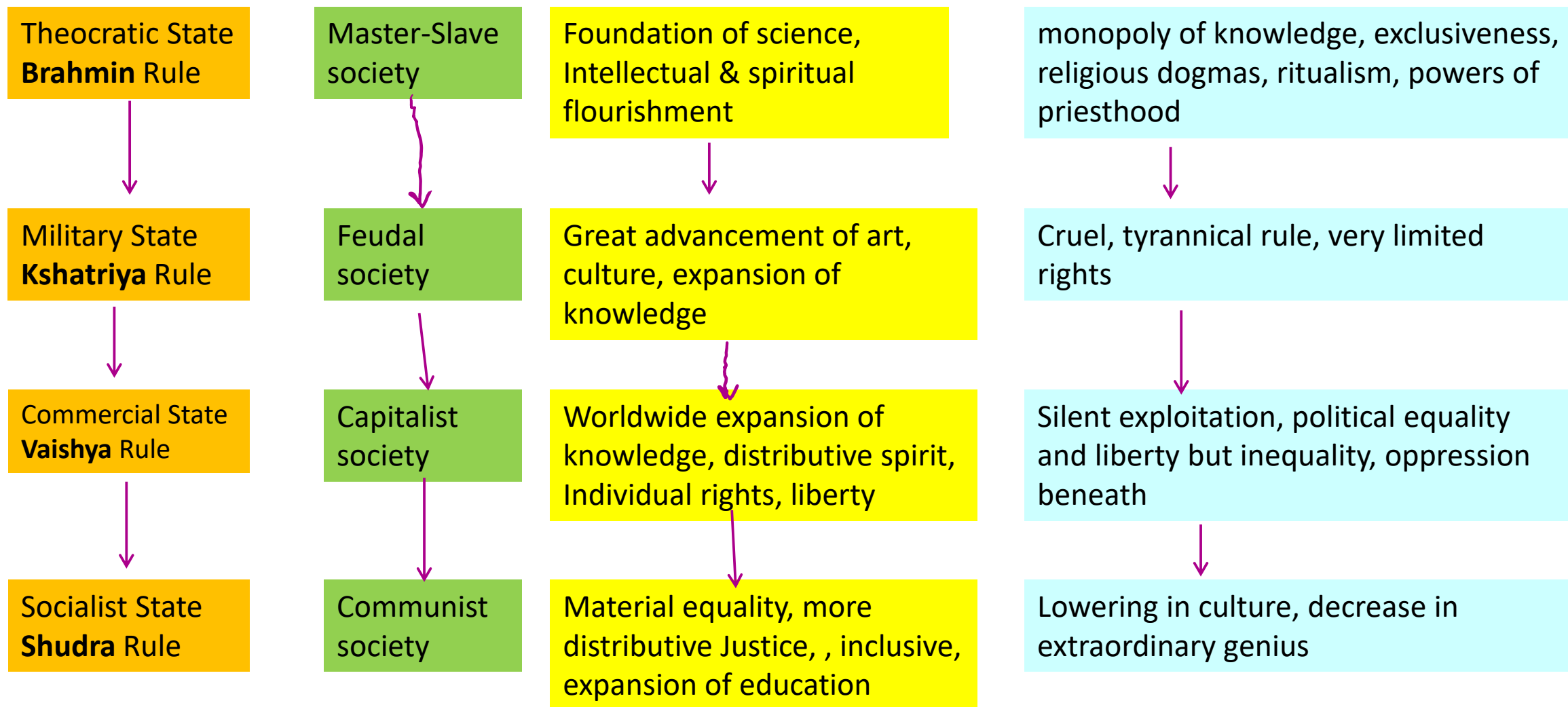
- **Religion- perfection** of the soul, self-realization; uniting our self to God, Salvation
- **Oneness of universe- all are one in the universe**
- **Unity of all religion:** all have same purpose- unity with God
- Religion gives sense and purpose of life, mainstay for individual & social life
- Social evils are not due to religion but faulty way in which religion is applied to social life
- Difference between religion and social system such as caste; no need to overcome religion to improve Hindu society.
- **Religion- Liberty, equality, fraternity**
 - Free soul, Ultimate liberty- **salvation**
 - Each soul is God's part- divine- **equal** worth
 - All are equal creation of God- brothers/sisters- **Fraternity**

Historical Evolution of Society/ State: Cycle of Caste rule



Whichever class/caste may rule, the source of its power is always in the subject masses. By so much as the class in power severs itself from this source, by so much is it become weak and overthrown

Historical Evolution of Society/ State: Cycle of Caste rule



Whichever class/caste may rule, the source of its power is always in the subject masses. By so much as the class in power severs itself from this source, by so much is it become weak and overthrown

Ideal Society- 2/2

- Ideal society is one in which highest truth becomes practical, in which divinity of man is realized.
- Balanced relationship between the society as organic whole and individual as its integral part
 - Where individual sacrifices for the good of the many; there is unity of purpose and Endeavour
 - Where the whole and the part is one ; Unity in variety
- **Synthesis:** combining spirituality and value system of the east with scientific-technological progress of the west
- **No tyranny** of minority; No privileges of force, wealth, intelligence, birth , or spirituality
- Society where individuals are truly **free** and **equal**, have equal opportunity for development, treat fellow man as brother, and consider service to poor and downtrodden as service to God.
- Everyone has natural rights to use his body, mind, and property according to his own will, without harming others.
- Social laws conforms to natural laws, and positive/juridical laws reflect the will of the majority
- **How can it be realized?**
 - Education, especially education to masses, is the way to realise the ideal society
 - Positive social discrimination by the state- quota and scholarship for education to masses;
 - Raising lower class/caste to same level as of upper caste/class
 - Cultural Revolution; realizing true essence of Religion
 - Having self-confidence, proud in one's past/traditions/uniqueness

His Nationalism

- He was symbol of the rising national consciousness at the end of 19th Century
- His views on Indian nation
 - We should have proud In our Indianness, our ancient civilization, our Spirituality, and our Universal motherhood.
 - We should also be proud of our fellow countrymen, even if they are Poor and uneducated and so called' uncivilized'
 - We should Judge our customs, traditions, and practices based on reason, rationality, social utility. But should not simply discard them only because in western values those are bad.
 - He urged the young Indians *“arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached”*
 - Nehruji: He gave us certain pride in our inheritance.
- No to Ethnocentrism, other cultures should not be judged from the lens of one's own culture
- Equality of man as well as of nations
- His prescriptions:
 - Without raising masses above, Indian nation cannot rise
 - He challenge Indians to a national awakening through the regeneration of the masses.
 - Cultural revolution through Mass education
 - Regaining true spirit of Religion

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Swami Vivekananda: Ideal Society

2019: Critically examine Swami Vivekananda's views on ideal society.

2018 : Discuss Vivekananda's views on ideal society

2017 : How did Vivekanand revitalized Indian Society, discuss.

References

- **Book:** Indian Political Thought by O.P. Gauba
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PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Gandhi: Swaraj

2019: Discuss Gandhi's idea of Swaraj. Do you think it is relevant today?
Discuss.

2018 : Discuss Gandhi's idea of Freedom

2017 : Notes: Gandhi's concept of Gram Swaraj- village republic

His Idea of Swaraj : Its Bases, Context

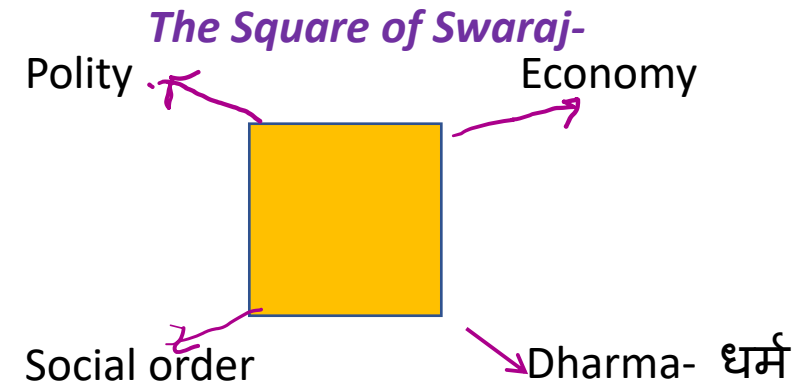
- Mainly contained in his book Hind Swaraj (1909), which he wrote on a ship while returning from England to South Africa.
- Also interspersed (scattered) in his other writings, his autobiography, and columns in 'Young India', and 'Harijan'.
- **Influenced by:**
 - John Ruskin (*Unto This Last*), Henry Thoreau(*civil disobedience*), Count Leo Tolstoy- *an pacific anarchist ; Italy's Mazzini, Dada Bhai Naoroji Un-British Rule in India , Gopal Krishna Gokhle,*
 - *Veda, Upanishads, Epics, Geeta, Jain Philosophy- Narsinh Mehta*
 - *Also influenced by Plato, and Aristotle*
- *Was written as an response to discourse of Western civilisation, its superiority, in form of modern political organisation(nation-state), liberal democracy, and economy(capitalism, industrialisation)*
- *It was also Gandhiji's response to discourse on India's freedom- Swaraj (Tilak- swaraj is our birth right), Home rule(Annie Besant, Tilak), militant Nationalism (Savarkar)*

Essence of Gandhi's Swaraj

- **Literal meaning-** self-rule, self-Government, independence/freedom ; but it had much wider meanings
- **For individual** it denoted self-mastery, self-control, self-restrain, self-realization, moral goodness & perfectibility
- **For polity** it meant self-governing autonomous community life without any formal coercive authority- state; in limited sense it was political freedom from alien rule, full rights of civil liberties, and civil disobedience against any unjust actions/law of the state/govt
- **For political economy** it denoted classless economic order, equal honour/dignity for all kinds of labour, self-renunciation(limiting our wants), Trusteeship
- It also meant **freedom from want**, material possession, ego, bondage of so called modern materialistic life- modern large machine, faster transport system, competition/conflict-court/lawyer, modern medical system-doctors, etc.
- **In sum**, it was his vision of an ideal civilisation based on **Non-violence** (अहिंसा), **Truth**, and moral **duty** (धर्म) in contrast to western modern civilisation based on violence/force, material possession, and Rights

Features of Gandhian Swaraj

- Swaraj was much more than political freedom from foreign rule
- Both individual freedom- self-rule and political freedom- self-govt.
- It conveyed a kind of **Enlightened Anarchy**
 - Self-governing community of morally Enlightened individuals without the coercive power of the state
 - De objectified modern state as amoral, soulless coercive/violent entity
 - Complete destruction of modern civilization and the **creation of a new society** without State/Govt, parliaments, railways and other fast modes of transport, machinery, doctors, lawyers and armed forces and, in which, people totally renounce violence and resist authority through satyagraha
- Had the vision of decentralised, non-hierarchical, participative and substantive democracy- **Oceanic circle**
- **Swaraj included** 'self-reliance', 'truth', 'non-violence', 'tolerance', 'altruism', 'self-renunciation', 'Sarvodaya', 'Satyagraha', 'trusteeship', 'Bread labour'
- Denoted resolution of **4 dichotomies/contradictions between Modern and ideal civilization:**
 - 1.competition versus cooperation ; Rights vs Duty
 2. Machinery vs hand labour
 - 3.consumerism/consumerism vs self-denial;
 4. coercive amoral state vs moral, non-violent community



