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(BA Political Science III)

Political Science-III

(Indian Political Thoughts)

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Self-Learning Material

(SEM -III)



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Course Introduction

This course offers a comprehensive exploration of the rich and diverse landscape of political ideas that have shaped India from ancient times to the modern era. We will delve into the philosophical foundations, key thinkers, and significant movements that have influenced Indian political theory and practice.

Indian Political Thought is assigned 4 credits and contains 5 units each unit is divided into sections and sub-sections. Each unit begins with statement of objectives to indicate what we expect you to achieve through the unit. There are several assignments in each unit which you must attempt. You should then check your answers with those given by us at the end of the unit.

Course Outcomes

After studying this course, a student will be able to:

1. Understand the central ideas and philosophies of ancient Indian thinkers such as Kautilya, Manu, and Shukra.
2. Contextualize the thoughts and writings of ancient thinkers within the socio-political and cultural settings of their times.
3. Discuss the relevance of historical social reconstruction movements to current social justice issues and reform efforts in India.
4. Assess the social and political impacts of spiritual resurgence on Indian society.
5. Compare the strategies, philosophies, and outcomes associated with liberal and extremist nationalist movements.
6. Analyze the contributions of prominent political leaders such as Madan Mohan Malviya and Deendayal Upadhyay.

We hope you will enjoy the course.

Acknowledgement

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UNIT -1

MOHANDAS KARAM CHAND GANDHI

After reading this unit, students will be able to understand the political philosophy of M.K. Gandhi as expressed in his books Hind Swaraj and My Experiments with Truth, his views on state and individual, Ends and Means, non-violence, Truth, Satyagraha, Trusteeship and his Contributions:

1. Hind Swaraj:

The book is written in the form of a dialogue between the reader and the editor of a journal. This book challenged all economic and political principles that were revered at that time. The British assumed themselves to be of a superior civilization and this book is challenge to that very thought. His chief concern was the Divide and Rule policy of the British which taught the Hindus and Muslims that they were not one but two different entities. This book was written by Gandhi when he was already a popular figure amongst the masses. It deals with mainly two issues:

Modern Civilisation: Critical view

Hind Swaraj: Means and methods of achieving it

Modern Civilisation:

- Gandhi gives a biting and acute view of the impact of modern civilisation on India and the conditions that developed under the British rule. The criterion of this civilization is to wreak havoc on humanity with minimum stake. It has become a country where people have forgotten religion and turned away from God. Workers are toiling away in factories to make more money for the rich and dream of a day when they themselves will emulate the rich and their way of life. The rich are more concerned with hoarding wealth with minimum amount of labour. Industries are taking away jobs. The meaning of communication and travel has changed over time from being instructional and functional to fallacious.
- He further comments on the negative impact of major developments like railways and the coming up of the elite class of lawyers and doctors. The railways were not meant for the local population but for the Imperial rulers for quick transfer of goods. In fact, it consolidated their hold over the country. Where people have praised the role of the

railways in the growth of nationalism, Gandhi has countered this argument by saying that India was already a nation before the arrival of the British. The most severe allegation on modern civilization was, in Gandhi's opinion, its dependence on technology. Thus, he says, "Machinery ... represents a great sin."

- Gandhi's views regarding lawyers and doctors are very critical when he argues that lawyers have helped the British in their Divide and Rule policy, sucked money out of the poor while doctors have taught indulgence more to their patients rather than taking care of their well-being. In this way, they have totally failed the Indian society.
- He found the English education system totally faulty and considered it as 'false education'. According to him, the basic aim of education is to train us in keeping our senses under our control and teach us ethical behaviour. He was totally against the Macaulay system of education as it does not help critical thinking. He was in favour of education of the masses and not mass education.

Hind Swaraj:

- In chapter IV of Hind Swaraj, he puts forward a basic formulation that mere transfer of power from British hands to Indian hands would not lead to true swaraj. He adds that it would be nothing more than having 'English rule without Englishmen'. Swaraj needs to be experienced by each one of us. It is at three levels: Individual to attain the capacity of self-assessment, becoming self-reliant and the never-ending desire for self-purification. Country the citizens of a country should not be under the control of any government. Community Gram Swaraj or freedom till the grass roots level.
- The concept of Swaraj was the synergistic relationship between home-rule and self-rule. In other words, home-rule that Indian people would achieve, would be true only to the extent they are successful in being 'self-ruling' individuals. He wanted the people to be free of government control, whether foreign or national government.
- This Swaraj would be achieved not by arms and violence but by passive resistance. He gave two reasons for this. One, violent rebellion would mean mobilising thousands of people, which would be a tall order. Two, more importantly, if India resorts to arms, the 'holy land' of India would become 'unholy'. In the process, India would become a land worse than Europe. Thus, he rejects the basic conception of Indian revolutionaries that India could be freed only by violent means both on moral and ethical grounds. Besides, he also rejects the Moderates' view that Indians could be

freed by mere adjuration and invocation. Unless backed by effective sanctions, it would be a futile exercise. Passive resistance is the end result of determination, tenacity and courage. It is not by procurement of authority but the capacity to fight back authority when it is wronged.

2. State and Individual: Gandhi points out to a synonymous relation between State and Coercion. According to Gandhi, the state intimidated and applied force to ensure fidelity of its people. By state here he means the Western type. Once he said “the individual has a soul but the state is a soulless machine, the state can never be weaned away from violence to which it owes its existence”. Gandhi here gives the example of the enormous power of White government of South Africa which led to ruthless administration. He said that he would never give consent to a political organisation that was based on violence. He was afraid of the increased power of the state as it harms mankind by destroying individuality which is, in fact, the root cause of all progress. He believes that a society can progress only if the individual can perform willingly. The central idea is that to Gandhi, state is an undesirable political organisation because of its close connection with violence.

3. Ends and Means: It is very common for political and social thinkers to accept the difference of opinion between ends and means. Gandhi alone stands amongst these social and political thinkers when he rejects this dichotomy. The reason was that right from the beginning, he had accepted satya and ahimsa, truth and non-violence as twin moral absolutes. He has always believed in the inherent relationship between peace and non-violence. In Hind Swaraj he wrote that heinous crimes have been committed by great, religious men who have not understood the moral connection between means and ends. To quote him, ‘We cannot get a rose through planting a noxious weed. If violence and non-violence are totally different in essence, they will produce different results. He believed in the law of the karma. He opines that the individual has a lot of capacity to determine the action to be taken at a particular time, but he cannot predict the consequences of his actions. If the aim is to vanquish the conflict completely, we need to first concentrate on removing the factors that have created the conflict. Violence will only breed further violence. He believed that good ends could never be achieved by immoral methods. Gandhi’s view was that if we are sure of the "purity" of the means we employ, we shall be led on by faith, before which "all fear and trembling melt away".

4. Non-violence: With Gandhi, the notion of nonviolence attained a special status. He not only theorized on it, he adopted nonviolence as a philosophy and an ideal way of life. He made us understand that the philosophy of nonviolence is not a weapon of the weak; it is a weapon of the strong which can be tried by all. Krishna Kripalani again asserts "Gandhi was the first in Human history to extend the principle of nonviolence from the individual to a social and political plane." Between the two forms of violence, passive and physical, Gandhi says that passive violence is performed everyday knowingly and unknowingly. Violence to Gandhi is himsa, a word taken from Sanskrit, meaning injury whereas non-violence is Ahimsa. He saw violence as debasing and deprecatory. Gandhi was totally against violence as it gives rise to hatred. A person who truly believes in non-violence will not retaliate with physical violence. For Gandhi, people who believe in violence are the ones who break up a society. He says that the man who practices non-violence is blessed and he bows before such a man. He feels that violence is not a natural tendency of humans. It is a learned experience. The perfect weapon to fight violence is non-violence which is at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than any weapon of mass destruction. It is superior to brute force. It is a living force of power and no one has been or will ever be able to measure its limits or its extent.

5. My Experiments with Truth: This book is actually about Gandhi's experiments with truth at various points of his life. He had not intended to write an autobiography, but as it turns out, while describing his life's experiences, it finally took the shape of a story-his life story. It was written at the insistence of Jeramdas, a fellow prisoner in the Yerwada Central Jail. He was of the opinion that writing autobiographies was too much of a Western practice and nobody did that in the East. Gandhi himself agrees that his thoughts might change later in life but the purpose of his story is just to narrate his experiments with truth in life. He also says that through this book he wishes to narrate his spiritual and moral experiments rather than political.

Part 1 deals with his childhood, his experiments with eating meat, smoking, drinking, stealing, etc. He also mentions the impact of two texts that had a profound effect on his life-one of Harishchandra and the second was Shraavan's devotion to his parents.

Part 2 deals with his experiences in Cape Colony when it was ruled by the British South Africans. He narrates of the racial discrimination he faced while living there. The incident at Maritzburg, where Gandhi was thrown off the train has become justly famous.

Part 3 deals with South Africa, Bombay and back to South Africa. While in India, he published the Green Pamphlet wherein he described the plight of the South Africans. During this period, he remained faithful to the British and believed in the British Constitution. Later, when he came to know that Boers had formed a peaceful relation with the British and were forming a political hold on South Africa, did he start organising a fast response to this political configuration.

Part 4 is during the period of World War 1 and his creation of the Satyagraha Ashram in Ahmedabad. In order to live a life of humility, he decided to withdraw from public life and spend a year in India for self-healing and purity. After a while, Gandhi became influenced by the idea of Indian independence from the British, but he dreaded the possibility that a westernized Indian elite would replace the British colonial government. This part also mentions the Non-Cooperation Movement and the ChauriChaura incident.

