**Indian Political Thought**

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**Political Sociology**

**UNIT I**

**ANCIENT PLITICAL THOUGHT**

* Introduction
* Nature of ncient politica thought
* Vedic polity
* Political thought of Kaultilya
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**Introduction**

The sttus of any society depends largely on the political thought of the country.Political Thought is nothing but Political Philosophy.

Political system is a social institution which deals with the governance of a state and its relationship with the people. Political system of a country denotes the structure of institutions that constitute the State and its Government. India is no different and it had also developed government and political institutions to give shape and form to the fundamental principles. The multiple faces and diversity of the country is the most noticeable feature of the subcontinent. The identity and unity of its government belong to the ancient Vedic age. Ancient Indian Political System goes back to about five thousand years or more. India is a land that has been shaping civilizations through settlement patterns. Thus, history of India becomes enriched with the description of the Indus Valley civilisation. This civilisation had municipal cities and a centralized administration prevailed for each city in Harrappa and Mohenjo-daro. The people formed urban societies with agriculture as an occupation. However, the invasion by the Aryans had changed the whole scenario.

It is about various aspects and concepts of the State. It is about various concepts like State, Liberty, and Equality etc. Philosophy existed throughout the period of history. These period can be divided into three duration as below;

1. Ancient period (roughly between 500 BC to 500 AD),

2. Medieval period (about 500 AD to 1500 AD) and

3. Modern period (about 1500 AD to modern period)

**Sources of the Ancient Indian Political Thought**

Due to the paucity of authernticated literature or a particular book o n the politics in the ancient period, the only available sources are the monuments, religious works, epics and political system that were practiced during those times.

The following is a brief description of some of the important sources of political thought in the ancennt period:

**1. The Vedas:**

The Vedas are considered as the authentic works of he original source of information. Though there was no direct mentioning about the political system that existed, yet,information can be drawn from the concepts like King, Kingship, Saints or Rishis, etc., and their roles towards the subjects. It is worth mentioning that the current usage of the terms in institutions like sabha and samithi that are prevalent even in the . Vedic period.

**2. The Mahabharata:**

This Indian epic is considered a classic work on ,politics. and administrative system and the political system of the time. The entire art of statecraft, diplomacy, war ethics and strategies, state relations and so oncan be under­stood by making a reference to the Mahabharata.

**3. The Arthashastra:**

Kautilya’s Arthashastra is a masterpiece on polity. According to Prof Altekar, it is mainly concerned with the practical problems of governance and describes its machinery and functions both in times of war and peace. It also highlights issues like taxation, diplomacy, war strategies and revolution. It is a handbook of administration for the kings.

4**. Works of Thinkers:**

The other major sources of the political thought of ancient India are the Smrithis, Kamandakeya Neethisaara, Sukraneetisara and the like. Smrithis advocated that a king was the servant of the subjects and that it was not wrong to kill a tyrant. A king was expected to be virtuous, gracious and helpful. Similarly, Kamandakeya Neethisaara was also a source of ancient Indian political thought. It was, in fact, a summary of Kautilya’s Arthashastra.

## 1. 1. Nature of Ancient Indian Political System

## Indian civilisation was again predominated by the nomadic culture. A different concept of society in India developed with the Aryans, in the early Vedic period. The Early Vedic saw the upsurge of kingdom which was tribal in character.

## Rule of Dharma

## In Ancient Indian Political System, the king as well as his subjects was bound by `Dharmas` or rule of law which were code of duties. Though a king, had limited powers. The king was required to take oath and loyalty of the people. The king was not assigned with arbitrary powers and he was functional according to the approval of the people. However, on the contrary ancient Indian polity was monarchial, yet there were a few instances of elective kingship also. The power of the Indian monarchy prior to Mughal invasion was conceded as King being the representative of the divine power.

## The king was then only a constitutional monarch and the guardian, executor and the servant of Dharma. Besides, monarchies several republics also evolved. After the Battle of Kurukshetra, large empire began to fade away and several republican states emerged. A number of sixteen republics such as Kashi, Koshal, Magadha, Kuru, Anga, Avanti, Gandhar and Vaishali came into being.