Social Dimension of Swaraj

- Self-governing community of morally Enlightened individual
- Society exists for individual, for its fullest moral development (Comp. Aristotle)
- Individual ready to perish for society, ready to renounce possessions for the needy other, for common Good
- Ideal social order- **oceanic circles**- community of communities
- **Class less and egalitarian social order;**
 - No monopoly and domination of elites, educated persons, wealthy men, no discrimination on race, religion, caste, sex
 - No centralization, accumulation, violence, exploitation
 - Every one is free to exercise his/her will, following Dharma(moral duty), ready to sacrifice for others and community
 - Swaraj is for all, especially for poor, toiling masses, the last men
- Public decision NOT based on Utilitarianism- good for greatest number BUT '**Sarvodaya**'- Good for all and **Antyodaya**- good for the last one

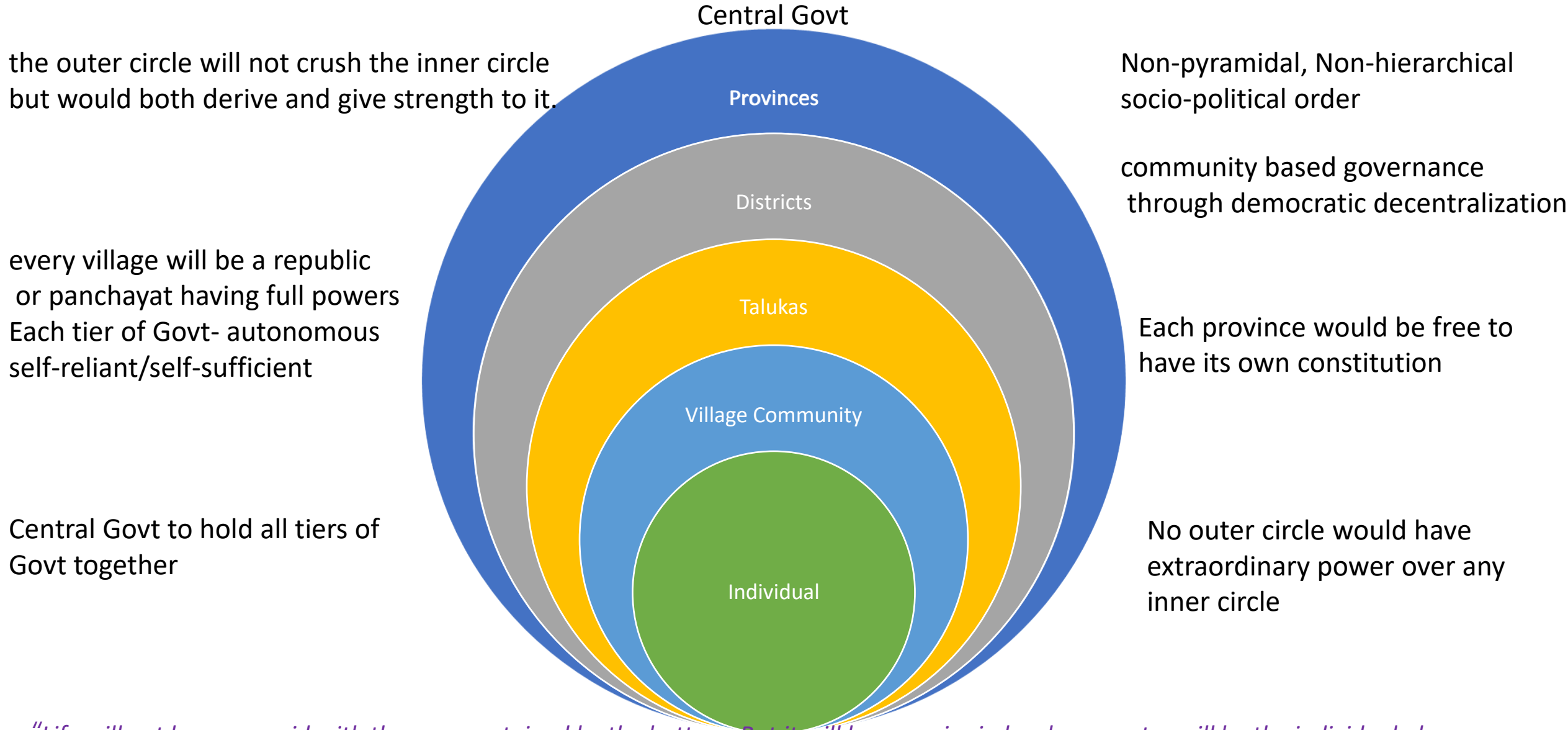
Political Dimension of Swaraj

- **Much wider meaning than political freedom**
 - *“I am not interested in freeing India merely from the English yoke(bondage). I am bent upon freeing India from any yoke whatsoever. I have no desire to exchange ‘king log’ for king stork’.....for me Swaraj is movement for self-purification”*
- **Political self-govt is no better than individual self-govt (self-rule)**
- **Ideally no state/Govt**, but on practical ground settles for minimal/**limited constitutional state/Govt**.
- **Rejects western liberal democracy as superficial/nominal democracy**; Swaraj denoted substantive, participative democracy ; remove dichotomy of individual freedom in private and public/ political life.
- **Limited political obligation:**
 - government based on consent; guided by the will of the people; does not impose its own will over people
 - Right of civil disobedience against unjust rule/laws
 - Satyagraha as method of political action
- **Much less dependence of people on Govt.**
 - *“..... Swaraj meant continuous effort to be independent of Govt..... Sorry affair if people look up to Govt for the regulation of every detail of life”*
- **People have right to check abuse of authority**
 - *“Swaraj will come not by acquisition of authority by a few but by acquisition of capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused”*

Economic Dimension of Swaraj

- **Class less economic order**
 - Not same as Marxist vision of class less society- no violence, no revolution by labour class, no doctorship of proletariat
 - By dignity of labour(bread labour), self-renunciation, Trusteeship
 - No destruction of social hierarchy(caste system), economic inequality- but dignity and equity
- **Distributive justice based on the principles of Sarvodaya and Antyodaya**
 - **Utilitarianism**- greatest good to greatest number vs **Sarvodaya**- greatest good for all;
 - **Antyodaya**: good to the last one in the row- the poorest of the poor ; *“last is equal to the first or, in other words, no one is to be the first and none the last.”*
 - **Possessive Individualism** vs **Self-renunciation**
- **Self-reliant life in accordance with nature**
 - Hand tools, self-production of articles of daily use, no need for complex machine that would displace human labour and concentrate power in few hands, faster transport, lawyers, doctors, or any modern means- Charkha and khadi symbolized this concept
- **Self-sufficient, self-reliant village community**
 - Village vs City ; Hand labour vs Machine
 - Decentralized and diffused 'rural industrialization'

Gandhian Oceanic Circles: Community of Communities



"Life will not be a pyramid with the apex sustained by the bottom. But it will be 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."

Critical Evaluation of Gandhi's Swaraj

- **Critique:**

- It was utopic just like Plato's idea state
- Guided by Anarchic thoughts
- Idea of 'Trusteeship' was almost impossible to realize
- His criticism of modernity- industrialization, machines, lawyers, doctors, railways, etc seems illogical, and traditionalist
 - 'Charkha' and 'Khadi' were impractical
- He supported 'Varna' system; wealth creation by few- economic inequality
- He mixed religion in politics
- Idea of 'Satyagraha' with hunger strike borders 'दुराग्रह' and 'हठ'

- **Overall Assessment:**

- He could see through the perils of western civilisation- like Plato's Philosopher
- World is slowly start to appreciate his thoughts/vision- sustainable development, Rawl's theory of Justice, mechanistic social life in the age of liberal capitalism, greater divide between rural and urban areas, negatives of 3rd world copying western civilisation, etc

References

- **Books:**

- Indian Political Thought by O.P. Gauba
- **Political Thoughts in Modern India, edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch**

- **Online Resources:**

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- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Home_Rule_movement
- https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi

- **You Tube Videos:**

- Gandhi's Ideas of Swaraj by **CEC** <https://youtu.be/U1lnK8-PoXQ>
- Hind Swaraj (1908) by **CEC** <https://youtu.be/clDH-ofAoVA>
- Hind Swaraj : A text with a purpose BY **CEC** <https://youtu.be/GZI9LqcpQQU>
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PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Ambedkar: Social Justice

2019: Examine Ambedkar's views on annihilation of caste

2018 : Analyze Ambedkar's views on caste system in India in the light of Annihilation of Caste.

2017 : To Ambedkar, justice is another name for Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; examine

2016: Discuss Ambedkar's views on democracy and social justice.

His Life and Time

- Born in 1891 at Mhow in MP, by caste 'Mahar'; his father was headmaster in Army school there.
- **Education:** graduate from Elphinstone college Mumbai, Ph.D from Colombia university, USA, M.Sc. And D.Sc from LSE, London, and Law from Grey's Inn. From the support of Gaikwad of Baroda, and Sahuji Maharaj of Kolhapur.
- During education his political thoughts crystallized- flexible parliamentary democracy, rationalist Humanism, rights and social justice.
- **1923-** returned India, started teaching and legal practice in Bombay and played an active role in the political mobilization and organization of the untouchables
 - By publishing Journals, pamphlets, petitions to Govt, Depressed class conferences
- **1927:** nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council ; **Mahad** conference; Satyagraha at **Chowdar** Tank; Burnt '**ManuSmriti**'
- **1928:** evidence before Simon Commission ; Satyagraha at **Kalaram** temple, Nasik
- **1930** : Chaired All India Depressed Classes Congress, held in Nagpur
- **1930-32: Round table conference**, separate electorate to Dalits, difference with Gandhiji, **Poona pact**
- **1935-36:** Declared that he would not die a Hindu; 1936: pamphlet: '**Annihilation of Caste**'
- 1942-46: member of Viceroy's executive Council- socio-economic benefits to depressed class through state/Govt
- 1946: **chairman of the drafting committee of constituent assembly** ; 1947: first law minister of India
- 1951: resigned from central cabinet ; 1956: **converted to Buddhism**; died same year.
- **Books/Essays/papers:**
 - *Castes in India-* 1916 ; *Annihilation of caste-*1936
 - *Who Were the Shudras?* 1946 ; *The Untouchables* -1948
 - *The Buddha and his Dhamma-*1957



**Bhimrao Ramji
Ambedkar(1891 –1956)**

Societies:

- **Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha** 1924
- **Samata Sainik Dal** -1924
- **Samaj Samata Sangh**-1927
- **Depressed Classes Education Society**-1928

Political Parties:

- 1937: *Independent Labour Party*
1942: *Scheduled caste federation*
1956: *The Republican Party*

Journals: *Bahishkrit Bharat* in Marathi ; ; *Mook Nayak*, *Janata* and *Samata* magazines

HIS THOUGHTS ON THE **CASTE SYSTEM**

His views on the caste system

How Caste system is harming Indian Society?