Part 5 deals with his quest for purification and truth. The British colonial authorities placed Gandhi on trial for sedition and sentenced him to six years in prison, marking the first time that he faced prosecution in India. The unity between Muslims and Hindus, which Gandhi advocated so passionately, had already begun to fall apart to the point where the threat of violence loomed large over many communities with mixed population. He also realised that the British had lost the power and will to maintain the Empire but the Indian were not ready for independence. He planned to ready them through his speeches and writings.

6. Truth: For Gandhi, truth was equivalent to Moksha. He believed in the Gita and the fact that the search for truth required benevolence and selflessness. Truth can be found through self-contemplation. If a person follows the path of truth, he will be able to fight injustice with courage. Satyagraha has been coined with the words Truth and Agraaha. For Gandhi, the pursuit of truth was a lifelong journey. He believed that truth was not an abstract concept but something that could be experienced and discovered through introspection, self-reflection, and seeking harmony with one's conscience. For him, truth was the absolute principle which included several other principles. He says that he worshipped God as the only truth, though he has not as yet found Him. He is still in search of Him. Truth for him was the ultimate reality. Evidently, his discovery of Truth would involve in some way a liberation from the self, moksha, which was in turn, paradoxically, a realization of the self.

7. Satyagraha: Gandhi here believed that a satyagrahi has both rights and duties. A satyagrahi will always obey the rule of the land as long as he believes them to be just. Furthermore, by obeying the rules religiously will he realise the just from the unjust. It is only then he will be in a position to stand up and fight against those rules which are iniquitous. Satyagraha can be in the form of Non-Cooperation or Civil Disobedience. People who practice satyagraha get a real insight into the evil nature of situations. The satyagrahi must adhere to nonviolence, for to employ violence would be to lose correct insight. In developing ahimsa into a modern concept with broad political consequences, as satyagraha, Gandhi also drew from the writings of Leo Tolstoy and Henry David Thoreau, from the Bible, and from the Bhagavad Gita,

8. Trusteeship: Gandhi's views on the Principle of Trusteeship are based on his study of theosophical literature and the Bhagwad Gita. According to him, the rich have accumulated wealth through the efforts and labour of the poor workers. Here, the social perception is that the wealth does not actually belong to them totally since it was sheerly obtained through the cooperation of the poor workers. So, they are morally bound to share this wealth with their workers by holding it in a trust for them. On an individual plane, he realized that those who sought to attain God through social service, even if they had immense wealth, should not regard any of it as their own.

9. Gandhi's Contributions: He is well known for his contributions in the field of Civil Rights in South Africa. He founded the Natal Indian Congress to unite the Indians living in South Africa to fight against the deplorable conditions they faced. He also fought against the discriminating law that encroached upon the voting rights of Indians living in South Africa. He worked as a paramedic during the Second Boer War (1899-1902). He established the Natal Indian Ambulance Corps, a group of stretcher-bearers. He fought for the rights of rural farmers and got involved in the Champaran agitations. He opposed land tax and discriminatory policies. Shortly after the Champaran agitations, Mahatma Gandhi was at it again, getting involved in the Kheda agitations of 1918. Gandhi worked hard to bridge the divide between the Hindus and Muslims. The Rowlatt Act made him reach out to the Muslims to join hands with the Hindus in the fight for freedom. He started the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements in India. In 1930, he started the Dandi March to oppose the salt tax imposed by the British. He also fought for the rights and

empowerment of women. His last movement, the Quit India movement, where he gave the call 'Do or Die' was instrumental in breaking the British hold over India.

In the end we can conclude that Mahatma Gandhi was the greatest leader of the Independence movement. His life can be a great lesson for us and even today inspires many all over the world. An advocate of non-violence resistance, he led the country through freedom through peaceful means. His methods and teachings inspired many civil rights movements. His vision of Independent India was based on religious pluralism.

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. "The criterion of this civilization is to wreak havoc on humanity with minimum stake."
Comment on Gandhi's views regarding modern civilisation in his book 'Hind Swaraj'.

Q2.' With Gandhi, the notion of nonviolence attained a special status.' Justify the statement.

Q3. What were Gandhi's views on the Principle of Trusteeship?

Q4. 'People who practice satyagraha get a real insight into the evil nature of situations.'
Elaborate the statement.

Q5.What was the concept of Swaraj? Discuss in the light of Gandhi's book 'Hind Swaraj'.

UNIT 2

POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF NEHRU

After reading this unit, students will be able to understand the political philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru through his writings, his views on Individual, State, Socialism, Modern India, Panchsheel, Democratic Socialism and his Contributions.

1. Writings:

Nehru was an ingenious and prolific leader. He was impressed by the path that the West had taken to become a developed country which helped him to understand the possibilities that were available to India at the time of Independence. Among his distinct works, the most popular are “Discovery of India” and “Letters from a Father to his Daughter.” It is through his writings that we come to recognise him as a leader with a vision.

His early writings focus on democracy, nation-building, the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi, India as a country and the importance of modernisation. Similar to his close friend Gandhi, Nehru was prone to contradicting himself, which is not surprising given that he regularly had to adapt to the whims of an unstable political climate.

His book, Discovery of India, reveals his obsession with India’s past whereas his engrossment regarding India’s future is conspicuous through his “Letters from a Father to his Daughter.” “Discovery of India” further affirms Nehru to be a man with a socialist and democratic vision.

His writings also acknowledge his belief regarding the role of nuclear technology in shaping India’s future. In his book “Jammu and Kashmir” he has expressed deep concern regarding the region’s political instability and the dangers of political extremism.

Some of his other writings are ‘Glimpses of World History’, ‘Towards Freedom’ and ‘A bunch of Old Letters’.

It becomes clear from several of his statements regarding the perils of political radicalism that he was extremely perceptive. Apart from his political writings, Nehru has also written many books on animals and environment which show his love for nature.

In the annals of Indian history, the years spanning from 1947 to Nehru's demise in 1964 saw the state stabilize after the chaos of Partition and become a catalyst for progress. The Indian government experimented with democratic institutions and practices while attempting to

encroach on many facets of social life under Nehru's prime ministership. Through compromise and diplomacy, these programmes which he wrote in *Discovery of India*—were put into action.

2. State and individual:

Nehru developed the idea of the Indian state while in prison which are reflected through his books “*Discovery of India*” and “*An Autobiography*.” His thinking was broad and diverse-encompassing both, the West and the East. It is this diverse way of thinking that made him visualize the Indian state having the positive attributes of both, the West and the East.

He first focused upon the idea of a flawed state as identified by the British rulers which was no more than a police state, whose primary responsibility was safeguarding territories and inhabitants. Similar to Gandhi in *Hind Swaraj*, Nehru thought that the status quo, or the same outdated system of government and administration with "responsibility at the centre," was what the dominion position stood for. In contrast, the Congress's option advocated for the establishment of a new state through independence rather than merely a change in leadership. "We want healthy cooperation, new and vital ideas, and fresh air in India. They extolled a state that escaped the clutches of capitalism and imperialism, the two great sins.

Socialism was the other major theme that emerged and advanced the Nehruvian conception of an Indian state. This theory, which he combined with humanitarian and economic ideas, had the potential to fundamentally alter the state's socioeconomic and political framework.

Nehru contemplated of an egalitarian society with equal opportunities for all. He advanced the notion of a brand-new Indian state with a cutting-edge social philosophy. He believed that a set of firm and unshakeable beliefs and a dynamic approach were the two prerequisites for a stable and progressive society. The state that Nehru had envisaged was a classless society with equal economic justice and opportunity for all. It would be a society that would raise mankind to higher material and cultural levels, to develop values of cooperation and unselfishness, the morale of service, the wish to do right, goodwill and love- This is the world that Nehru envisioned.

Mahatma Gandhi never interfered in the internal administration of the princely states. Nehru, on the other hand, understood how and why these states faced stagnant growth, low literacy level and orthodoxy. There was banning of newspapers and a lot of wasteful expenditure. This is the reason that the reorganisation of states was put forward.

Nehru asserted in 'The Discovery of India' that India's social structure was another factor contributing to the country's national unity and, consequently, to the process of building a powerful, unified state. This socioeconomic structure made it easier for India to continue being a democratic country. The state therefore, cannot be studied separately from society. According to Nehru, a secular state does not promote any one religion. It is 'a state that protects all religions, but does not favour one at the expense of others and does not itself adopt any religion as the state religion'.

3. Socialism:

Nehru was an out and out Indian Democratic Socialist. He was the precursor of the socialist movement and played a crucial role in forcing India to adopt socialism. But he preferred to progressively realize socialism's goals inside a democratic framework. He thought socialism was the only remedy for all ailing prevalent in the Indian Society. He thought about this problem in a scientific way.

Nehru made a few local visits in the United Provinces in 1920. This journey was a revelation to him. Up until today, he had no idea about village life, the mute suffering of the famished peasants wearing rags, hunger, or freedom. He wrote in his autobiography, "Looking at them and their misery and overflowing gratitude, I was filled with shame and sorrow, shame at my own easy-going and comfortable life and our petty politics of the city which ignored this vast multitude of semi-naked sons and daughters of India, that it was a novel and eye-opening experience for me."