## In the 1st century with the spread of Christianity, absolute monarchy prevailed as the form ofpolitical system . The word of the Kings was law. Many large empires were seen extending almost all over the sub continent. Several empires such as the Muryas, Guptas and the Mughals flourished. The rulers were hereditary kings or sub kings who ruled with the assistance of faithful ministers appointed by them

## Mideveil period .

## King-in-Ministry;

## During the medieval period became the usual form of government. In addition to that there were no republican states. Furthermore the concept of central government evolved during the period of the Sultanate. The king became an autocrat and he was entitled to the throne on the base might. In the Mughal kingdom, Ancient IndianPolitical System revolved round the autocracy of the king and he was assisted by councilors or ministers to share the multifarious activities of the state. The council of ministers was given great power and they continued to advice the kings on their day to day handling of administration . One instance of the absolute monarchy ruling the state on the advice of the council of ministers was Emperor Harsha, was a generous ruler.

## Tribal kingdom

## Each tribe formed a separate kingdom. The family was the basic unit of the political organisation and a number of families formed a Village. A reflection of the Ancient Indian Political System can be traced in the social life of the Aryans. These villages were headed by Gramani.

## Moreover this pattern gave rise to large units or clans formed by a group of village. The circle continued with several clans forming the tribe and their leader was Rajan or the Vedic king. His role was to protect his people from enemies and to accompany with a senani or commandant, the Sabha and the Samithi in administration . The Aryans were identified as the pioneers in introducing the concept of society in Indian culture. This civilisation was subjected to various forms of kingdoms with a flow of political boundaries.

## Village administration was also a significant part of the Ancient Indian Political System. During the Vedic age, the Aryans had built up small villages and the administration of the area was looked after by the village councils. A system of giving taxes also prevailed in the ancient society. Taxes such as Pali, Sulk and Bhaga were collected from the people. The revenue was spent for the benefit of the subjects. Mentions of village administration were found during the fourth century B.C when republican federation existed in the society of India. The city of Vaishali had Panchayat for administering justice and courts. The republican character of the polity of Vaishali lasted for thousand of years.

## Panchayat system is one of the essential democratic institutions which developed in India. This system is an institution of the Local Self Government found at the village level. Panchayat system originated in ancient India and references are found in the age of Mahabharat. It constitutes of a village council consisting of village elders. These local self governments perform administrative and judicial function. The Panchayat system used to serve since ancient times and at present it has become an integral part of IndianAdministration.

## 1.2 Politics in Vedic period

## Vedic literature provides very little informations about political history during Vedic period. Persons, battles and political events mentioned in the Vedas cannot be arranged chronologically (except for that they took place during Vedic period), while much of the historical context in Vedic literature is unclear.

## Sources

## The main source of the information for the study of early Vedic people is the Rigveda. Rig Vedic society was semi-nomadic tribal society with pastoral economy. Reiterating, the first change so observed in the political milieu was the transformation of the Rig Vedic Jana (meaning, people or tribe) into the Janapada (meaning, the area where the tribe settled).

## Mahabharata, Kurukshetra War

## Punjab region was the center of the Vedic culture and from there Indo-Aryans expanded to the east. The basic political unit was the vish (clan or tribe) ruled by raja (king or chief) who was responsible for protection of the clan..

## Rivalry between the clans is also the central event of the great epic poem Mahabharata (composed between 400 and 200 BC) which says that rivalry between sibling clans of Kauravas and Pandavas provoked the Kurukshetra War in which participated number of other kingdoms as allies of the rivals. The epic Mahabharata represents the 18-day war as a major event of great significance for the future history.

## During Vedic Period.

## The polity of the Early Vedic period was basically a tribal polity with the tribal chief in the centre which was transformed towards Monarchy in later Vedic period. Rig Vedic society was semi-nomadic tribal society with pastoral economy

## Early Vedic political institutions, which are referred to in the Rig-veda, were characterised by elements commonly associated with a tribal polity. The family or kula was the basic unit of political organisation headed by the Kulapa or grihapati.