- In his own words “turn in any direction, caste is the monster in our path”. It makes political reform meaningless and economic reforms almost impossible.
- It has divided the Indian society, created class antagonism, condemned the Untouchables to live inhuman lives.
- It made the Indian society closed, conservative, and retrograde(backward).
- It has made the Indian people weak and dependent. It generated arrogance, selfishness, and perversity in a section of Hindus.
- Since it snatched occupational freedom from individuals, many felt alienated from the job. It also hindered adjustment in the job as per changing economic environment. Due to all this, it resulted into suboptimum economic efficiency, under employment and unemployment.
- The caste system disorganized and demoralized the Indian people, especially the Hindus.
- It even made the ‘purification’ movement in Hinduism less successful, as the new entrant into the Hinduism is apprehensive of his position and status in the caste system.

How Caste system is harming Indian Society?

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His thoughts on 'Untouchables' m

- **Who were Untouchables?**
 - Rejected Aryan theory; 'broken men' who adopted Buddhism and outcasted by Brahmins
- **Untouchables should regain pride & self respect**
 - Moral development, avoiding traditional jobs, changing food habits, and cultural traits
- **Untouchables should acquire highest levels of Education**
- **Untouchables should be represented by Untouchables**
 - Separate electorate, reservation- political, educational, employment
 - Acquiring strategic position in politics and governance
- **State/Govt intervention for welfare & upliftment of oppressed class**
 - Positive discrimination, affirmative actions, legal redress, educational and economic support

HIS POLITICAL THOUGHTS

His political thoughts

- **Qualified support to liberalism**
 - Supported liberal representative parliamentary democracy
 - Belief in constitutional legal remedies of socio-economic issues
 - But critic of unchecked capitalism, free market economy, Laissez-faire State
- **Qualified support to Socialism**
 - Supported state socialism
 - Positive conception of liberty
 - But critic of violent revolution for social change, dictatorship of proletariat, denial of Rights
- **Supported Democratic Socialism**
 - Progressive move of democracy towards socialism but with regime of Rights
 - Kind of social democracy followed by Nordic countries
 - Mixed planned economy, Collective farming, parliamentary democracy, affirmative actions, social justice
- 3 pillars of his political thoughts- **Rights, Socialism, Democracy**
- **Social reform is prior to political and Economic reform**

His political thoughts- **Rights**

- **Trinity of Rights: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity**

- **Equality**

- **Rationalist Humanism:** Human beings are equal, as they possess fundamental characteristics that are common to humanity
 - Fair equality of opportunity to develop potentialities to maximum extent
 - It ensures 'survival of the best' even if the best is not the fittest

- **Liberty**

- **Positive conception of liberty-** effective power and capability to do desired things
 - Freedom from fear, freedom from want, from exploitation, from subjection
 - **Political freedom-** maker of law for himself, maker of the govt./ruler

- **Fraternity**

- Communitarianism, social solidarity, brotherhood, camaraderie, love for fellow countrymen

- **Justice prevails upon ensuring Liberty, Equality, Fraternity**

His political thoughts- **Democracy**

- **Democracy in political vs Democracy in social life**
 - **Political Democracy:** as the institutionalized structure of power to manage the political affairs of the society
 - **Social Democracy:** Democracy in family, work place, school, and other social institution. Democracy as way of life.
 - To him, democracy is a mode of social living which enables each individual to unfold his/her limitless potentialities to the maximum possible extent without harming the equality, interest, and aspirations of others.
- Influenced by **Athenian** democracy and **Lincoln's** definition of democracy
- Supported **representative** and **parliamentary** democracy
- But **against** decentralisation and Panchayati Raj system- supported **strong central Govt**
- **Indian society was not democratic**
 - Graded inequality, no liberty, equality, fraternity, ghettoization, conformism, authoritarianism
 - **Strategy to promote democracy:**
 - **Negative:** Anti Brhmanism agitation, questioning traditions, customs, adopting Buddhism, opposing modern forms of authoritarianism
 - **Positive:** one man- one vote; constitutional protection to minorities, education, inculcating democratic values in families and social institutions

His political thoughts- **Socialism**

- **Democratic socialism** with guaranteed rights: **Democracy to work towards socialism but have its basis in a regime of rights**
- Accepted class struggle, but not the Marxist materialist account of history
- Also against violent revolution, dictatorship of proletariat
- Socialist society/state need moral foundation, which Buddhism may provide
- He wanted socialism to be enshrined in Indian Constitution; unhappy with Congress's drift from socialism
- **His vision of state socialism**
 - State owning and running key & basic industries
 - Insurance- state monopoly- each adult would have a life policy
 - Agriculture under state cooperative sector- Agriculture as state industry
 - Govt acquiring all land, hand it over to village for collective farming- no zamindar, no tenant, no labourer, no caste privileges
 - Govt. providing all inputs- seeds, fertilizers, irrigation;
 - Thus, nationalisation of both Agriculture and Industry
 - Opposed right to property; many of his socialist vision could get space under DPSP

His views on Social Justice

•Social Justice:

- Social Justice is concerned with ensuring liberty in positive sense, providing fair equality of opportunity and rights to each individual in society.
- In securing the highest possible development of the capabilities and potential of all members of the society may be called social justice.
- To him, trinity of liberty, equality, and fraternity may ensure social justice.
- State should intervene to provide compensatory discrimination(affirmative actions) to provide preferential access to education, Govt jobs, Legislation, and socio-economic benefits to historically under-privileged caste/class.
- Such preferential benefits should be in the inverse proportion of number and condition of the minority/marginalized class/untouchables
- Legal remedies and constitutional guarantees should be used for ensuring social justice
 - Preamble of Indian Constitution directs the state to secure to all its citizens, justice- social, economic and political, along with liberty, equality and fraternity
- To him, abolition of caste system was required for ensuring social justice.

Critical Assessment

- **Modern Manu-** who gave us such wonderful democratic constitution to us.
- While Gandhi fought for freedom from Colonial rule, Ambedkar fought for a broader liberation from exploitation and oppression for the marginalized communities
- Some of his criticism of the caste system may seem to be very harsh. But we should appreciate the context in which he was making these observations
- One, however, may object to his rejection of entire Hindu religion because of the negative impact of the caste system
- Gandhiji tried to bring equality and social reforms while maintaining Hindu Framework, Ambedkar was the great liberator from the Framework. (*Gail Omvedt- 'Ambedkar: Towards An Enlightened India'*)
- If Gandhi is '**Bapu**'; he is '**Baba Saheb**' for us

References

- **Book:**

- **Political Thoughts in Modern India, edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch**
- Indian Political Thought by O.P. Gauba

- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**

- B. Ambedkar, (1991) 'Constituent Assembly Debates', S. Hay (ed.), Sources of Indian Tradition, Vol. 2, Second Edition, New Delhi: Penguin, pp. 342-347.
- V. Rodrigues, (2007) 'Good society, Rights, Democracy Socialism', in S. Thorat and Aryama (eds.), Ambedkar in Retrospect - Essays on Economics, Politics and Society, Jaipur: IIDS and Rawat Publications.
- B. Mungekar, (2007) 'Quest for Democratic Socialism', in S. Thorat, and Aryana (eds.), Ambedkar in Retrospect - Essays on Economics, Politics and Society, Jaipur: IIDS and Rawat Publications, pp. 121-142.

- **Online Resources:**

- [IGNU study material on this theme :](http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/22516/1/Unit-12.pdf)
<http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/22516/1/Unit-12.pdf>
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B. R. Ambedkar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar)
- Dr B.R. Ambedkar's Ideas on Social Justice in Indian Society by Raghavendra R.H.
(https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301914070_Dr_BR_Ambedkars_Ideas_on_Social_Justice_in_Indian_Society/link/5a7566d345851541ce56729b/download)
- You tube video on Ambedkar's interview to BBC in 1955
(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=omGcgEstVIE>)
- Audiobook of Ambedkar's 'The Annihilation of Caste'(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1oHp-fw6AVM>)

THANKS FOR WATCHING!

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Rabindranath Tagore

Critique of Nationalism

PDF at <https://polschelp.in>

WHAT IS IN STORE?

Basis of his political thoughts

His Critique of Nationalism

His alternative vision of social organisation

His political thoughts

Critical Assessment

PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Tagore: Critique of Nationalism

2019: Compare Tagore and Savarkar's views on Nation and Nationalism

2018 : With reference to Tagore's views on nationalism , discuss his philosophy of humanism

2017 : Tagore considered nationalism as evil epidemic; evaluate.

Basis of his Political Thoughts

- Was a creative free soul- poet, singer, painter, writer, educationist, intellectual- BUT NOT a Politician
- Despite this, he couldn't keep himself away from politics; his creations had political overtones; he entered into dialogue with politicians of his time
- Basis: Unity and oneness of Universe(Vedanta Philosophy), Ancient Indian socio-religious ethos, his own understanding of History of human civilization
 - German/Italian nation(1871, 1848, rise of imperialism, scramble for Africa, world war, rise of fascism)
- Also seems to be influenced by- reason, science, rationality(Enlightenment), Romanticism, Bhakti, Sufi, Marxism, anarchism
- universal humanism, spiritualism, and cosmopolitanism/internationalism- active love, cooperation, interdependence, and unity of man/countries
- For him, moral truth is one, indivisible and omnipresent: hence, any external organizational form which seeks to contradict that truth is a moral offence.
- Goal- human freedom & emancipation, human excellence, flourishing, creativity
- Against anything which chain human freedom, makes man machine/slave, which makes 'personal man'(unalienated man conscious of truth, beauty and goodness) narrow & hard

His Critique of Nationalism -1/4

- To him, nation(nation-state) is **organized political and economic union of people** for mechanical purpose- power, material gain, competitive advantage
- **Features of nation-state and nationalism :**
 - Represent collective self-interest, selfishness, ego, and vanity of people
 - Based on fear and greed, collective passion, primitive instinct and is instrumental (means), mechanical, monotonous- uniform
 - Does not follow universal moral principles, morally divide humanity, make it unfree
 - Exclusiveness, narrowness, breed conflict, competition- survival of the fittest, violence
 - It chains man's spirit, make them machine/slave- follow the will of one 'master'.
 - Nationalism put nation above man/people.
 - It encroaches upon the space of society(civil society)
 - Like applied science- Powerful, universal, impersonal, efficient, effective- but immoral, non-spiritual, exclusive, breed selfishness, narrowness, stifle human freedom
 - Kind of Hypnotism, Anesthesia, Intoxication - turning free souls(personal man) into passionate but slavish crowd

His Critique of Nationalism 1-2/4

- Nation is, therefore, is **immoral, least human** and **least spiritual**
- It is **evil**, brain **disease**, **menace**; nationalism has made man the greatest menace to man; nation the greatest evil for the nation!
- **Geographical demon**: territorial division of humanity, competing and destroying anything great outside national boundaries
- **Incessant self-consciousness** of nation - fear, anxiety, hyper sensitivity, poor human life
- Nationalism has close **links** to **capitalism, colonialism, imperialism**
- Based on **violence**, breeds violence and **destruction**
- **Specific phase of western history**- neither a universal model nor a necessary path of convergence.