Nehru was always in favour of a socialistic pattern of society where state ownership of goods and production would be dominant. It would be a classless society. It would help to eradicate poverty, give employment to all thus removing all disparities. Socialism would be a step towards the emancipation of the masses. For him, socialism was more than just a rehabilitation strategy for the economy; it was a way of life. Although he was not an idealistic socialist, he believed that socialism should free the masses from economic exploitation.

To him, socialism meant the idea of individual dignity and democracy along with the ideology of social justice.

Nehru wanted free and fair elections where voting rights would be given to all citizens. In his view, socialism was a system which would help in bringing the control of the means of production and distribution under the state. In other words, socialism would bring a revolutionary change in the social structure. Without social freedom and a socialist framework

for the state and society, neither the nation nor the person could advance significantly. Political freedom and independence were undoubtedly important, but they were merely first steps in the correct path. Nehru wanted the model of Democratic Socialism which suits Indian traditions and ethos.

4. Architect of Modern India:

The goal of achieving a powerful and resurgent India was taken up by Jawaharlal Nehru. The country was led by him toward modernization and recovery. Nehru's contributions make him the architect of modern India.

Nehru laid the scientific foundation for India's dominance in space and its superior engineering. Nehru set India on the path to development with the founding of the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), universities, and Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs). Additionally, the establishment of the dual-track nuclear program aided India in becoming nuclear-enabled. He also laid the groundwork for factories, industries, and the manufacturing sector, opening the door for India to become an independent nation.

The Five Year Plan was introduced by him to utilize the resources of the country in an effective and balanced way. The First Five-Year Plan was introduced at a time when India was facing the incursion of refugees, food shortage and inflation. The major thrust of the First Five Plan was on agriculture.

Nehru has long been seen as a sincere supporter of democracy who was committed to institutionalizing it so that the idea of citizens' equal rights would supersede all other social differences. Nehru laid up the foundation of a vibrant, democratic establishment in India.

Pandit Nehru worked tirelessly to mould India's foreign policy. Prior to his passing, Nehru served as Prime Minister and was also in charge of the Ministry of External Affairs. At the time of India's independence, the world was still healing from the devastating effects of World War II. Nehru faced a great deal of difficulty in maintaining cordial relations with other nations as the UN's power structure changed. India was the first nation to embrace the Policy of Non-Alignment, thanks to Nehru's leadership. India's foreign policy was announced in 1947 at the Asians Relations Conference, which was held in Delhi. The summit, which was attended by 29 nations, increased the solidarity of all Asian nations. India continues to reap the benefits of Nehruvian foreign policy. India is able to preserve balance in its foreign relations because of its strong foreign policy.

5. Panchsheel:

Panchsheel, or the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence was signed between India and China on 29th April, 1954. The Panchsheel also voiced the thoughts and views of the newly independent countries who wanted to reinforce their hard-won independence.

It was signed between the Premier of China, Zou Enlai and Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India. In the present scenario of distrust, amassing of weapons and confirming to the traditional notion of balancing one's power, Panchsheel is not just for the less developed countries but also for the entire world.

All nations may cooperate to achieve peace and prosperity while preserving their unique national identities, spirits, and characters if Panchsheel is able to offer the conceptual underpinning for this emerging paradigm of international engagement. "Those who desire peace for the world must know once and for all that there can be no equilibrium or stability for either the East or the West unless all aggression, all imperialist domination, and all forced interference in other countries' affairs end completely," Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stated, with good reason. Panchsheel can assist the globe in moving away from the antiquated ideas of competitive security and balance of power, which leads to the hunt for an adversary and bases actions on confrontations rather than collaboration. According to him "These principles are good not only for our two countries but for others as well...each country would have freedom to follow its own policy and work out its own destiny learning from others, cooperating with others, but basing itself essentially on its own genius."

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, or Panchsheel, were established in 1954 by China and India. The values that were espoused were not widely accepted back then. Panchsheel suggested an alternative path, but the world was too focused on taking the path of confrontation. Thirty torturous years later, the world is starting to follow the course that the Five Principles suggested for the development of the international order. They thought that the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence offered the greatest approach to managing international relations which are heightened by conflict that results from bloc politics and zones of influence.

6. Democratic Socialism:

Democratic Socialism promotes political democracy along with state ownership of goods and production. Nehru pointed out that political democracy has no meaning without economic democracy which he equates with socialism. He identified the goals of democratic socialism to be eradication of poverty, minimum wages, welfare policies for the downtrodden, etc. A

country may have political freedom but without democratic socialism, an individual, or as a matter of fact, even a country, could not develop much.

7. Nehru's Contributions:

a) Institutionalisation of Excellence

The scientific foundation for India's dominance in space and its superior engineering skills was provided by Nehru. Nehru set India on the path to progress by establishing the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), and universities. Furthermore, India's nuclear enabled status was attained with the support of the dual track nuclear effort. He also laid the foundation for manufacturing, factories, and other sectors that would help India become an independent nation.

b) Institutionalisation of Democracy

Nehru has long been seen as a sincere supporter of democracy who was committed to institutionalizing it so that the idea of citizens' equal rights would supersede all other social differences. India had recently broken free from the oppressive British regime, and it was possible that it may fall into the hands of another "Mai-Baap Sarkar." However, Nehru set the stage for India to have a thriving democratic government.

c) Idea of Secularism

Nehru was brought up in secular surroundings. This is when his ideas on secularism took birth. According to him, all those who had fought for the country's freedom, were also responsible to work for the welfare of the minorities.

Nehru held that everyone who had contributed to India's history and civilization had a special responsibility to uphold the rights and advance the welfare of the minority population.

Nehru understood the background of India's history. Being a historian in essence, he was of the opinion that India was a pluralistic society rather than a nation with a single dominant religion. In ancient times, as new social forces arose, Buddhism and Jainism responded to Hinduism. For him, the introduction of Zoroastrianism to the nation was just as important as the rise of Christianity and Islam. He learned that individuals of various religious backgrounds had recollections in common that were in harmony with one another. Its reflection occurred during the 1857 fight of independence, when Muslims and Hindus fought together. Nehru tried to construct a secularist structure based on what he saw to be the core component of Indian culture's shared memory.

d) Establishing a welfare state:

Pandit Nehru was a fervent supporter of the welfare state, which is a hybrid form of capitalism and socialism. Nehru had travelled the world and studied firsthand how the different types of governments operated that were in place at that time. During the height of colonialism, he saw capitalists taking advantage of people. After carefully weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the capitalist and communist political systems, Nehru developed the concept of a "welfare state," which India adopted. In an ideal world, a welfare state shields its people from market risks related to illness, unemployment, and other hazards associated with aging in order to provide them with a minimum level of financial security.

e) Non-Alignment Policy:

Nehru responded to the bipolar divisions of the Cold War era with Non-alignment (NAM). Following two centuries of British domination, Nehru was adamant that the nation maintains its strategic independence by not siding with either Cold War superpower. India became one of the most eminent figures in Third World solidarity as a result of the NAM's policy, which also went out to the other colonized nations and created a united front against colonialism and a reimagined imperialism. Soft power was another tactic that Nehru used well, even before the phrase was created.

He created a position for India in the world as the voice of the marginalized and oppressed against injustice, based only on the country's moral standing and history of civilisation.

A SHORT SUMMARY:

Following India's independence on August 15, 1947, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was appointed as the country's first Prime Minister. India advanced, prospered, and gained respect internationally under his shrewd leadership and global outlook. He established India's democratic foundation. By including the Non-Aligned Policy in India's foreign policy, he demonstrated his support for democracy on a global scale. As a result, India became the global leader of the Non-Aligned Movement. Since he supported amicable coexistence, he signed the 1961 Panchsheel Agreement between China and India. He put a lot of effort into establishing an international system of peace and fraternity and was a strong advocate for disarmament.

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. 'Nehru's contributions make him the architect of modern India.' Justify the statement.

Q2. Discuss Jawaharlal Nehru's views regarding Socialism.

Q3. Write a short note on Nehru's ideas on Secularism.

Q4. 'Panchsheel is not just for the less developed countries but also for the entire world.'

Elaborate the statement.

UNIT 3

POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF AMBEDKAR AND J.P. NARAYAN

After reading this unit, students will be able to understand the political thoughts of Ambedkar and J.P. Narayan and their writings and their contributions.

AMBEDKAR

1. His writings:

As everyone knows, Babasaheb or Dr. Ambedkar never penned a play, a tale, a poem, or any sort of fiction. However, he did leave behind mountains of academic writing. His publications, which were primarily in English, were the result of careful research and reflection. The writings of Babasaheb have even greater relevance now than they did when they were first published. Research on his literature is being conducted both in India and elsewhere. Although a great deal of fresh information about his life and accomplishments has come to light, not as much is known about his writings and ideas.

“Castes in India” was written when he was in Columbia which describes the Caste structure in India. The book goes on to describe the development and aspects of the Caste System. He claims that there are four facets to the caste issue in India:

- i) The Hindu people have a strong sense of cultural togetherness despite being a diverse blend of cultures.
- ii) This enormous cultural identity includes castes.
- iii) There was just one caste at first.
- iv) Ostracism or copying led to the creation of distinct castes.

“The Problem of the Rupee” This thesis was written by Dr. Ambedkar in October 1922 for his DSc degree from the University of London. It was released as a book in December of 1923. This is an overview of how the British generated maximum profit while plunging the Indians into a severe economic crisis by pegging the value of the Indian Rupee to the British Pound. As a result, Indian money began to flow into the British Empire's coffers and be used for the benefit of the British people.