## Gramani

## The next unit, grama or village was headed by the gramani. The Vis or a group of villages was headed by the Vispati. The highest unit, Jana or tribe consisted of a group of Vis headed by the tribal chief. The administrative machinery of the Aryans in this period worked with the tribal chief in the centre, because of his successful leadership in war. He was called rajan. It seems that in the Rig Vedic period the king’s post had become hereditary.

## Rajya'

## Political Conditions The term 'Rajya' has been mentioned once in the Rig Veda, but the Rig-Vedic political condition cannot be regarded as the condition of the state in real terms, the concept of territory was completely absent and war used to take place for cows i.e. Gavisti.

## The kings were mainly in term of tribal chieftains. He was the holder of established order and moral rule called Dhratavtara. Rig Vedic political conditions were a kind of tribal chieftainship with some elements of democracy. The tribal heads used to adopt divine theory to legitimise their position In Rig Ved Puru king Tradasyu claimed himself as 'Indra' or 'Varuna'. Tribal head assisted by Purohit and Grarnini. King advised by Sabha and Samities.

## The king probably was bonded to accept these advices. Samiti could not do any work without the consent of the Sabha (Check and Balance formula of working) Features of Kingship: Hereditary succession; No election; Assisted by civil administration - to collect taxes for the army. Women were given equal status in this period because of less population. The Sabha and Samiti were the powerful institutions which considerably ended the sovereignty of the king. In Atharveda, Sabha and Samiti are referred to as the two daughters of 'Prajapati'.

## The Political system of the later Vedic period was shifted towards Monarchy. Now, the King ruled over an area of land called Janapada. The King started maintaining an army and the Bureaucracy also got developed. The Kingship was being given the status of the divine character and also this period witnesses the emergence of the concept of King of Kings.

## The Rig Vedic popular assemblies lost their importance and royal power increased at their cost. The Vidhata completely disappeared. The Sabha and Sarnia continued to hold the ground, but their character changed.

## Sabha

## The Sabha was denoted as the Assembly Hall — used for serious political work, social ceremonies and debates women had equal rights to participate in the proceedings of the Sabha. In Rig Veda, a woman called 'Sabhapati' attended the Sabha. The sabha had great powers.

## The Sabha became more important than the Sarnia. They came to be dominated by the chiefs and the rich nobles. Women were not allowed to attend the Sabha which was now dominated by the nobles and the Brahmana’s

## The power of Sabha

## It used to take its own decisions for performing social, political and administrative function also to render justice. Samiti has appeared in those portions of Rig Veda, which are considered to be the latest. Samiti must have assumed importance only towards the end of Rig Vedic Period. Therefore, Samiti does not seem to be older than the Sabha. The distinction between the Sabha and Samiti cannot be made precisely. Only difference was that while Sabha performed judicial functions, the Samiti has no such power.

## In Yajur Veda the epithet parisadya applied to Agni may point to his presence in the parisad. It has been shown that Ahirbudhnya, a form of Rudra, is called Parisadaya, but in the Mahabharata, Skanda, the son of Siva, is associated with the Parisadas at numberous places.

## Siva is also described as Gana-dhyaksa, it is also called Parisadpriya. The evidence that it functioned as a royal council is provided by Paraskara Grhyasutras, wherein; the parisad is represented as conducting debate under the chairmanship of its Isana (President).

## . Society of Vedic period

## Society was patriarchal and the eldest male of the Kutumba was the head of the family. In the Rig Vedic society comprises of four varnas which was based on the occupation of individuals.  But in the later Vedic period, the society became differentiated on the basis of Varna (Varna came to be birth based rather than profession based). The proliferance of profession gave rise to Jatis. The nature of kingship was transformed and rituals like Rajasuya (Royal coronation) assumed significance in the later Vedic period.

## Hinduism: The Vedic Age

## However, the chief or the king did not exercise unlimited power, for he had to reckon with the tribal organizations. The king was called the protector of his tribe as he protected its cattle, fought its wars and offered prayers to gods on its behalf.

## There are indications to suggest that the early Vedic raja may have been chosen by his people, the vish or the Jana. Further, in a situation where the resources for maintaining a regular standing army were absent, the raja depended on the vish who constituted the militia.