His Critique of Nationalism -3/4

- Nationalism becomes **cult** and **fetishism**
 - Cult of nation make people professional, breed conflict of interest, collective competition, fight for national interest, morally dividing humanity- against the moral ideal of humanity
 - Man sacrifice freedom and humanity to the fetish of nationalism – people in nation hypnotized to feel they are free- actually they are chained
- **Spirit of west** (good, virtuous) vs **Nation of west**(demonic, exploitative)
 - Nation of west forges its iron chains of organisation- most relentless and unbreakable
- Nation build **enclosures** around them-breeding self-interest and contempt for anything outside the wall
- Fight between **living spirit** of the people vs the **method** of nation-organizing
- Nationalism is the **training** of a whole people for a **narrow ideal**- morally degrade them, intellectually blind them

His Critique of Nationalism -4/4

- For limited period of time nation proudly proves itself to be the fittest to survive ... but it is the survival of that part of man which is the least living
- The nation is thus characterized as externally aggressive and competitive, but is also equated with internal disciplinary and regulatory power and the erosion of difference-monotony and sameness
- Hence, in both its internal and external orientations, it is the negation of that freedom which is to be found in the life-world of people as free soul
- *“Nations live in an atmosphere of fear, greed, and panic, due to the preying of one nation upon other [sic] for material wealth. Its civilization is carnivorous and cannibalistic, feeding upon the blood of weaker nations. Its one idea is to thwart all greatness outside its own boundaries. Never before were there such terrible jealousies, such betrayals of trust; all this is called patriotism, whose creed is politics.”*
- *“The nation as a nation-state— with its fetishization of territory and boundaries, its machine-like bureaucracy and its politics, which narrow the sphere of human life and encourage inter-national competitiveness and intra-national homogenization ”*
- Nationalism turn social-religious form of life towards a state-political form
- its exclusivism, narrowness, and territorial chauvinism is the very negation of what Tagore claimed to be the universal moral law: the unity of man.

His Alternate Vision

- **Society Vs State**
- **Collective social life and spiritual truth** : spontaneous life-world based on the social regulation of differences on the one hand, and the spiritual recognition of unity of man on the other
- **Nation vs Swadeshi Samaj**- social relations that are not mechanical and impersonal but based on love and cooperation, common tradition, common destiny
 - **Samajpati**- of Hindu and Muslim community
- India's unique contribution to human civilisation- unity in diversity- adjustments of races(ethnic/religious/linguistic communities) and accommodation of differences rather than its elimination
- **Indian syncretic tradition**- social not political- Nanak, Kabir, Tukaram, Chatanya, etc.
- **India need not compete in political nationalism** – Ex. Switzerland competing with England in building Navy
- **India's salvation**: Social reorganization /reformation; reforms in outdated social customs, traditions, ideals, to have self-respect, self-reliant- not dependent on ruler/state for social life
- **Societal reconstruction/reorganization of its authority bases** : Reviving village panchayat- samiti- provincial and national level. Parallel societal authority to the state- state within the state
- Revive the old institution of **community festival** and spread it far and wide.

Society vs State

- State and politics vs society and religion(Dharma)
- Society- spontaneous self expression of man as a social being, natural regulation of human relationships, so that men can develop ideals of life in cooperation with one another; end in itself
- State: Social construction, societal superstructure, means to achieve specific end; utilitarian motives,
- politics of the state breeds alienation, conflict, fear, greed, homogenization and competition versus the unalienated life-world based on love, harmony, cooperation, interdependence, unity
- Nation-state encroaches upon society's space, domain
- The West survives by protecting the state, while our country lives on socially regulated conventions free from any state intervention
- India remained intact despite centuries of alien rule due to welfare of society had been largely non-political function; was managed by community- not state
- superiority of Indian civilization's 'social-religious model' over the West's 'political nation-state model'
 - *"In the politically oriented country, the heart lies in the political system: if it collapses, this means the death of the country. It is in this way that Greece and Rome met their end; the countries like India and China have survived in spite of political revolutions, since their souls are anchored in a stable society"*

His other Political Thoughts

- **Political freedom** NOT same as **human freedom**
- **His ideal state:** neither liberal nor communist- ancient Hindu polity- as people's trustee with defined welfare functions
- **Subaltern thoughts:** suspicious of political leadership by aristocratic or liberal middle class- social re-organisation by rejuvenating the masses
- **Against non-cooperation**, extremism, India shutting its door to West, isolation, negation, competing on political nationalism
- Accept and assimilate '**Spirit of the west**', reject '**nations of the west**'
- **His focus: social reorganization/regeneration**, reconstruction, social revitalization- adjustment of races/people- unity in diversity, spreading education and social reforms, building societal authority from grass root level, social cohesiveness
- Adopt science, reason, rationality, modernity with reasoned approach- self reliant and rejuvenated country- then dispense with alien rule
- Non-alignment and federalism

His Thoughts on Political Economy

- Applying science, reason, intellect, and enterprise for rural reconstruction and revitalizing the rural areas and masses
 - Modernization in farming practices
 - Cooperative crop production
 - Free distribution of high quality seed/planting material
 - Soil testing, supply of suitable manure
 - Efficient farm; village handicraft, rural industrialization, modern training, skill development
- Centre for rural reconstruction at Sri-Niketan:
 - wholesome development of the community life of village people through education, training, healthcare, sanitation, modern and scientific agricultural production, revival of traditional arts and crafts and organizing fairs and festivities in daily life
- Against 'Charkha' movement, boycotting and burning western products, and turning blind eyes to modern science & technology.

His Differences with Gandhian Thoughts

- Against focus of Gandhi on attaining political nationalism
- Differing views on nationalism.
- Internationalism with or without nationalism
- Gandhian methods
 - 'charkha' movement- impractical, non-industrious, non-scientific, illogical
 - 'Ahimsa' and 'satyagraha' – moral asceticism to violence
- Against Non-cooperation movement
 - India's salvation in social reconstruction, inner reformation not non-cooperation with outside force.
- **Against unquestioned allegiance(slavery) to a leader, which was one of his criticisms of Gandhi's leadership.**
- Against political Economy of Gandhi- non-modern, traditional

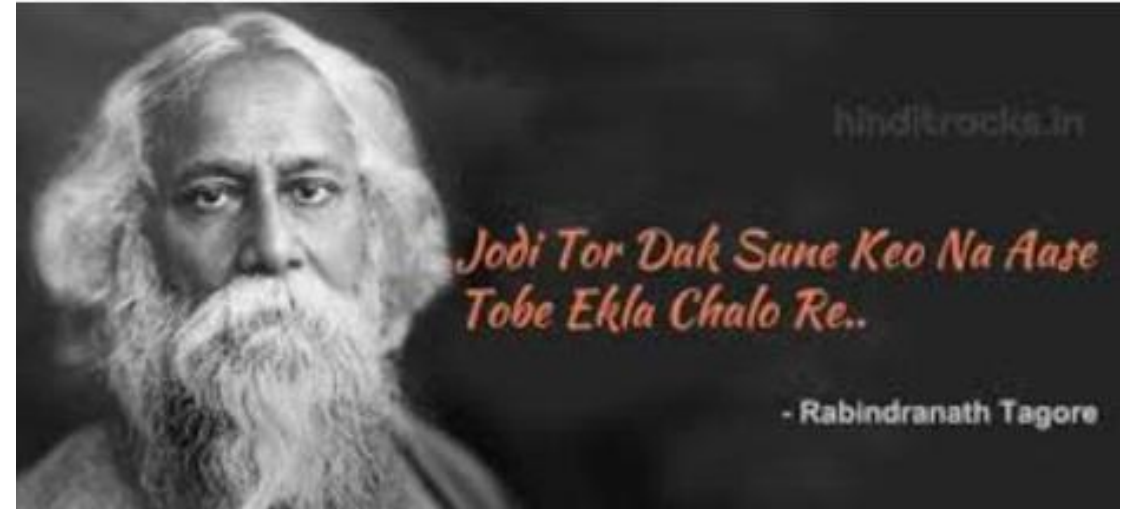
Critical Assessment

- Criticized on many counts
 - Utopic, impractical, idealistic, out of synch of his time, personality oriented, unusually naïve about reality of the socio-political conditions of his time.
- His political thoughts- sketchy- not concrete
 - How social regeneration and reconstruction or social revolution possible without involving state?
 - How without social upheaval, class war social peace can be bought?
 - How perennial malady of human society- exploitation by few of many be eliminated?
 - He tried to find solution to political problems from apolitical sources- 'not here but elsewhere'?
- Some of his thoughts veer towards utopic anarchism
- Rabindranath as great poet, novelist, singer, educationist became part of our cultural heritage but his political thoughts were forgotten

Overall Assessment

- If Gandhiji is father of political Indian nation; Rabindranath Tagore its Intellectual father
- Rejected Eurocentrism, and ethnocentrism; placed India at the center of history of Human civilization
- By rejecting idea of western nation-state, destroyed the myth of western modernity
- By establishing linkage between capitalism, nationalism, and imperialism, busted the myth of 'civilizational mission'
- Had the vision and insight to detect real problem of India- social reorganization, reconstruction, reforms, and revitalization of masses
- Many of his thoughts are very much relevant today- minuses of nationalism, unity in diversity, political vs human freedom, society vs state, primacy of human bond, cooperation, and importance of science & reason

Where the mind is without fear
and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into
fragments
by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms toward
perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way
into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-
widening
thought and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,
let my country awake.



जोदी तोर डाक सुने केउ ना आसे, तोबे एकला चलो रे

References

- **Book:**

- **Political Thoughts in Modern India, edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch**
- Indian Political Thought by O.P. Gauba

- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**

- R. Tagore, (1994) 'The Nation', S. Das (ed.), The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore, Vol. 3, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, pp. 548-551.
- R. Chakravarty, (1986) 'Tagore, Politics and Beyond', in Th. Panthams and K. Deutsch (eds.), Political Thought in Modern India, New Delhi: Sage, pp. 177-191.
- M. Radhakrishnan, and Debasmita, (2003) 'Nationalism is a Great Menace: Tagore and Nationalism' in P. Hogan, Colm and L. Pandit, (eds.) Rabindranath Tagore: Universality and Tradition, London: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corporation, pp. 29-39.