“Annihilation of the Caste” This is Ambedkar's best-known book, published in 1936. Dr. Ambedkar was invited to give the presidential address at the Jaat-Paat Todak Mandal (The Forum for Breaking the Caste System) annual session in Lahore in March 1936. But after viewing the manuscript of Ambedkar's speech, the organizers changed their minds and asked

Ambedkar to revise it. Ambedkar, however, firmly declined. Later, in 1936, the lecture was released as a book. Though short—just a few pages—the book provokes thoughtful discussion. Dr. Ambedkar focuses on striking the core of caste in order to eradicate it. "You have to apply the dynamite to the Vedas and the Shastras, which deny any part to reason; to the Vedas and Shastras, which deny any part to morality," he declares, if one is to overcome this system. The religions of the Smritis and the Shrutis must be destroyed. There is no other solution.

"The Buddha and his Dhamma" This 1957 posthumously published book holds a particular place and because it provides a thorough examination of Buddhism, it is easy to characterize it as a Buddhist scripture. The book "raises some very pertinent and original questions and provides scholarly and intelligent answers to them," according to Dr. D.R. Jatav, a scholar of Ambedkar's works. The categorization of Buddhism into Hinayana and Mahayana sects is rejected by Ambedkar. He asserts that although there may be various philosophical interpretations of the teachings of the Lord Buddha, there is only one religion. He maintains that there is only one Buddhism.

2. Ambedkar's views on Individual Freedom:

Dr. Ambedkar was a fervent advocate for intellectual freedom. His primary focus was on enhancing the social circumstances of the impoverished and those in need. His primary area of concern was social transformation. The social realm is the most significant sector in his philosophy as, in any case, man cannot be completely detached from the social circumstances of his time and location; he must exist there and fight either for or against the field's elements. Not all amenities are provided by society; instead, people must struggle against the unfair socioeconomic structure. They must adjust with the standards of the society, assume a certain position, and join a group.

The idea of Rousseau's "social contract" acknowledges the reality that "man was born free; but everywhere he is in chains." Numerous constraints and demands in society have stifled people's freedom.

Ambedkar believed that the fundamental aspect of human existence is self-determination. His primary focus is on individual liberty—that is, the pursuit of one's career by one's own will. This ideal society concept is similar to what Bertrand Russell termed as the principle of growth: "Man needs more than just material goods; he needs more freedom, self-direction, creative outlet, joy in life, voluntary cooperation, and less involuntary subservience to purposes not their own.

Ambedkar applies the above principle for social reconstruction, particularly the Hindu Society. His democratic mind and scientific attitude found in the traditional Hindu theory of Varnasram-which degenerated the present caste system-a complete denial of the liberty, equality and fraternity of man. He wants to reconstruct the society which will not exist on the basis of the four varnas or castes but on the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar's philosophy clearly reveals the link between the unjust social system and individual freedom. He was against the age-old tradition of profession based on the Caste System. He believed in the principle of individual liberty in the choice of profession.

Ambedkar placed a high value on individual freedom in the grand scheme of things. Any revolution revolves around the concept of individual freedom. A person needs to be educated about his circumstances and issues. An individual who is well-educated is more equipped to combat bad forces.

3.Ambedkar's views on the State:

Because of his significant impact on political philosophy, Dr. Ambedkar saw the state as a necessary and beneficial institution. He believed that a just system might be formed in the socioeconomic sphere with the assistance of the state. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the democratic system of government in the state offers every group in society the chance to express itself and is also rewarded with representation.

Dr. Ambedkar was a fervent advocate of democracy because it places a high value on the liberties and rights of its constituents. In his beliefs on states, Dr. Ambedkar has criticized capitalism and favored socialism. Dr. Ambedkar placed a heavy emphasis on constitutionalism and has advocated for a strong central government. There should not be any discrimination on the basis of caste, gender, religion. A democratic government would allow representation to each and every section of society. A democratic government would empower the people with equality, liberty and justice.

Dr. Ambedkar was a staunch opponent of imperialism and placed a high value on independence in state-related ideas. He believed that citizens' awareness of their rights and liberties is essential to the survival of democracy. Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar firmly believed in democracy as a system of justice, equality, freedom, and fraternity. He was dedicated to establishing socio-economic democracy and is in favour of the parliamentary system of government in democracies.

4. Ambedkar and Social Reforms:

In his struggle to achieve Dalit rights, he led the Mahad Satyagraha movements. The action began when the Dalits in a town named Mahad were denied access to the tank's water. But thanks to Ambedkar's unwavering activism, the Mahad Municipality passed a resolution in 1927 permitting everyone to utilize the tank's water, regardless of social caste.

He battled fiercely to eradicate the caste system and feudal inequality as social ills in order to rebuild society. He favoured a reformed society founded on the liberty, equality, and fraternity principles of the French Revolution. In addition, he desired to rid Indian society of the negative effects of the caste system.

Ambedkar blended social aspirations with educational goals. He understood that public education was necessary for social emancipation. The fundamental foundation of Ambedkar's campaign for social changes was expressed in the slogan "Educate, Agitate, Organize." Numerous schools, universities, dormitories, and other educational establishments were built to help the impoverished with the help of the People's Education Society, which was founded in 1945. A number of colleges, schools and hostels were established in the effort to spread education. The slogan "Educate, Agitate, Organise" manifested the ideological basis of his movements.

Ambedkar was able to turn an Indian class struggle into a revolutionary movement that spread throughout the country. As one of the representatives at the Roundtable conference in London during the British occupation, he called for a separate electorate for the Dalit community. Ambedkar made sure that the welfare and advancement of India's backward population were safeguarded during the crafting of the country's new constitution while serving as its chairman. Reservations for underprivileged communities were imposed in a number of domains, including work and education.

Political upliftment for the underprivileged was ensured by guaranteeing the welfare and development of the backward community in the Constitution of India. He promoted a society based on equality. He fought for land and economic reforms. His ideas of equality and justice found a place in the Constitution of India.

Comprehensive land reforms are needed, as Dr. Ambedkar emphasized. Giving justice to the disadvantaged, upholding the oppressed, and establishing a just society for all were at the core of his life philosophy. According to him, the advancement of society was impeded by an uneven agricultural system. He was in favour of land reforms to make the agricultural system fair to everyone, especially the landless.

5. Social Justice:

Ambedkar was a naturalist and endorsed liberty, equality and fraternity. He favoured a religion based on ubiquitous moral principles. According to him, the Hindu Caste based on the Varna system was the root cause of all the evils. Under his leadership, the Indian Constitution has incorporated the principles of justice, liberty, equality, fraternity and social justice in the Preamble. Ambedkar promoted a social structure in which a person's status is decided by his or her deeds, and no one is considered noble or untouchable simply by virtue of their birth. He promoted giving the nation's economically and socially oppressed citizens special consideration. His varied accomplishments included social advocacy, political leadership, and legal improvements.

Ambedkar thought that social justice advocates liberty, equality, and fraternity among mankind. As a rationalist and humanist, he was against the use of religion to exploit man. He approved of a religion which was established on moral principles that were universally acclaimed and which may be applied to everyone.

He believed that the core reason of Hinduism's issues was the caste system. He claims that the origin of caste and untouchability, as well as the main driver of all injustice, is the varna system.

He promoted giving the nation's economically exploited and underprivileged residents priority treatment. Numerous steps are also included to guarantee the downtrodden preferential treatment in a range of businesses. The Indian Constitution states in Article 17 that untouchability is abolished.

His life was devoted to advancing social justice and giving marginalized Indian tribes more authority. His groundbreaking work for social justice set the stage for marginalized groups in India to be empowered and freed. Global movements for equality, social justice, and human rights are still motivated by his legacy.

6. Ambedkar's Contributions:

As the head of the Constitutional Parliament's Drafting Committee, Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar is referred to as the "Father of the Indian Constitution." He was India's first Minister of Justice and is popularly referred to as Baba Saheb. He was a politician, a scholar of law, and a social reformer. Major activist and social reformer, B.R. Ambedkar spent his entire life fighting for the rights of Dalits and improving the lot of India's socially backward class.

Ambedkar's constitution gave protection and guaranteed many rights to all citizens, removed untouchability, placed a ban on discrimination in all its forms, and the freedom of religion. Ambedkar's numerous exceptional contributions make him deserving of the title of "chief architect of the Indian Constitution." He is recognised as the "messiah" of the Dalits because of his exceptional efforts to end societal illness.

Ambedkar battled against the caste system, organizing protests and marches to make drinking water accessible to all people. He took action to see that untouchables were granted entry into temples.

Dr. Ambedkar contemplated that education was necessary to improve the well-being of oppressed and downtrodden groups. According to him, the chances of development would increase with education. Ambedkar recognized the value of education in his fight to free the Dalits from Indian religious enslavement.

Dr. Ambedkar believed that industrialization was liable to improve the country's economy. It would give employment to people, produce capital as well as consumer goods, conserve foreign exchange, make intelligent use of raw materials, and thoroughly develop the country. Ambedkar was against taxation because the land income system and other taxes burdened the poorer sections of society. The principle of taxation instead should be based on the ability of the payer, not income.

Ambedkar argued that land consolidation alone would not increase productivity and neither would it solve the problems of small land owners and landless-farmers. Ambedkar suggested nationalizing the entire agricultural region, keeping the goal of collective farming in mind.