## Thus, although the raja or the janasyagopa (i.e., the protector of the jana) was certainly more prosperous and powerful than the other members of the Jana owing to his access to the loot obtained in battle and the tribute or bali offered by his own people, he depended greatly on popular support in order to exercise his powers effectively.

## Several tribal or the clan-based assemblies such as the Sabha, Samiti, Vidatha, Gana are men­tioned in the Rigveda. They exercised deliberative, military and religious functions. The Vidatha seems to be a more popular assembly than either Sabha or Samiti in the Rig Vedic period. The Vidatha was an assembly in which both men and women participated.

## It functioned as centers for settling disputes, redistribution, and provided a place for performing sacrifice. The Sabha was the ‘Body of the Elders’ and constituted mainly of the Brahmanas and the elite. The speaker of Sabha was called Sabhapati and its members, Sabhya.

## The Samiti was more in the nature of a folk assembly in which the entire population could participate. The members of the Samiti were called Vishah. The most important function of the Samiti was the election of the king. The Sabha, a selected body was more like an advisory council.

## In the day-to-day administration, the king was assisted by a few functionaries. We do have refer­ences to the senani or the general, thepurohita or the priest, the gramani or the head of the grama and to spasas or spies, but these do not seem to have organised into a formal bureaucracy. The Rigveda does not mention any officer for administering justice and officer concerned with tax-collection. Gana, the technical word for the republic, is found at forty-six places in the Rigveda

## Later vedic period

## The period that followed Rig Vedic Age is known as Later Vedic Age. The Political system of the later Vedic period was shifted towards Monarchy. Now, the King ruled over an area of land called Janapada. The King started maintaining an army and the Bureaucracy also got developed

## Clan identity was slowly replaced by territorial identity by the end of the Vedic period and 16 kingdoms known as the Mahajanapadas emerged in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent competing with each other for supremacy. At the same time kingship became hereditary.

## Adjective of or relating to the Vedas or the ancient form of Sanskrit in which they are written. of or relating to the ancient Indo-European settlers in India, regarded as the originators of many of the traditions preserved in the Vedas.

## This age witnessed the composition of three later Veda Samhitas namely, the Samveda Samhita, the Yajurveda Samhita, the Atharvaveda Samhita as well as Brahmanas and the Upanishads of all the four Vedas and later on the two great epics—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

## All these later Vedic texts were compiled in the Upper Gangetic basin in 1000—600 B.C. During the period represented by Later Samhitas the Aryans covered the whole of Northern India, from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas.

## The spread of Aryans over the whole of India completed before 400 B.C. Of the new kingdoms in the east, the most important were Kurus, Panchalas, Kasis, Kosalas and Videhas.

## Gradually the Aryans moved towards South India. It is believed that their southern movement began during the period of Brahmana literature, about 1000 B.C. and went on steadily till they reached the southernmost extremity of the Peninsula in or sometime before fourth century B.C.

## The great grammarian Katya Yana who flourished in the fourth century B.C had knowledge about the countries of south such as Pandya, Chola and Kerala. But the Aryan colonization in the South was not as complete as in the north. With the progress of the Aryans in Northern India, their centre of civilization was shifted towards east. The territory between Saraswati and Ganga was the seat of Aryan civilization.

## There were a few non-monarchical states (Gana) whose head was ganapatior Jyestha (elder).

## In the later Vedic age, the Gangetic Valley or Aryavartha became the centre of political activity. Various Kingdoms like Kosala, Videha, Kuru, Magadha, Kasi, Avanti and Panchala came into existence. T

## he king was the highest authority and his position was considerably supreme. Kingship became hereditary and the he was responsible for defence and maintaining law and order of their kingdoms. Moreover, they had vast empires and tried to extend their territories. In Manu Samhita the history of kingship is described. In Hinduism, Manu is considered to be the first king of the earth. Accordingly, the rulers of medieval India traced their genealogy back to him.