- **Online Resources:**

- IGNU study material on this theme :
<http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/22513/1/Unit-13.pdf>
- Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics- Rabindranath Tagore and Nationalism: An Interpretation by Michael Collins http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/8844/1/HPSACP_COLLINS.pdf
- Biography of Rabindranath Tagore on RS TV - Virasat - Rabindranath Tagore
(<https://youtu.be/asyCgl716Mk>)
- Prime Time With Ravish Kumar: Rabindranath Tagore का राष्ट्रवाद और आज का समय
(https://youtu.be/9DWmo4_38mw)

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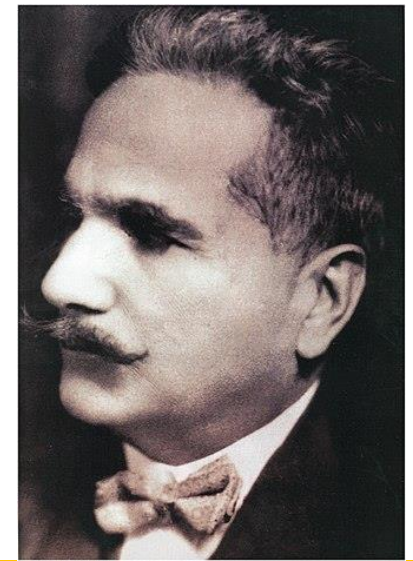
IQBAL

COMMUNITY

PDF at <https://polschelp.in>

Life and Time of Muhammad Iqbal

- Was born, 9 November 1877 in an ethnic Kashmiri family in Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan. His Ancestors were Kashmiri Pandit, converted to Islam in 15th century.
- **Education:** Brilliant student. High school from **Scotch Mission College in Sialkot**, BA and MA from **Government College University, Lahore**; Higher education from **University of Cambridge**, Barrister from London, and **Ph.D from University of Munich**- his research topic was' *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia*.
- **His Time:** After Swadeshi movement, Muslim League set up in 1906; World war 1; Khilafat movement, rise of communal politics, debate on fate of Indian Muslims in independent India.
- **Was influenced by:** Sufi saints- **Rumi**, Hamadani, Hujwiri; western thinkers- Goethe, **Nietzsche**, Bergson
- **Career:** Teaching, Law, poetry, political Thinker, Political activist
- **Politics:**
 - Prominent leader of Indian Muslim League
 - Actively participated in Khilafat Movement during 1919-24
 - Became president of the Punjab Muslim League
 - Won election to become member of Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1926
 - Was philosopher and ideologue to Muhamad Ali Jinnah
 - He along with Rehmat Ali, articulated the vision of separate Indian Muslim nation – **1930- Allahabad Speech** in 25th session of Indian Muslim League
- **Creations:**
- Mostly poems, in Persian
 - "**Tarānah-e-Hindi**"- *Sāre Jahān se Acchā* -1904
 - Tarana-e-Milli- Anthem of the Community-1910
 - **Asrar-i-Khudi** - *Secrets of the Self* (1915) ; **Rumuz-i-Bekhudi** - *Hints of Selflessness* (1917)
 - *Payam-e-Mashriq The Message of the East* (1924)
 - **Javed Nama** -(Book of Javed-1932; **Collection of Essay- The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam-1930**



Muhammad Iqbal(1877-1938)

National Poet of Pakistan, called Allama (most knowledgeable)

Revered in Iran, called **Iqbāl-e Lāhorī**

सारे जहाँ से अच्छा हिन्दोस्तां हमारा हम
बुलबुलें हैं इसकी ये गुलिस्तां हमारा

मजहब नहीं सिखाता आपस में बैर रखना
हिन्दी हैं हम, वतन है हिन्दोस्तां हमारा

खुदी को कर बुलंद इतना
कै हर तकदीर से पहले
खुदा बंदे से खुद पूछे बता
तेरी रज़ा क्या है

कुछ बात है कि हस्ती मिटती नहीं हमारी
सँदियों रहा है दुश्मन दौर-ए-ज़माँ हमारा

Nature of the self- 'Khudi' (खुदी)

- Guided by his **humanism, universalism** and informed by **Sufism**, and modern western individualism
 - Humanism: world can be changed only by changing the nature of the man
- **3 layers of self-** physical, relational, universal
- Man has God given virtue of perfectibility. Individual-self can attain God like moral perfectness and goodness
 - deep dive into its **self consciousness- self-realisation; created being becoming like the Creator-salvation**
 - Khudi and Khuda, separate distinct personality; rejected self submerging its existence in God
 - by lifelong vigorous activity, and service to God and to society
- Such self is courageous, confident, resist oppression, active, exercises his free will, has infinite creative possibility, able to change the world
- But is not possessive, is selfless(**Be-khudi- बेखुदी**), ready to sacrifice for common Good, has love, compassion, tolerance for fellow man.
- Such self is timeless, immortal. It becomes '**Perfect Man**'

His Ideal Community

- **Man is a social animal.** Society/community- necessary for fullest development of individual self (comp. Aristotle)
 - Unbreakable tie between men's activity and Society.
- **Religious notion of Community:**
 - Bond of unity by religion/spirituality NOT race, territorial boundary, language, or any other external identity
 - Community of spiritually developed unique individuals led by most unique perfect Man.
 - Individuals are allowed independent judgement(Ijtihad) of Religious laws, but ultimately submit to the authority of God
 - Religion/spirituality help attain equality, freedom, and solidarity(fraternity) in the community.
- **Community include Nation and Polity.**
- Such community is the '**Millat**'- the community of Muslims:
 - in which religion and politics is same, in which there is no need for separate nationalism, there is perfect equality, the individual develop love for others and live in harmony with tolerance.

Features of his ideal Community

- Based on the moral and spiritual foundation of religion
- Perfect equality, love & harmony among the individuals
- Perfect **adjustments between Individual free will and Societal Common Good**
 - Society allow individual self development, exercise of free will, but individuals are ready to sacrifice for the societal common interest
- No in-human competition, no dichotomy between religious and political value
- **Polity:** Spiritual and NOT formal Democracy
- **Economic system:**
 - Neither Capitalism, nor Marxian Socialism- but a kind of moral/spiritual Socialism:
 - Each individual treated equally, justice, and perfect equality, no oppression, no discrimination.

His Thought on Nationalism

- He rejected western notion of nationalism and nation-state as it divides community on the basis of geography, race, colour, language, and other external identities.
- To him, nationalism contained germs of a atheistic materialism. Basis of human relations should be religious unity of mankind not the native land as in nationalism
- He believed in community bound by religion/spirituality. In such community, no separate nationalism is required
- Believed in Islamic universalism: Pan-Islamic Confederation : *“Muslim community is not a nation it is League of nation”*
- **Contradictions:**
 - Younger Iqbal praised Indian nation (*Sare jahan se accha...*), urged for freedom of India from British rule.
 - But older Iqbal became susceptible of Indian nationalism as it would have subordinated the Indian Muslim, he thought.
 - Indian Muslim a nation in modern sense; Muslims in North-West India should constituted as nation-state.

Critical Evaluation of his Idea of Community

- For many Iqbal's idea of community based on religion would be problematic.
- Many in India blame him for origination of the two-nation theory which was based on his idea of a religious community which is also a nation.
- But it we must appreciate the context in which Iqbal was framing his idea of community. He undertook a very difficult project of reconstructing Islam in the wake of its subjugation both political and spiritually by the western powers.
- For this he took the essence of classical Islam and mixed them with modern western political values.
- He also strongly advocated for political freedom of the Islamic world from European powers.
- In this complex endeavour the issue of fate of Indian Muslim in the independent India was also joined.
- Iqbal developed his Socio Political ideas such as the community to reconcile these very broad and challenging objectives.
- In this very challenging endeavour, he, at many places, seems **contradictory**.
 - He rejected nationalism and nation-state but seems to have articulated the demand for a separate Muslim nation-state in India.
 - He believed in God as the Creator and controller of the universe yet he insisted on securing eminence of the individual self (Khudi) which he claimed should stand even before the Khuda.
 - Ijtihad vs submitting to Holy Laws ; Teleological approach vs human agency
 - He supported spiritual democracy but opposed political democracy.
 - Opposed Capitalism but didn't support Socialism either.

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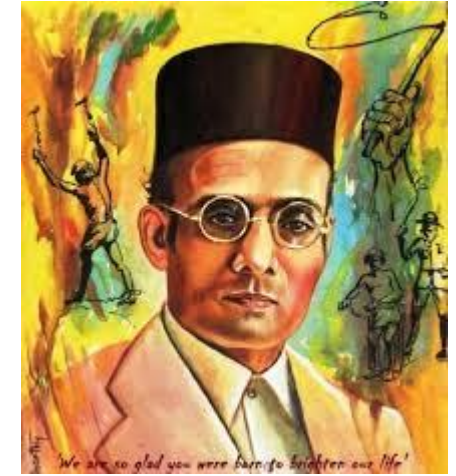
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Political Thoughts of
SAVARKAR
Hindutva

PDF at <https://polschelp.in>

Life and Time of Savarkar

- Was born, 28 May 1883 in the Marathi Chitpavan Brahmin Hindu family of **Damodar** and **Radhabai** Savarkar in the village of **Bhagur**, near the city of **Nashik**, Maharashtra
- **Education:** Bachelor of Arts from Fergusson College, Pune; went London in 1906 for higher studies; Barrister degree from Gray's Inn, London. After murder of Curzon Wyllie, a British official by Madan Lal Dhingra in London, was arrested in 1910 on various charges relating to subversion and incitement to war and was sent to **India** for trial
- **His Time:** After Swadeshi movement, militant nationalism was on rise. Dialogue on nature of Indian nationalism, fate of Hindus and Muslims in independent India.
- **Was influenced by:** His elder brother Ganesh, Joseph Mazzini, western Enlightenment
- **Career:** Revolutionary freedom fighter, poet, writer, lawyer, social reformer, political thinker, political activist
- **3 phases of his Life/career**
 - **Till 1911:** Revolutionary freedom fighter, idea of composite Indian nationalism, Hindi-Muslim unity
 - Abhinav Bharat, Revolutionary activities with Madam Cama, Lala Hardayal, Madan Lal Dhingra
 - Wrote The Indian War of Independence-1909
 - **1911-37:** In jail, conditional freedom in Ratnagiri, social reformer, Hindu nationalism-Hindutva
 - **1937-66:** president of Hindu Mahasabha (37-43), electoral politics, differences with Gandhiji, political pariah after linked with Gandhi's assassination
- **Controversies:**
 - Mercy petitions
 - Linked with Gandhiji's assassination
 - On issue of granting Bharat Ratna
- **Creations:**
 - "**The Indian War of Independence-1909** ; Mera Aajewan Karawaas – 2007
 - **Hinditva: Who Is a Hindu?** -1923 ; Kaala Pani' -2007 ; Mopla- 1967



Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966)

Called **Veer Savarkar** for his courage as Revolutionary against British Rule

Societies: Abhinav Bharat, India House, Free India Society

Founder- **Patit Pawan Temple**, Ratnagiri

Was a **rationalist Atheist**- was against 'Hindu ritualism, Caw protection

Never Joined RSS, despite being its philosophical founder

President of Hindu Mahasabha for 7 years- 1937-43

In **1970**, PM Indira Gandhi released **Postal Stamp on Savarkar**

Who are Hindu?