A SHORT SUMMARY

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly and is called the 'Father of the Indian Constitution'.

He was a legal and a financial expert. He took birth in the low caste of untouchables. He was acutely aware of the traumas of being born in a low caste as while growing up, he faced a lot of injustice and discrimination in society. This is the reason he devoted his life to the cause of the Dalits. He organised and protested for their rights. He promoted the education of Dalits and made representations to the government in various capacities in this regard. In 1927, he actively participated in agitation to remove untouchability. He fought for the right of Dalits to

enter temples and to draw water from public wells. He convicted all Hindu scriptures that he thought raised discrimination on the basis of caste.

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. Write a note on Ambedkar's contributions.

Q2.' Because of his significant impact on political philosophy, Dr. Ambedkar saw the state as a necessary and beneficial institution.' Throw light on the given statement.

Q3. Comment on Ambedkar as a renowned writer by discussing any three of his books.

Q4.What were Ambedkar's views regarding social justice?

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JAI PRAKASH NARAYAN

1. His writings:

J.P. Narayan is also an acclaimed writer besides being a social activist. Among his more prominent works are:

a)'On Democratic Socialism' where the focal point is democratic form of socialism coordinating with Indian Culture. He believed in state control over the economy, abolition of the Zamindari system and land redistribution of the peasants for Cooperative farming. He wanted to do away with discrimination based on caste and gender.

b)'On Total Revolution' deals with the Bihar Students Movement of 1974. It was a movement started by students against corruption, price rise and food shortage. Originally introduced by Vinoba Bhave, he expanded upon the word Total Revolution, to incorporate all facets of social and political dimensions. He agreed to join the movement on the condition that it would not be confined to just Bihar. He wanted the movement to spread all over the country. The other reason was that he was against the authoritative government of Indira Gandhi. He demanded her resignation and dissolution of the Bihar Government. He aimed at bringing about Sampurna Kranti.

c) On Sarvodaya: His idea of Sarvodaya comes from the assimilation of participative democracy and socialism. He envisaged a comprehensive and equitable society with a decentralised democracy. J.P. referred to this concept as Panchayati Raj. He developed the true idea of socialism with the vision of upliftment of the downtrodden. According to him, there are three dimensions of Sarvodaya namely social, political and economic.

d) His book 'Plan for Reconstruction of Indian Polity' argues intensely to reshape the Indian political structure. He suggested that parliamentary democracy should be reinstated with a decentralised political economy. He was critical of the parliamentary system which was copied from the West. His vision was based on a decentralised, participatory and grass root oriented Panchayati Raj model. This model consisted of five levels-village, block, district, provincial and central

2. Socialism:

Jayaprakash Narayan was inspired by the idea of socialism during his school days. He believed that India was exploited by colonial powers, which he accepted as a true explanation for the country's poor position.

J.P. Narayan was a rational and scientific thinker. He based ideas of socialism on the philosophy of Marx and Lenin and wanted to apply it on Indian poverty and inequality. He suggested a socialistic solution which was "to abolish private ownership of the means of production and to establish over them the ownership of the whole community".

Jayaprakash Narayan was an analytical thinker of socialism who aimed to improve the lives of all people. In 1936, after participating in the independence struggle, he outlined the fundamental principles of socialism.

He highlighted that socialism has numerous offshoots with diverse domains. "It's a system for societal rebuilding. Applying socialism to India involves reorganizing the country's entire

economic and social life, including farms, industries, schools, and theatres, rather than just a code of personal conduct. He, like Marx, felt that the Indian people's inequality and poverty stemmed from their lack of control over the means of production. He proposed a socialist solution to eliminate private ownership of the means of production and replace it with community ownership.

JP believed that establishing socialism in India would require a socialist party to gain sufficient power. He advocated for adult franchise, cooperatives, and empowering the masses to replace the state's dominant role in economics. The Congress Socialist Party adopted these ideals as its philosophy and objectives. This development was an important step in his socialist perspective, as it was based on scientific deduction in contrast to capitalism and socialism. He held the opinion that profit was the key objective and the engine of capitalism.

3. Total Revolution:

Revolution has always been defined as a complete change in the structure and institutions of society. It was after the Bihar Movement on the 5th of June, 1974, that he proclaimed the concept of Total Revolution. Jayaprakash Narayan did not want the struggle to be just about securing the students' demand regarding corruption, rising prices and food shortage. He also demanded the resignation of Indira Gandhi and the dissolution of the Assembly in Bihar. This would solve the country's urgent problems and herald in a new society. Total Revolution refers to a fundamental alteration not only of our material situations, but also of individuals' moral character.

J.P. had earlier participated in the movement for non-violent revolution through Bhudhan and Gramdan'. A recent research has correctly highlighted that the Total Revolution was the continuation of this movement. According to him, there was no difference between Total Revolution and Sarvodaya. The only difference is that Sarvodaya is the end objective and Total Revolution is the method. Total Revolution represents fundamental transformation in all elements of life. "Sarvodaya cannot exist without this."

Just like Gandhi, JP also saw the importance of a person changing first himself if he takes on the responsibility of changing the society. "One of the unstated implications of satyagraha would be", according to JP in his diaries, "a self-change, that is to say, those wanting a change must also change themselves before launching any kind of action". This encompasses the entire ideology of JP's concept of Total Revolution.

During his "democratic socialist" days, JP realised that no revolution was possible unless the revolutionaries themselves completely transformed their own essence. In this way, the altered individual served as the cornerstone of revolution, working for change in the socioeconomic structure of society.

4. Partyless Democracy:

J.P. Narayan has a negative view of the party system in India as it invites the downfall of the moral values and intellectual conscience of people involved. The party member has to be loyal to his party even when he disapproves of the methods employed for fear of losing his seat. Caste in politics is a natural phenomenon where party members rally the castes for votes in exchange for money, jobs or other favours. In terms of finances, the ruling party's collection of campaign cash from industrialists has been a source of controversy. Since independence, the concepts of integrated nationalism and individual merit have been brutally abandoned in favour of narrow-minded caste solidarity. People are so dissatisfied with the role of the ruling party today that many feared that India too may face dictatorship (suddenly without warning) just what the rest of the newly independent countries of Asia had experienced. The remedy as given by Mr. Narayan's is that of abandoning the party altogether.

History has repeatedly demonstrated that no individual or family can be permanently entrusted with government powers and privileges. Absolute power corrupts totally.

Representatives also interpret people's interests and assist translate them into practical policies on occasion. The permanent civil servant will not be concerned with policy formation. He is only concerned with the specifics of administration and this mix of amateur representative and skilled administrator is favourable in democratic management. The party system is so deeply embedded in the current world of democracy that any other method of electing and regulating government leaders appears impossible. However, the concept of a democracy without parties is not impossible nor contradictory to human nature, political reality, or feasibility.

5. J.P. Narayan's Contributions:

His political ideologies included Socialism and Sarvodaya, Participatory democracy where people at the grass root level were involved in the decision-making process. He participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement during the freedom struggle and even went to jail a number of times. The Socialist Party was formed by him and other leaders. Even though J.P. worked actively in a high position in the Congress, he became very unhappy with the party's

views on politics. According to him, the Congress was taking a softer line and departing from its fundamental goal of aiding the lowest members of society. He was firm in his belief of participatory democracy, which involved citizens at the grassroots level in the decision-making processes. He said that democracy was much more than just elections; it also meant decentralization of power and citizens should participate actively in government decisions.

The concept of "Sarvodaya" was central to JP's political worldview. Gandhi first coined the term "Sarvodaya," which means "universal upliftment" or "progress for all." It envisioned a society in which everyone was affluent and elated. JP's Sarvodaya was not only about economic prosperity, but also divine.

Later, he also participated in the Quit India Movement and led mass protests, strikes and demonstrations. Different from Gandhi, he preferred the use of arms. He was also the founder of the Praja Socialist Party. His role in Bhoodan is commendable. He propagated the concept of Chaukhamba Raj where power would be decentralised.

A SHORT SUMMARY:

Jayaprakash Narayan, typically referred to as JP or Lok Nayak (Hindi for "People's Leader"), was an Indian independence activist, theoretician, socialist, and politician. In the Bihar Movement of 1974, he demanded the resignation of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. In the US, He became aware of the works of Karl Marx's while in US and was influenced by Marxist ideology. It was during this period that he transformed into a Marxist. On his return to India in 1929, he joined the Indian National Congress as he was greatly influenced by Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence and satyagraha.

He left active politics in 1954 and committed himself to the Bhoodan Movement started by Vinoba Bhave, which aimed to cajole wealthy landowners to voluntarily give a portion of their land to landless people.

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. What were J.P. Narayana's views regarding partyless Democracy?

Q2. 'J.P. Narayana was a prolific writer.' Discuss any three books to throw light on this statement.

Q3. Discuss the concept of Total Revolution as understood by J.P. Narayana.

Q4. 'Jayaprakash Narayan was inspired by the idea of socialism during his school days'. Elaborate the statement.

Q5. Write a short note on the contributions by J.P. Narayana.

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UNIT-4

POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF M.N. ROY AND LOHIA

The following unit will give an idea about the political thoughts of M.N. Roy and Ram Manohar Lohia and their writings, their methods and contributions.

ManbendraNath Roy:

1.His writings:

M. N. Roy's Selected Works were published by the Oxford University Press. Many of his writings, for example 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China', were written during his communist days. Several of his works were from his final humanist period, such as 'Beyond Communism', 'New Humanism - A Manifesto', and 'Reason, Romanticism, and Revolution'. According to M. N. Roy, his books 'Scientific Politics' (1942), 'New Orientation' (1946), and 'Beyond Communism' (1947) comprise the history of the evolution of radical humanism, the final concepts of which are found in 'New Humanism'. It was only after he returned to India and was in prison that his true intellectual journey began. He resolved to utilize his prison time to write a thorough study of 'the philosophical repercussions of modern science', which would re-examine and re-formulate the theory of Marxism. Roy's reflections, which he wrote down in jail, grew over a period of five years into nine thick volumes. The 'Prison Manuscripts' which have not yet been published in their entirety, are currently housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library Archives in New Delhi. However, pieces of the manuscript were released as different novels in the 1930s and 1940s.

He was a prolific writer. Among his autobiographies, the more prominent are "M.N. Roy's Memoirs" which covers only a short period of six years and "Letters from Jail" which contain letters to his future wife, Ellen Gotschalk. His more philosophical writings are "Revolution and Counter Revolution in China", "Beyond Communism", "New Humanism-A Manifesto and Reason and "Romanticism and Revolution".

2.Individual and state: The basic idea of political philosophy which is the central idea of Twenty-Two Theses, is that the individual is to be considered prior to the state. Every human, individually or collectively, struggles for freedom. Progress in society can be made depending on the amount of freedom given to the individual.

3. New/Radical Humanism:

Manabendra Nath Roy, whose earlier name was Narendranath Bhattacharya, is the exponent of Radical Humanism. Roy was unhappy with the faint details of Marxian philosophy, such as its weak ethical moorings and focus on the economic interpretation of history. Thus, Roy at first tried to have a positive attitude towards humanism. However, when he became dissatisfied with his radical embodiment, he made the final move of proposing a theory entrenched in scientific humanism, which he named as the 'new humanism. It is new, because it is humanism which is embellished and strengthened by scientific knowledge and social experience gained during the centuries of modern civilisation'. His belief in materialism became the foundation of Radical Humanism. His philosophy is materialism, and that is the only possible philosophy for him since it produces knowledge of nature. Its foundation is built on knowledge gained by reflection, observation, and analysis of natural events. The philosophy of New Humanism was summarised by Roy's in his "Twenty-Two Theses" and then elaborated in his "New Humanism-A Manifesto". In this, he has critically analysed the ineptitude of communism and of parliamentary democracy. On the other hand, he has positively acclaimed freedom of the individual and through a scholastic interpretation of history, has outlined a framework for radical or organised democracy. Man, society and nation are the three pillars of radical humanism. Individualism is the central theme of Roy's first three theses. According to Roy, the Twenty-Two Theses perceives that political philosophy must begin with the central idea that the individual comes before society, and that freedom can only be enjoyed by individuals.

4. Marx:

He was impressed by Marx's fervent plea for social justice. Although he considered him to be a Humanist, Revolutionary and a Romanticist, he either rejected his teachings or made considerable changes in them as he saw constraints in many areas such as Marx's concept of history, his idiomatic methods to name a few. Roy gives more importance to man and his freedom. Roy claims that the Marxist explanation of history is flawed because it assigns a relatively limited importance to mental activity in the social process. History cannot be described purely by materialistic objectivism.

Human intelligence and collective action are extremely powerful societal factors. In Marxist history, thoughts are viewed as epiphenomena of matter, and consciousness is a late arrival on the evolutionary scale. Roy proposes a theory of history that consists of two concurrent

processes: ideal and physical. Ideas have a life of their own, as does their evolutionary logic. There is a reciprocal relationship between ideation and social processes, although at no given historical context, "can be traced a causal relation between social events and movements of ideas".

Roy also criticises Marx's economic understanding of history. He claims that before man evolved into a homo economicus in search of economic benefits, he was motivated by biological concerns. An anthropological study of the history of prehistoric man reveals that the human species' early activities and conflicts were focused on determining methods of subsistence. These acts were directed and motivated by biologically based desires and drives. Biology, not economics, controlled mankind's early actions. The idea of historical materialism is flawed because it fails to explain and analyze man's early past. He states, for example, that "A careful study of the economic conditions of the early Middle Ages shows that there was no causal connection between the rise of the trading class and the Renaissance; that humanist individualism was not a mere superstructure, nor a justification of any particular economic system."

Roy was also critical of the theory of surplus value as advanced by Marx.

Roy regards the theory of surplus value as a fallacy. According to him, it is not exclusive to capitalism, as Marx believes. It is the foundation of all social progress, and Roy refers to it as the 'social surplus' and 'lever of progress'.

Roy also questions Marx's idea of the polarization of capitalist society into two classes, as well as the resulting theory of class struggle. He claims that Marx was incorrect in his assertion regarding the extinction of the middle class. Roy accepts that the decline of capitalism spells also the destitution of the middle class, but he also regards Socialism as an ideology conceived by the middle-class intellectuals. Due to their economic plight, the middle class was willing to join the lower class in the struggle for Socialism. However, by Socialism, they meant a fairer social order founded on moral and cultural values as a good product of human civilization, rather than State Capitalism.

5. His methods:

Roy was a twentieth century political philosopher who began his career as a militant political activist. He was sent to America in search of arms for the freedom struggle in India. His interest in socialism took him to Moscow. His probe into philosophy began when he was in prison where he separates religion and metaphysics from philosophy. He moved on to Communism and from there to Radical or New Humanism.

He was possibly the most appealing radical among Indian nationalists of his generation. He attempted to combine parts of rationalistic renaissance, physical realistic cosmology, humanistic ethics, and a deep desire for freedom. It was when he was in prison that his true search for philosophy began. He made up his mind to write a thorough study of 'the metaphysical repercussions of modern science', to examine and formulate again the theory of Marxism. Roy's philosophical works clearly differentiate philosophy from religion. Roy believes that philosophical growth is conceivable only if we abandon authoritative religious concepts and scriptural customs. Roy also envisions a close link between philosophy and science. Furthermore, his worldview emphasizes intellectual and philosophical transformation. He argued that a social revolution can take place only after a philosophical revolution has occurred. Furthermore, he reinterpreted and reintroduced materialism in the light of twentieth-century scientific advancements. He could be placed in the tradition of ancient Indian materialism, like Lokayata and Carvaka.

A SHORT SUMMARY:

M. N. Roy was born in Bengal in 1887. He has the rare distinction of having collaborated with Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin. Like Aurobindo Ghosh, he started his political career as a militant nationalist. Roy's thinking progresses through three stages. In the first phase, which lasted until 1919, he was a nationalist and revolutionary. Roy became a communist in the second phase, and then a radical humanism in the final phase.

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. Discuss M.N. Roy's criticism of Marx.

Q2. 'Manabendra Nath Roy, whose earlier name was Narendranath Bhattacharya, is the exponent of Radical Humanism.' Substantiate the statement.

Q3. Throw light on M.N. Roy as a writer.

Q4. Write a short note on M.N. Roy and his contributions.

https://iep.utm.edu/roy_mn/#H2

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RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

1. His writings:

Lohia was a prolific writer and has written, edited and translated numerous books which include short stories, essays, political and social analysis.

Dr. Lohia's main philosophical essays were on Marx, Gandhi, socialism, spirituality, abstract and concrete, equality, international aspects of communism, fundamentals of world mind, and so on, as well as his famous speeches delivered at the socialist conventions in Pachmarhi in 1952 and Hyderabad in December 1955. In addition to these are some other theoretical analyses of socialism in India.

Some of his well-known books are 'Guilty Men of India's Partition', 'Wheel of History', and 'The Caste System'. They address four topics that have tortured and agitated the thoughts of all conscious people since ages and will most certainly continue to do so in the present scenario also. 'Guilty Men of India's Partition' was written to oppose Maulana Azad's well-known book 'India Wins Freedom'. 'The Wheel of History' is a taped version of his lectures in Hyderabad. 'The Caste System' is a collection of his letters and articles published for various reasons. The fourth book, 'Lohia and American Meet' is an account of his first visit to the United States.

He has also published many books on foreign policy and international affairs. His classic book 'Foreign Policy' was released in 1963, along with some subsequent essays. He has written many pamphlets published for the Congress Party prior to Independence as well as essays written after Independence. There are many Articles also written by him on Asian socialism, global governance, India, and Pakistan.

His book 'India, China, and Northern Frontiers', which was initially published in 1963 and reissued in 2002, contains his speeches and writings on India's northern frontiers, particularly on Kashmir, Nepal, and Tibet, after 1949.

He has further written many non-political essays. The first is his well-known book 'Interval During Politics', and the second is his book 'Language', which contains pieces on language

problems that are both political and non-political. There are many articles related to art, literature, mythology, diverse areas of culture, spiritualism, yoga experiments, university research, historical writing, Olympic sports, and some book reviews. The breadth of these topics covered suggests that Dr. Lohia belonged to a rare breed of politicians whose interests were not restricted to politics but extended to many fields that affect human life.

2. Socialism:

He mingled the views of Marx and Gandhi on Socialism and by making some alterations, gave it a new form to suit the Indian conditions. He was of the view that removal of social inequality is the pre-requisite to the establishment of socialism in the country. Dr. Lohia was a socialist thinker who was unconcerned about what an important writer wrote about him in the context of socialism. Dr. Lohia rejects the traditional form of socialism, i.e. Marxism, and does not endorse Gandhiji's socialism; instead, he proposes modern socialism.