- **Historically Hindu denotes multiple identities**
 - Land/region, culture/people, religion, nation
 - Ancient times- the land and People of Sindhu River
 - Muslim Rule: Hindavi and Hindu- those who are not Muslims, Parsees, Jews, and other people of books settled in India
 - British Rule: native people of India; sometime people of any religion permanently settled in India- Hindoo Muslims, Hindoo Christians
- **Savarkar defined Hindu as one who**
 - 1. who regards the Land from Indus to the seas, Himalaya to cape Comorin -**Bharatvarsha**- as his or her fatherland (Ptribhumi- पृथिवीभूमि)
 - 2. is descended of Hindu parents
 - 3. considered this land Holy (Punyabhumi- पुण्य भूमि)
- **Thus, to him, Indian people following Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism are Hindu**
- **Hindus are a Nation**, he believed
 - Same culture, civilization, history, way of life, worldview, race, hopes, aspirations, destiny
- He **linked Hindu Nation** to his conception of **Hindutva**

Savarkar's Hindutva

- Savarkar wrote in **1923- *Hindutva: who is a Hindu?***
- **To him, Hindutva has 3 elements/components**
 - 1. **Territorial identity:** Hindu Nation(Rashtra)- Hindus of the Bharatvarsha
 - 2. **Racial Identity(Jati):** through centuries of historical existence of living together, Hindus have certain racial features which distinguish them from other races
 - 3. **Cultural Identity:** a distinct Hindu culture- way of life, worldview, rituals, customs, social practices, traditions, festivals, art/craft, literature; can easily be distinguished from Muslim or Christian culture
- Savarkar, thus, **differentiated Hinduism and Hindutva**
 - Hinduism as a religious system of a section of Hindus
 - Hindutva as a cultural community of people following religions of India
 - Hindutva- political ideology- Hindu nation (Hindu Rashtra)
 - Hinduism only a part of Hindutva

Features of Savarkar's Hindutva

- Much broader concept than Hinduism
 - Denotes cultural identity, cultural nationalism, inclusive of all Indian Religion
- Hindutva is not religious concept- cultural & political concept
- On the religion-culture and nation-state axis, Hindutva aligns with culture and nation
- Hindutva is secular, it allows all religion to coexist in Indian state, in which Hindu nation will be the dominant component
 - makes a difference between a Hindi nation(Hindu Rashtra) and Hindu State(Hindu raj)
- Hindutva allows Indian people of other religion to be part of it by following the Hindu culture- NOT Hindu Religion-Hinduism
- Hindutva ideology opposed minority appeasement, any special privileges to minorities, and partition of India.

Savarkar's Idea of nationalism

- Seems to have followed western notion of Nation
 - To him, Hindus are a nation, in all sense
- Believed in **cultural nationalism**, NOT religious nationalism
- Nation should be strong, have adequate power/force to survive- a kind of militant nationalism
- Accepted **moral relativism**- morality and ethics depends upon national interest
- He wanted Hindus to be strong, united, get rid of caste, sectarian differences, dogmas, superstition, useless rituals- be a **strong, united nation**
- Vision of a **Pan-India Hindu Nation**- undivided Indian Subcontinent
- Differentiated between **Hindu nation and Hindu State**;
 - Hindu state- secular, equality to all religion, no appeasement, no preference to any religion
 - Hindu state- multi-national, in which Hindu nation will have dominance

Gandhi Vs Savarkar: Hinduism and Nationalism

Basis	Gandhi	Savarkar
Hinduism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• His religion which is spiritual, moral guide to him- <i>Sanatan Dharma</i>• Which teaches him love & tolerance for all other religion- <i>Sarva Dharma Sambhav</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• a religious system of a section of Hindus• One of the Indian Religion, along with Jainism, Buddhism, Sikhism• a subset of Hindutva
Views about other Religion	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spiritual Unity of Religion-Sarva Dharma Sambhav ; no exclusion, no 'otherness'	Religions of India vs Religion practiced in India
His own Religiosity	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Highly Religious, mixed spirituality and morality drawn from his religion to his politics	Rationalist Atheist, his Hindutva was not religious but cultural and political concept
Nationalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Indian nationalism having composite culture• Ideal nation: based on love, tolerance, truth & non-violence;• Internationalism and universalism	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Hindu nation, but secular Indian state• Cultural militant nationalism• Rejected non-violence• Moral relativism: morality contingent upon national interest

Critical Evaluation

- His Hindutva was Not Religious, it was cultural bracket, has political dimension
- It was inclusive, accommodative- included all Indian religion, even allowed other religions to coexist with equal rights
- But Hindutva as Hindu nation fueled the notion of Muslim Nation, which led to two-nation theory
- Hindutva had overtones of militant cultural nationalism
- His Hindutva seemed to be antagonistic to the composite Indian Culture
- His slogan “*Hinduisse politics and militarized HinduDom*” was problematic for many, including Gandhji

Overall Assessment

- We must appreciate the complex project Savarkar has taken through his idea of Hindutva and the ongoing political discourse in which he Participated.
- On the wake of rising national consciousness against the British rule, he felt the continued meekness, weakness, and passivity of Hindu Nation.
- He wanted to revive, unite, and strengthen Hindu Nation by giving it widest possible meaning, including maximum numbers of Indian people in its fold
- He wanted united and strong Indian state, in which Hindu nation is the dominant but equal part, in which all religion co-exist with equality & dignity.
- He was also participating in the political dialogue of his time- Gandhiji's views on Hinduism and Indian nationalism, Muslim Leagues views of Muslims in Indian state, British political design of divide and rule, etc
- In this grand endeavour, he became contradictory on many of his stances/idea, which was very natural. Same happened with Iqbal.

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Political Thoughts of **NEHRU**

(PART 1)
Secularism

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PAST YEAR'S QUESTIONS

Syllabus: Nehru: Secularism

2019: Notes :Nehru on democratic socialism

2018 : Discuss Nehru's ideas of democratic socialism and its relevance for contemporary India.

2017 : Critically examine Nehru's views on Secularism

His Secularism

- **Its Basis- Foundation**

- **His views on Religion-** was agnostic, Pagan, moral & spiritual view of religion
- His education/training: English Liberalism, Enlightenment: science, reason, rationality, western secularism (strict separation of church and state),
- **His faith in Scientific Humanism-** service to humanity- service to God, science as religion, scientists as religious people; dam, Mills, factories- modern temple/gurudwaras/Mosques
- Mill's views on minority rights; Multi-culturalism and protection of minority rights
- **His experiences:** Historical wars in name of religion, communal politics during Indian national movement, partition on basis of religion, holocaust

- **Its Essence**

- State should observe **neutrality** in regard to all religion (Congress resolution on fundamental rights, 1931, drafted by Nehru)
- It was neither **irreligion** nor **anti- religion**- accepts important role of religion in individual & social life
- It meant **equal respect for all faiths**, complete freedom to individuals to follow any religion/faith, and equal opportunities for those following different religion/faith or atheist.
- State would be like **neutral Umpire** for all religious practices, but can intervene to protect individual's rights, freedom, public order, morality, social welfare.
- Religious equality, liberty, and protection of minority rights

Manifestation of Nehruvian Secularism in Indian Constitution

- **Preamble:** India a secular republic ; Liberty of belief, faith, and worship
- **Article 14, 15, 16 :** Rights to equality; no discrimination on the basis of religion
- **Article 25:** Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion
- **Article 29 :**Protection of interests of minorities.
 - Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same
- **Article 30:** rights of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions
 - All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice; state would not discriminate in granting aids to such minority institutions
- **Article 44(DPSP) :** The state shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a **uniform civil code**.

Critique to Nehruvian Secularism

- Minority appeasement for electoral gains
- Left Muslim Personal law untouched
- Didn't try to bring social reforms in society for fear of angering minorities
 - Uniform civil code, Banning Triple Talaq
- Couldn't create communal harmony
 - Communal riots were quite frequent
- Couldn't reform secular and progressive elementary/primary education
- Ignoring minority fundamentalism bred(produced) majority fundamentalism

Assessment of His Secularism

- Guided by his personal belief, worldview, education, training, and influences of great liberal thinkers of 19th century
- His aim was national integration, faster economic development, social welfare
- To him, Communalism was poison for national unity and social harmony. Hence, he avoided it in politics, social welfare, and economic planning.
- His experience of communal politics during national movement, and elsewhere in world taught him the fear among permanent minorities in democracy
- To him, permanent majority community should grant some concessions to the permanent minorities. It was moral and ethical for him.
- His pragmatism and undivided focus on nation building made him look like appeasing minorities and turning blind eyes to social reforms across the religion.

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NEHRU

(PART 2)

**Socialism, Nationalism,
Democracy**

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2019: Notes :Nehru on democratic socialism

2018 : Discuss Nehru's ideas of democratic socialism and its relevance for contemporary India.

2017 : Critically examine Nehru's views on Secularism

His Socialism

- **Its bases, Foundation:**

- Multiple encounters with socialism in its different forms and ideologies
 - 1st as student in Cambridge- Fabian Socialism- George Bernard Shaw, Sidney Webb Bertrand Russell
 - Academic, vague, utopic, romantic
 - 2nd during Farmer's movement in Awadh, UP with Gandhiji in 1921
 - By seeing the necked, poor farmers- struck as lightening
 - 3rd during visits to Europe and Russia in 1926-27
 - Started appreciating Marxism, Leninism; but also its shortcomings

- **Its essence**

- A mix of libertarian Marxism, Fabian socialism, Gandhian moral Philosophy
- Democratic Socialism or social democracy
 - Democracy and socialism means for individual freedom and social development- ushering new civilisation
- Linked colonial nationalism and 'Swaraj' with socialism as against Capitalism with Imperialism & Fascism
- Aiming for classless society, socio-economic equality, equal opportunity but keeping intact democratic principles, civil liberties, individual rights.
- **Method:** peaceful, cooperative,, consensus, within framework of parliamentary democracy
 - Mixed Economic model, rapid economic development through central planning, large infrastructure projects, basic Industries, Cooperative farming, community development for rural areas, land reforms, land ceiling, ending right to private properties

Manifestation of Nehruvian Socialism

- **1934:** formation of Congress Socialist party
- **1936:** declared that socialism is my Creed which I hold with all my head and heart
- **1947-50:** Socialist visions were included Indian constitution
 - **DPSP Art 38-51:** Right to Education, Right to work, equal pay for equal work, worker's participation in management
 - Reservation, right to equality, socialism in preamble
- **1948:** Industrial resolution: blueprint for mixed economy
- **1950:**
 - Abolition of Zamindari system, land reforms, land ceiling
 - Establishment of national Planning Commission
- **1955:**
 - Avadi resolution of Congress on democracy & Socialism
 - Establishment of a socialistic pattern of society where the principal means of production are under social ownership, production is progressively speeded up and there is equitable distribution of national wealth.
- **1956**
 - 2nd industrial policy resolution which declared the adoption of the socialist pattern of society as the National objective
 - Public sector to control commanding heights of the Economy; conception of a welfare state.
- **1958:** he outlined his approach to socialism which was nonviolent, gradual with tolerance, and peaceful cooperation for socio economic changes in society
 - socialism is not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problem
 - objective is individual improvement and lessening of inequalities, but we should not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life
 - National planning is essential for increasing the productivity and equitable distribution
 - Land Reforms are essential for radical improvement in productivity in agriculture

Critique to Nehruvian Socialism

- **Ideological confusion**
 - Neither Marxian, nor Fabian, nor social democracy; it was a hotchpotch
 - Many called it Bourgeois socialism, welfare capitalism
- **Failed to bring desired socio-economic development**
 - Low rate of growth- about 3.5 %- Hindu rate of growth(Raj Krishna)
 - Lopsided development- income/wealth disparity among individuals, regions increased
 - Couldn't provide universal elementary education, healthcare.
 - Closed protected economy, less export, less foreign investment, high cost economy
- **Neglected the Agricultural sector** and rural development
 - Gave more importance to large/heavy industries
 - Half hearted land reforms, very low productivity
- His Socialism was a sham, façade in the **garb of free capitalism**; it failed to bring about social transformation, new civilisation as promised
- **Planning Commission** became extra constitutional super power, taking all economic decisions sitting in Delhi
 - Excessive centralisation, Bureaucratisation, License- permit Raj

His Nationalism

- His **sociological history shaped his idea of nationalism**
 - “nationalism is essentially a group memory of past achievements, traditions, experience....people have sought comforts and strengths in their old traditions”
 - “...remarkable development of present age has been re-discovery of the past and of the nation”
- His nationalism is **secular, rationalist, modernizing, and universalizing**
 - Derided religious nationalism, cultural and militant nationalism, narrow conception of nationalism
 - For Him, Bharat Mata, India is the people of India, people of all caste, creed, religion, language
- Was **aware of the pitfalls of divisive, competitive, and egoist tendencies in nationalism**
 - “.... nationalism is an unreliable friend and an unsafe historian. It blinds us to many happenings and sometimes distorts the truth...”
- **Synthetic universalism:** All nations part of same humanity, they should work hand in hand for progress of humanity without any ill-will, competition, and ego
 - His idea of **Panchsheel**- Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, Internationalism
- **Linked nationalism to socialism:** national freedom to bring about social transformation

His Thoughts on Democracy

- For him democracy was best political means/method to achieve social transformation
- Critique of liberal democracy for socio-economic inequality
- Critique of Marxian socialism for its lack of democracy and individual liberty
- To him, democracy ensures individual freedom, rights, and justice
- Political democracy should move towards economic democracy without which political freedom and adult suffrage was meaningless
- Both Democracy and Socialism were means for individual freedom and social development
- He was the great champion of democracy and parliamentary form of Govt
 - He gave a robust democratic institutional set up which made India remaining democratic whereas other Afro-Asian nations gaining freedom with India lost their democracy
 - He tried his best to preserve the sanctity of parliament, judiciary, and all vital democratic institutions to strengthen the fragile democracy in India

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Syllabus: Lohia: Socialism

2019: Notes :Lohia on socialism

2018 : Notes: Lohia on caste question

2017 : Notes: Lohia's views on Four Pillar state

Life and Time of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

- Was born, at on 23 March 1910 at Akbarpur, Ambedkar Nagar District, Uttar Pradesh in a merchant Family. His Father **Hiralal** was a teacher and nationalist.
- **Education:** Brilliant student. Studied up to High School in Mumbai, Intermediate from BHU, Under graduation from Vidyasagar College, under the University of Calcutta, and Ph.D from Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany. He did research on ***Salt Taxation in India***. Completed his education in **1933**.
- **His Time:** 'Purna Swaraj' call by Congress in 1929; World war II; Failure of the Cripps Mission; Final decade of Indian Independence movement- Quit India Movement 1942; Socialism was in air; heated debate on what socio-economic path Independent India should take.
- **Political Career:**
 - **1934:** became actively involved in the Congress Socialist Party (CSP)- jailed for 18 months on sedation charges
 - 1942: mobilized support from the underground for the Quit India Movement- jailed for 2 years in Lahore Jail
 - 1948: Left CSP to form Socialist Party of India ; differences with Nehruji and Anti-congressism
 - **1952:** Socialist Party of India merged with the Kisan Majdoor Praja Party to form the Praja Socialist Party(PSP)- **his famous Pachamarhi Speech**
 - 1956: formed Socialist Party (Lohia) by splitting PSP;
 - 1962: lost election to Nehruji in Phoolpur, UP
 - 1963: became a member of the Lok Sabha after a by-election in Farrukhabad; noticed as excellent orator and sharp criticism of Congress Govt.
 - 1965: merged the Socialist Party (Lohia) into the ranks of the Samyukta Socialist Party.
 - **1967:** Won Lok Sabha Election; was instrumental in forming **first non Congress Govt** in UP with the support of Bharatiya Jan Sangh ; same year died.
- **Books:**
 - ***Wheel of History***(1955) ; ***The Caste System*** (1964)
 - *Fragments of World Mind: (1949) ; Guilty Men of India's Partition(1970)*
 - ***Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*** (1963) ; ; *India, China, and Northern Frontiers* (1963)



Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia (1910 –1967)

Journal : *Mankind*

Actively participated in liberation of Goa

Icon of Non-Congressism

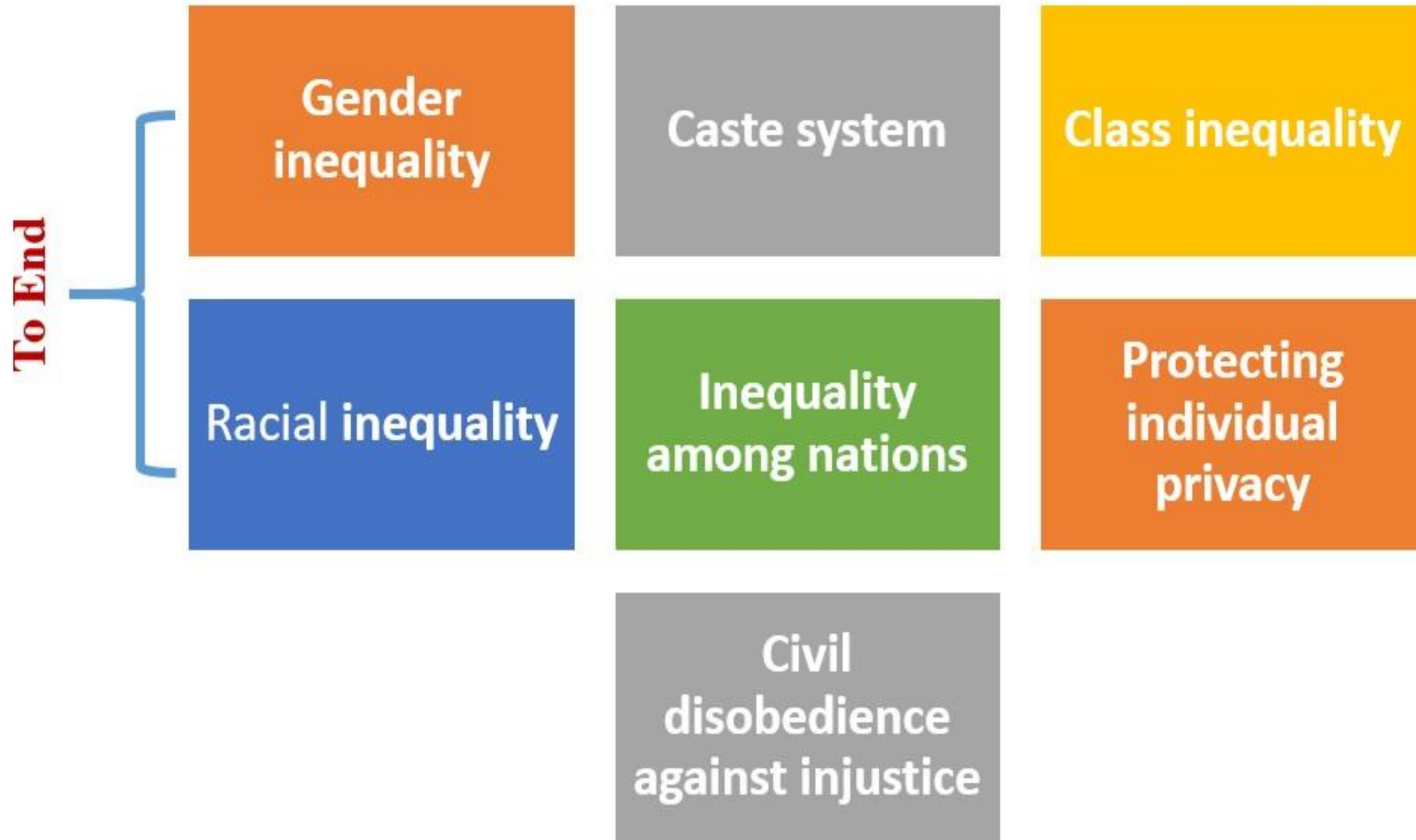
Biggest Inspiration for the contemporary socialist parties- SP, RJD, JD(U),etc.

Gave Indian version of Socialism

Wheels of History - काल चक्र, इतिहास चक्र

- **Neither Linear nor Cyclic- Oscillatory**
 - Revisited theories of Hegel, Marx , Spengler, Sorokin and Toynbee
 - Rejected Eurocentric account of History
- All human history hitherto has been an **internal oscillation between class and caste** and an **external shift of prosperity and power from one region to another**
- **Two interconnected movement: External and Internal**
 - **External:** economic propriety and political power kept shifting from one nation/society, region to other
 - **Internal:** Oscillation between caste and class in every society
 - **Caste:** rigid, immobile social stratification ; **Class:** open and mobile social stratification
 - Caste -immobile class; class- mobile caste ; Class- equality; Caste- Justice principle
- **Interconnection between External and Internal movement**
 - Open class based society reaching maximum efficiency through Technical and organizational development
 - Once on decline, class degenerate to caste ; wheel of power & prosperity moves to other region/society
- **Halting the Wheel of History: True Socialism by Willed Approximation**
 - **Approximation of Mankind:** equality within nation/society as well as equality within society(**Internal approximation**)
 - Unity of mankind- unity of religion, culture- by conscious and intelligent design (willed approximation)- racial mixing, cultural learning, multi-dimensional excellence(total efficiency), abolition of both caste and class

SEVEN REVOLUTIONS-सप्त क्रांति



His Socialism- 2/2

चौ खंभा राज्य: 4 Pillared State

DECENTRALISATION, PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

Central Government

Provincial Government

District (मंडल) Government

Village Government

all

Each govt autonomous in political power, economic resources

His Socialist Programme- Political Actions

- **Theory of immediacy-** every political action test of immediacy and directly related to goal its trying to achieve- no linking to past, no linking to distant future
- **Transformative Politics:**
 - **Jail, Vote, Spade** (फवाडा)
 - Jail: Communist struggle ; Vote: Representative Democracy; Spade: Gandhian constructive actions for social reforms
- **Economic Agenda:**
 - दाम बांधो, खर्चा बांधो, ban on more than 2 home, Ceiling on urban land prices, ban on production of private cars, one class in train/public transport
 - Agriculture: effective land re-distribution , end tenancy/sharecropping, remunerative prices to farmers and living wages to agricultural labourers, Lagan Maafi on uneconomic holding, free & affordable irrigation, food army- increase Agriculture /dairy production
- **Social Agenda:**
 - 60:40 ; management of forest by tribal cooperatives, incentivising inter-caste marriage, abolishing privileged school- universal, uniform, quality free education in vernacular language