According to Lohia, the three fundamental aspects of socialism are nationalization of all industries, banks, and insurance firms, raising global living standards, and establishing a world parliament. Lohia's new socialism advocated the decentralization of economic and political authority. Ram Manohar Lohia's new socialism aimed to achieve as much social equality as possible.

Lohia wanted that the level of living be similar across the world, with no sense of isolation among nations. Ram Manohar Lohia wished to elect a world parliament based on universal adult suffrage, capable of governing the entire planet and establishing an army to protect it. Lohia believed that the building of new socialism could only be accomplished through folk tantric methods, and that only socialism could provide global protection.

Dr. Lohia believed that true socialism could not be implemented in the country unless social disparity was addressed. Dr. Lohia's socialist ideology centres on the person at the bottom of the social order. Dr. Lohia's socialist ideology seeks to create a classless society with decentralized authority. He firmly supports the concept of equality. He considers equality to be the basic condition of a person's freedom, because without equality, there is no freedom.

Lohia defines socialism as the pursuit of equality and prosperity. If some constraints on freedom are essential to achieve equality, they should be accepted. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was an ardent defender of liberty. He was a major supporter of the regime's decentralization of power and economy. Whereas communists favored large equipment and factories, Lohia promoted the formation of local and domestic industries.

3. His Political philosophy:

Even fifty years after his death, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's philosophies and ideas have resurged in popularity. This newfound interest is especially visible among individuals who oppose environmental damage, displacement, and large-scale development projects. The explanation behind this rests in Lohia's alternative outlook on development, planning, and science.

He was one of just a few Congress members who opposed India's division in 1947. However, after partition, he was a fervent supporter of the idea of a confederation of India and Pakistan. In terms of post-independence India's economic strategy, Lohia emphasized that, unlike Western countries, India, with scarce capital but abundant labor, did not have the luxury of time. As a result, he proposed a labor-intensive technology approach rather than the capital-intensive technology of the West. He urged Indian scientists and technologists to invent small unit machines that could be powered by electricity.

Lohia's analysis of the caste system led him to advocate for a favourable treatment of the backward castes. He believed that class and caste system were inter-related and the abolition of one would simultaneously lead to the abolition of the other. He recognized that inequality was in both economic and social spheres. It was necessary to fight for caste and gender equality in a society where the caste system and patriarchy were rampant. He proposed a 60 percent reservation in all areas of public life for women, the backward, and the backwards amongst the minority religious groups.

He campaigned for economic equality and supported state control of large-scale industries. During the period of the Cold War, he developed the theory of the Third Camp, thus refusing to belong to neither the Western nor the Eastern Bloc. He introduced the concept of Four Pillar State and was in favour of the Panchayati Raj. He will always be remembered for coining the term 'Non-Congressism'

4. His contributions:

He was one of the founding members of the Congress Socialist Party. He played an epochal role in the Quit India Movement when he established the Azad Hind Radio.

He joined the Praja Socialist Party when it was formed in 1952 and briefly served as general secretary before resigning in 1955 due to internal problems. He established a new Socialist Party (1955), for which he became chairman as well as the editor of its journal, Mankind.

Lohia was a staunch proponent of vernacular languages and opposed the continuous use of English. He was against the use of English as a medium of instruction in higher and

professional education, in administration, and in the judiciary. Instead, he recommended using regional languages and replacing English with Hindi as the connection language.

Lohia pushed for the decentralized governance of political and administrative power, coining the term 'Four-Pillar State'. He supported Panchayat Raj. He became popular for his criticism of government policies when he was elected to the Lok Sabha in 1963.

A SHORT SUMMARY:

Ram Manohar Lohia, an iconic Indian socialist leader, was instrumental in the war for India's independence and left an indelible impression on the country's political and social scene. He was a prolific writer and has written, edited and translated numerous books which include short stories, essays, political and social analysis. He mingled the views of Marx and Gandhi on Socialism and by making some alterations, gave it a new form to suit the Indian conditions. He was one of just a few Congress members who opposed India's division in 1947. However, after partition, he was a fervent supporter of the idea of a confederation of India and Pakistan

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. 'Even fifty years after his death, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia's philosophies and ideas have resurged in popularity.' Comment.

Q2.' Ram Manohar Lohia mingled the views of Marx and Gandhi on Socialism and by making some alterations, gave it a new form to suit the Indian conditions.' Justify the statement.

Q3. Comment on Lohia as a writer on diverse topics.

https://lohiatoday.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/rlm_publicity.pdf

Ram Manohar Lohia and Socialism- By Dr.SantoshYadav

(OR) <https://ijcrt.org/papers/IJCRT2303366.pdf>

<https://www.drishtiiias.com/daily-news-analysis/dr-ram-manohar-lohia-1>

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UNIT 5

POLITICAL THOUGHTS OF MAULANA AZAD AND SARVARKAR

The following unit will give an insight into the political thoughts of Maulana Azad and Sarvarkar and their views on religion, politics, Hinduism and nationalism.

MAULANA AZAD

1. Religion and Politics:

Abul Kalam Azad's intellectual and sociopolitical beliefs are inextricably tied with religion. This link was modified primarily by the characteristics of India's historical and socioeconomic growth in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Azad's background as a member of an Ulema family, as well as his Islamic education, were also important. Like many of his compatriots, he believed that religion was an essential aspect of both individual's and society's lives.

Maulana Azad looked for solutions in religion as guidance in his political struggle as according to him, religion was a fundamental part of every human's life. He wanted to understand Islam as it was taught by the Prophet at a time when the human was not a sophisticated race. The questions that could not be answered by science could be found in religion, Thus, he looked for guidance for political problems in religion. Azad believed in the writings of the Koran that justice and punishment are not just impulses of God, but as an outcome of the actions of individuals.

Despite participating in Gandhi's non-cooperation campaigns and nonviolent resistance, Azad felt differently about the use of violence in conflicts. He firmly believed in the use of violence when required.

Gandhi saw nonviolence to be a religious precept, whereas Azad saw it as a political technique. "Unlike Mahatma Gandhi, my belief is not that armed force should never be opposed by armed force," Azad remarked at a court hearing in 1921. "It is my belief that such opposing of violence with violence is fully in harmony with the natural laws of God in those circumstances under which Islam permits the use of such violence. . . ."

Azad believed that religion's primary goal was to unite people. Every Prophet transmitted the message that mankind was in fact one people and one society, that there was only one God for all of them, and that as a result, they should serve Him together and live as members of a single family. He based his views on Islam's message of universal human oneness and

peaceful coexistence, regarded religion as a great force of freedom that eclipses all animosity in a man's life. This makes man a member of the global human fraternity.

2.Hindu-Muslim Unity:

Maulana's message of Hindu-Muslim unity was not due to any contrivance or political intimidation. He was simply relating to the underlying message of Islam which was universal brotherhood. He wanted the Muslims in India to harmonize their relations with the Hindus. He has also argued in favour of 'muttahaquumiyyat' or composite nationalism. He was against those Muslim leaders who were scaring the Muslims that they would soon be dominated by the Hindus. When Maulana Azad founded Al-Hilal, he found that Muslims were not as involved in the freedom struggle as the Hindu community as they should be. The reason was that Sir Syed had advised Muslims to stay away from politics. Al-Hilal supported the independence movement and encouraged Muslims to join it. Azad argued that Muslims must follow the straight path and fight for liberation alongside their Hindu brethren.

After successfully recruiting Muslims for the Independence movement, Azad's efforts were to build Hindu-Muslim unity on stable roots of Muslim faith and common culture. In his 1940 Presidential address to the Indian National Congress in Rampur, Azad said "This (immigration of Muslims onto Indian soil) led to a meeting of the culture-currents of two different races. Like the Ganga and Jamuna, they flowed for a while through separate courses, but nature's immutable law brought them together and joined them in a sangam."

He went on to say that our languages, poetry, literature, culture, art, attire, manners and customs, and the numerous events of our everyday lives all retain the imprint of our collaborative effort. Even though we had different languages, we learned to speak the same language; our different and distinct manners and customs interacted and reacted with one another, creating a new synthesis. This shared wealth is the inheritance of our common nationality. Azad had resisted the formation of Pakistan to the best of his abilities. "God's earth cannot be divided into Pak (pure) and impure" according to what he wrote. Azad was struck with grief by the partition and never conciliated with the fact. When the All India Congress Committee voted in favour of partition on 14th June 1947, Azad's final plea was that even if the political defeat had to be accepted, the INC should try to ensure that the culture was not divided.

Azad intended that religious education be taught alongside secular education. According to him, imparting of religious education cannot be entrusted to the respective religious leaders of the communities as they took a racial and communal position. Azad intended that pupils

learn shared ideals from different religions so that they do not acquire prejudices against one another.

Azad said that secularism was not about imprisoning religion to just the following of certain rituals within the family, but about religion supporting people to live principled lives and seeking help from the Almighty in determining what that proper path is.

3. Nationalism and Synthesis Nationalism:

It was only after the Renaissance and Reformation periods that the concept of nation and nationalism emerged. Absolute rulers of the erstwhile Holy Roman Empire established contemporary states that recognized their subjects as independent entities. The League of Nations globalized nationhood and nationalism. The concept of geographical nationality, as well as the ability of these nationalities to determine their own destinies, challenged the peoples of the Asian and African colonies to fight for their independence. The evolution of the country and nationalism from the 18th to the 20th centuries was typically advancing. It established a collective identity for all living within territorial boundary and under a single sovereign government.

Abul Kalam, a brave rationalist who used Azad as a pen name during his brief phase of apprehension, attempted to understand the nature of Indian nationalism, which was the driving force behind secret organizations in Kolkata to commit profound acts and organise a huge protest campaign against the partition of Bengal. Maulana did not believe in the concept of nationalism which came into being during the era of European civilisation. He was of the view that patriotism was the growing amalgamation with the country and the obstacles towards universal brotherhood were race, language and colour.

He was only eighteen years old when the foundation of the Muslim League was laid in Dhaka. The League promoted a different version of Indian nationalism known in India as communalism or separatist, and in Pakistan as Muslim nationalism.

The events of this formative period convinced him that the solution to all of India's problems was independence from British colonialism, which could only be accomplished by a joint effort of Hindus and Muslims. This freedom could only be achieved through Hindu-Muslim cooperation which was the actual concept of Indian nationalism. On the other hand, Indian nationalism, established as an exclusive forced Hindu identity or an exclusive separatist Muslim identity, will bring more misery to the masses rather than liberty.

Azad was the first Indian thinker to publicly inculcate the inclusive character of Indian nationalism. He discarded the prevailing path of singularity of the extremist Hindu Congress

and Muslim League leaders. He affirmed the idea of inclusive nationalism which was visualised by the moderate Congress leaders. He actively participated in India's freedom struggle on this principle before the arrival of Gandhi on the national scene.

He understood that the Islamic religious absoluteness of the Ummah and the territorial absoluteness of the nation are not always compatible. He decided to take the responsibility to make it appropriate in the Indian setting. His desire to become *Imaul Hind* while also serving as a front-rank leader in the Indian national movement was an attempt to reconcile the Ummah and the nation. The nationalism of Azad was based on three ingredients; Swaraj, Communal harmony and non-violence.

A SHORT SUMMARY:

Maulana Azad emerged as an significant national leader for the Indian National Congress Party. His intellectual and sociopolitical beliefs are inextricably tied with religion. Like many of his compatriots, he believed that religion was an essential aspect of both individual's and society's lives.

Maulana's message of Hindu-Muslim unity was not due to any contrivance or political intimidation. He was simply relating to the underlying message of Islam which was universal brotherhood. Azad was the first Indian thinker to publicly inculcate the inclusive character of Indian nationalism.

FOR SELF ASSESSMENT:

Q1. How does Maulana Azad correlate religion with politics?

Q2. What were Maulana Azad's views on Hindu-Muslim unity? On what were his views based?

Q3. Maulana Azad recognized that the concept of Indian nationalism, in order to attain emancipation, must be based on Hindu-Muslim cooperation. Justify the statement.

<https://www.newageislam.com/islam-politics/prof-akhtarul-wasey-tr%DB%94-new-age-islam/-maulana-azad-s-religious-political-insights-more-meaningful-current-circumstances/d/124401>

<https://www.frontierweekly.com/archive/vol-number/vol/vol-48-2015-16/48-42/48-42-Azad%20and%20Secularism.html>

https://iphras.ru/uplfile/orient/biblio/marietta_stepanyants/Chapter_13_azad.pdf

<https://www.muslimsocieties.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/Understanding-Nationalism-with-Abul-Kalam-Azad-and-Said-Nursi.pdf>

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SARVARKAR

1.Views on Hinduism:

Modi's India and the BJP's ideology of Hindutva can be understood through a study of Sarvarkar's belief that the Hindus should come together as one homogenous community.

Savarkar began political activism when he was very young and rose to become a rebellion against the British. He was imprisoned for a long time due to his violent activities against the British. It was during this time that he developed into a Hindu nationalist intent on controlling Indian Muslims. His most outstanding work on Hindu nationalism is the pamphlet 'Essentials of Hindutva' (1923), which was written secretly in jail. He saw that the Hindus were hopelessly divided by caste. In his publications he has persuaded Hindus to come together as a compatible group and regain their old homeland from what he considered foreigners, particularly Muslims. Savarkar believed that violence against Muslims was the dominant way of uniting contentious lower and upper castes.

The concept of Hindutva was propounded by him in which he applied the European framework of nationalism. He became a Hindu racist bent on dominating Indian Muslims. He believed that Hindutva was the actual religion of the Hindus and that the Hindu-Indian identity existed since time immemorial.

Some of Savarkar's comments about Hindus and their faith embarrass the Right. Savarkar, an agnostic, said that Hindutva, his interpretation of Hindu nationalism, was greater than Hinduism, the genuine religion of the Hindus. He says that over a period of time and struggle, our people became acutely aware of their Hindu identity and were bonded together in ways unprecedented in the history of India. It should always be remembered that the success of the

Hindu movement has always been referred as a whole, and never to any particular creed or religious section of it—of Hindutva rather than Hinduism alone. All suffered as Hindus and triumphed as Hindus. When the country was claimed on this side of the Indus by people who considered it as their birthplace, felt personally addressed by that one term, Hindustan. It was the single most important problem to safeguard Hindustan's honour and independence, as well as to sustain the cultural unity and civic life of Hindutva, not only Hinduism.

Based on present research, Chand Bardai's exquisite epic Prithviraj Raso is the most ancient and authoritative work produced in Hindi. Even he uses the words Hindi, Hindawan, and Hind so often and so naturally that there is no doubt that they were quite common and accepted terms as far back as the eleventh century, when the Mohammedans had not secured any permanent footing even in Punjab.

After going through the chapters of history in search of the words Hindu and Hindustan from the earliest Vedic time to the fall of our Hindu empire in 1818 A.D., Sarvarkar says that we are now in a position to tackle the main challenge of defining the essence of Hindutva.

As it is now, the name Hindu has become the very pennant of our race, the one big trait that, above all, that contributes to strengthening and upholding our racial unity from Kashmir to KanyaKumari and Attock to Cuttack.

2.His contributions:

He started his anti-British revolutionary activities before the age of twenty and wrote his pamphlet 'Essentials of Hindutva' secretly in jail. He wrote a Marathi poem on Hindu culture when he was twelve which was published in a newspaper.

After graduation, Savarkar went to London to study law where he continued his political activities in the enemy's territory. He took up living quarters in a boarding house which was meant for Indian students. It was here that he met many co-conspirators.

Arms and bomb-manuals were smuggled to India through his secret organisation, Abhinav Bharat. In 1909, this group was instrumental in assassinating William Hutt Curzon Wylie, an aide to the Secretary of State for India, in London. In 1910, he was arrested and transported to India to face trial. By this point, India had been under British colonial rule for over a century. He was very much inspired by the few revolutionaries who had assassinated British leaders. He considered the constitutional techniques of the Indian National Congress, an organization that softly pursued local interests, uninteresting.

Savarkar was also impressed by the European revolutionaries such as Giuseppe Garibaldi and Giuseppe Mazzini. He would talk about previous nationalist movements to his secret organization admiring their methods to inspire his members.

He popularised the idea of 1857 war being the First War for Indian Independence by publishing his historical work 'The Indian War of Independence of 1857'. He reawakened Indian history from the British. The RSS was formed after Hindutva became the Communist manifesto.

His final publication was a historical treatise, 'Six Glorious Epochs of Indian History' which refers to the freeing of the Hindu nation from foreign domination.

A SHORT SUMMARY:

Veer Savarkar, a name that echoes across India's history, was a pivotal player in our country's war for independence. From a young age, he had a strong love for his homeland and an unrelenting will to free it from foreign oppression. His life journey was distinguished by sacrifice, dedication, and a strong desire for India's independence. Savarkar, a staunch supporter of Swaraj, or self-rule in India, detailed his vision in his book "The First War of Indian Independence." Furthermore, this essential work highlighted the importance of the 1857 rebellion and served as a source of inspiration for future generations of freedom warriors. Modi's India and the BJP's ideology of Hindutva can be understood through a study of Sarvarkar's belief that the Hindus should come together as one homogenous community.

FOR SELF ASESMENT:

Q1. Why did Sarvarkar propound the concept of Hindutva?

Q2. Discuss Sarvarkar's political journey and his contributions towards the nation and freedom struggle.

<https://aeon.co/essays/how-savarkar-invented-hindu-supremacy-and-its-cult-of-violence>

https://savarkar.org/en/encyc/2017/5/23/2_12_12_04_essentials_of_hindutva.v001.pdf_1.pdf

GLOSSARY

Adjuration-An earnest request

Antiquated-No longer used

Agnostic-Disbeliever

Catalyst-Causing a change

Coffers-Treasury

Contrivance-A plan or a scheme

Dichotomy-Division into two parts

Deprecatory-Nature of disapproval

Epochal-Extremely important

Epiphenomenon-A secondary phenomenon

Ethos-The character or disposition of a group

Extol-To praise highly

Fallacious-Logically unsound

Heinous-Hateful

Inextricably-In a way that is unable to be separated

Ineptitude-Without skill

Iniquitous-Wrong, Unjust

Paradigm-a framework containing the basic assumptions, ways of thinking

Precursor-a person or thing that precedes

Prolific-Highly fruitful

Posthumous-arising, occurring, after one's death

Tenacity-persistence:

Ubiquitous-existing or being everywhere,

Vanquish-to conquer or subdue by superior force

Wreak-to cause considerable damage