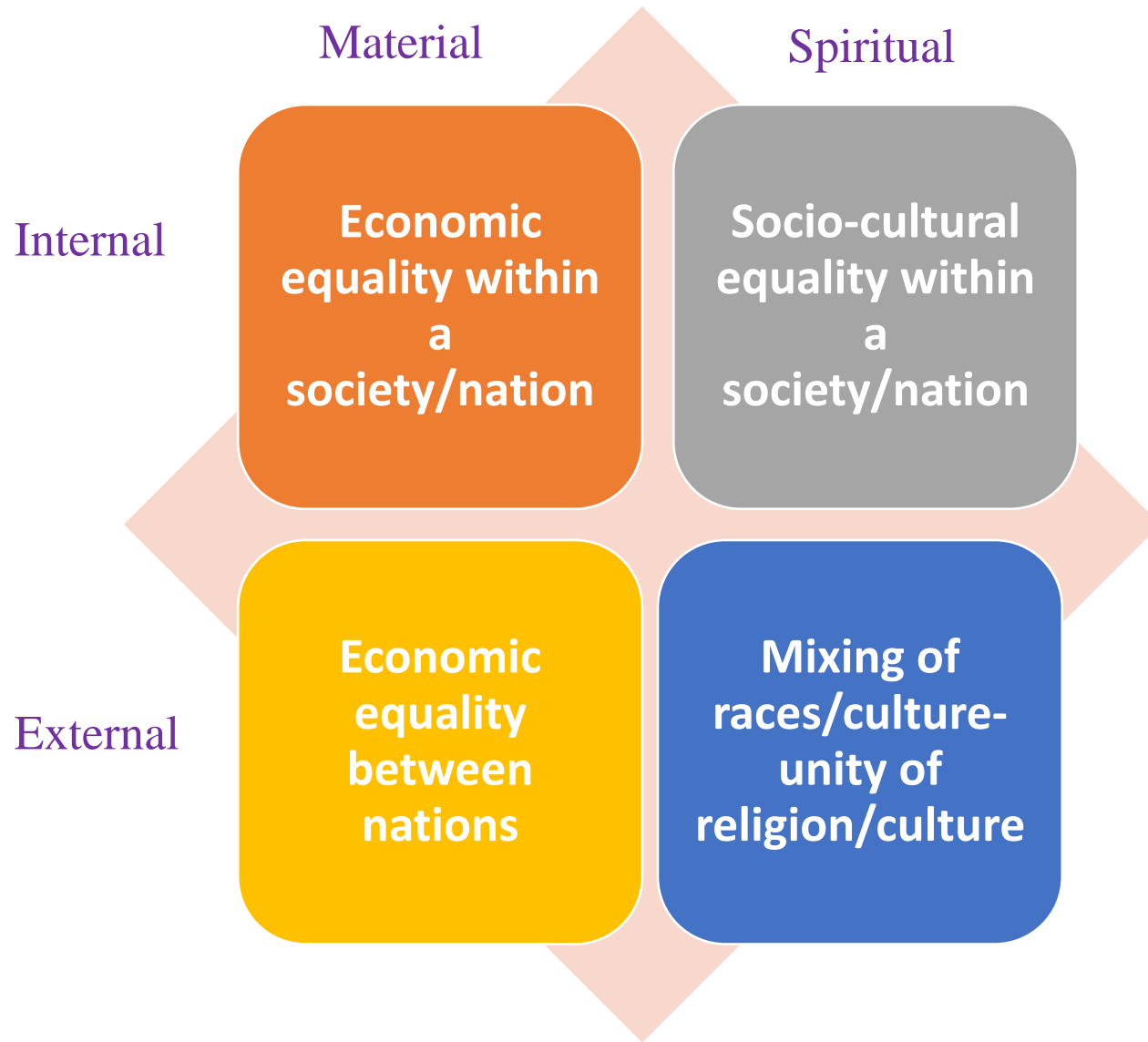
Cultural Socialism

- Regaining cultural confidence, foster a sense of national unity, and end inequality embedded in cultural institution and language
- Politics Vs Religion
 - Politics short term religion; religion long term politics;
 - culture set terms for politics; politics bring cultural regeneration
- Strengthening popular culture against feudal culture, national integration- sense of oneness, politics which could feed stomachs and the soul
- Ridiculed 'side looking' (बगल में झाँकना) , backward looking, imitating, shallow modernism
- Using fables/myths of popular culture
 - Cultural Symbols: Draupadi vs Sita, Savitri; Sacrifice— Nachiketa;
 - Ram- North south unity- मर्यादा, Krishna- east west- उन्मुक्त बयक्तित्व; Shiva –असीमित बयक्तित्व
 - Vashistha Vs Valmiki; conservatism vs liberalism
 - Ganga, Saryu river symbolising duty, Yamuna- Rasa
- **Ramayana Mela** at Chitrakoot
- Universalism not Cosmopolitanism

Wheels of History - काल चक्र, इतिहास चक्र

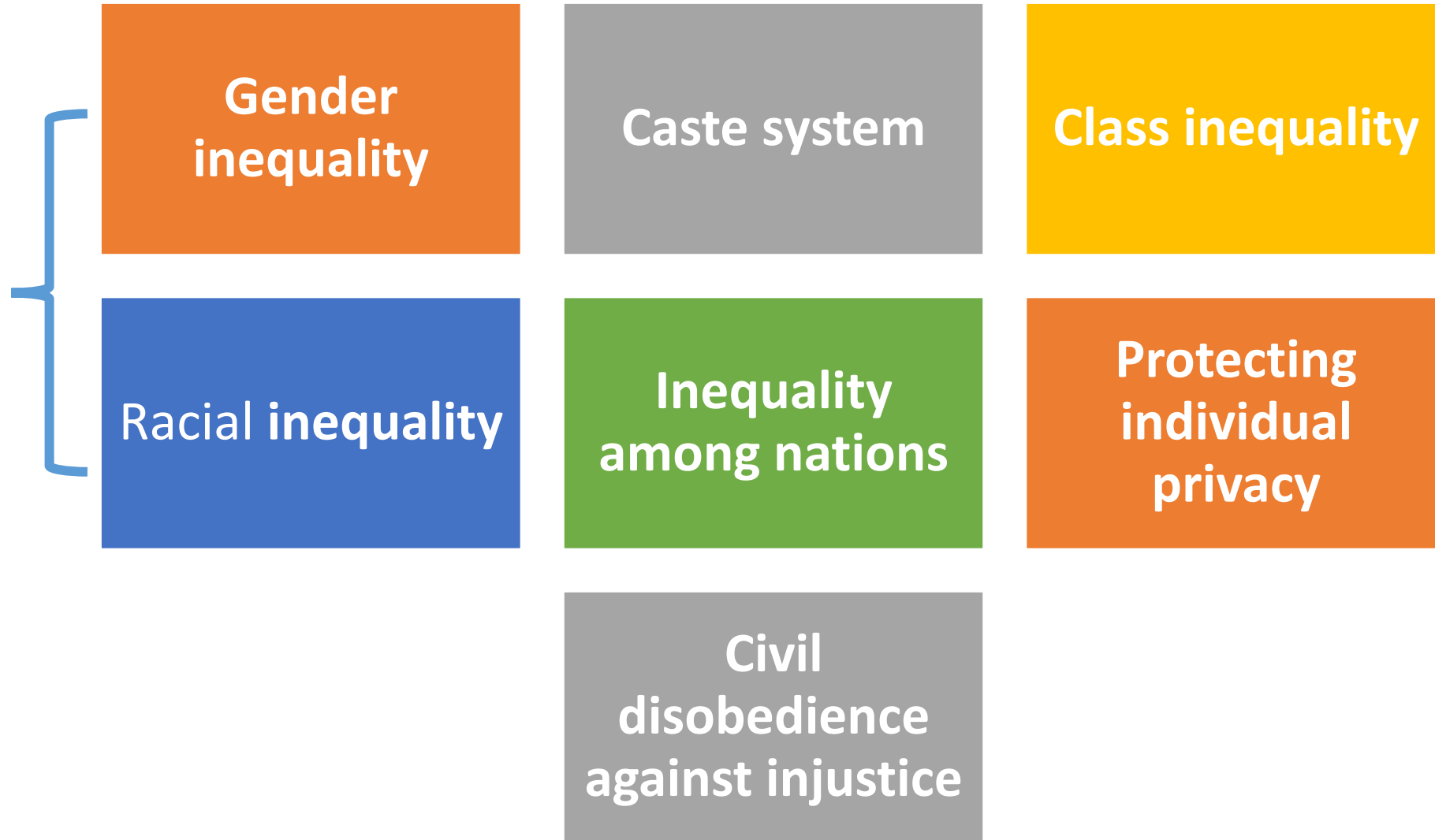
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Multi-dimensional Equality



SEVEN REVOLUTIONS-सप्त क्रांति

To End



DECENTRALISATION, PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION

चौ खंभा राज्य: 4 Pillared State

Central Government

Provincial Government

District (मंडल) Government

Village Government

Each govt autonomous in political power, economic resources

Pros and Cons of Lohia's Thoughts

Pluses

- Entirely New Approach to Socialism- multi-dimensional
- Intersection of Caste, gender, class, language
- His novel analysis of oscillation of caste/class
- His Theorisations were thought tool for his political actions
- His concept of total revolution
- In contemporary politics, his legacy is even more potent than Gandhi, Nehru, and ambedkar

Minuses

- His views on English and Hindi language
- Assimilative aspects in his thought for national unity
- Anti-congressism- immoral alliances
- Indo-Pak federation- utopic
- Political extremism
- His ideas were used for Caste based politics
- His doctrine, theories were more like piercing, powerful theoretical question, not solution- certain vacuum in his theoretical architecture

References

- **Book:** Indian Political Thought by O.P. Gauba
- **Recommended reading list of DU on this topic**
 - M. Anees and V. Dixit (eds.), (1984) Lohia: Many Faceted Personality, Rammanohar Lohia, Smarak Smriti.
 - S. Sinha, (2010) 'Lohia's Socialism: An underdog's perspective', in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLV (40) pp. 51-55.
 - A. Kumar, (2010) 'Understanding Lohia's Political Sociology: Intersectionality of Caste, Class, Gender and Language Issue', in Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. XLV (40), pp. 64-70.
- **Online Resources:**
 - IGNU study material on this theme :
<http://egyankosh.ac.in/bitstream/123456789/22499/1/Unit-15.pdf>
 - JSTOR Articles:
 - **What Is Living and What Is Dead in Rammanohar Lohia? By** Yogendra Yadav https://www.jstor.org/stable/25742152?read-now=1&seq=11#page_scan_tab_contents
 - <https://www.achhikhabar.com/2017/10/09/ram-manohar-lohia-quotes-in-hindi/>
 - <https://www.slideshare.net/Pankajkumar774/dr-ram-manohar-lohia-quotes-in-hindi>
 - Lohia's Thoughts on the Dynamics of Society and Civilizations : Historiography and Praxis Prof. Satya Mitra Dubey (<https://lohiatoday.files.wordpress.com/2018/09/thouths-dynamiscofsocietypdf.pdf>)
 - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ram_Manohar_Lohia
 - Desh Deshantar: Lohia's anniversary: the relevance and state of his legacy ;You Tube video : <https://youtu.be/-OE8LYFxfSs>

THANKS FOR WATCHING!

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