## The later Vedic period witnessed certain significant changes in the political structure which were closely related to the growing importance of settled agriculture and the consequent social differentia­tion. Later Vedic literature contains, probably for the first time, discussions on the origins of kingship which is quaintly stated in the Aitareya Brahmana.

## Theories of leardersips

## Various possibilities are explored. These include a suggestion that kingship originated out of the need for a leader in warfare. Other theories emphasised the divine origin of kingship. Certain other theories emphasised contractual elements, suggesting that the raja was chosen by his people who hoped for specific material gains in return.

## With the decreasing importance of pastoralism, raids became insignificant. The raja’s function now was to protect the fields or crops of the agriculturists rather than cattle wealth. Bali (tribute) though voluntary in the Rig Vedic period, became compulsory.

## Chang of Sabhas

## There are also indications to suggest that such exactions could often be oppressive. Thus, the Kshatriya or the raja is described as the Visha matta or the eater of the vish in the Satapatha Brahmana. In later Vedic times popular assemblies lost importance, and royal power increased at their cost. The Vidatha completely disappeared. The Sabha and Samiti continued to hold the ground, but their character changed.

## Gender discrimination

## They came to be dominated by chiefs and rich nobles. Women were no longer permitted to sit on the Sabha. The Sabha was gradually converted into the King’s court, becoming an even more exclusive body than earlier.

## Emergence of Rashtra

## Another significant development associated with this period was the emergence of the janapada, literally the area where they’re placed its foot or settled down. Some of these new janapadas seem to have been formed through the amalgamation of separate Janas. The term rashtra, which indicates territory, first appears in this period.

## Introduction of Janapada

## The emergence of the janapada was also associated with the beginning of a rudimentary administrative system. The later Vedic texts refer to the ministers of the king called ‘ratnins’i.e. receivers of the jewels which were offered by the king-elect to each of them at his house at the ceremony called ratnahavimsi.

## The Atharva Veda mentions these king makers to be Suta (bard), the Ratha-Kara, Karmara (artisan), Gramaniand the Rajas (nobles). These ‘kingmakers’ grew in number in the later texts. Taittiriya Brahmana mentions twelve ratnins.

## They are:

## (i) Brahmana (Purohita)

## (2) Rajanya

## (3) Mahishi (Chief Queen)

## (4) Vavata (favourite wife)

## (5) Parivrikti (discarded wife)

## (6) Suta (Charioteer)

## (7) Senani

## (8) Gramani,

## (9) Kshata (Chamberlain)

## (10) Samgrahitri (treasurer)

## (11) Bhagadugha (Collector of taxes)

## (12) Akshavapa (superintendent of dicing).

## During this period, collec­tion of taxes and tribute seems to have been common. It was collected by Bhagadugha and was deposited with an officer called Sangrihitri. As the raja became less of a popular ruler and more coercive, elaborate means were devised to legitimise his position. These included sacrifices such as the rajasuya, the vajapeya and ashvamedha.

## These rituals were virtually unknown in the early Vedic period and seem to have been devised to enhance the importance of both the new rulers and the priestly category who provided them with support. The rajasuya sacrifice was supposed to confer supreme power on him. He performed the Ashvamedha, which meant unquestioned control over an area in which the royal horse ran uninterrupted.

## He also performed the Vajapeya or the chariot race in which the royal chariot was made to win the race against his kinsmen. Rad-Yajna was a special ceremony by which a deposed king could get back his kingdom or a reigning king the lost royalty of his subject.

## Coronation was followed by striking the king on the back by the rod (dandairghanti) by the Adhvaryu priest and his assistant thereby rendering the king adandya (above punishment). Even in later Vedic times the king did not possess a standing army. The later Vedic period witnessed the begin­ning of territorial kingdoms. War was fought for territory. The famous Mahabharata battle fought between the Kauravas and the Pandavas is attributed to this period.

## Transformation of political character from Early to later Vedic Period

## 1. The term “Rashtra”, meaning territory, was first appeared in later Vedic period.

## 2. The Rajanyas of the Rig Vedic age later became the Kshatriyas, leader of territories. The very reason of the wars (earlier, cattle) also underwent a change, with the acquisition of land now becoming an important element.

## 3. Consecratory rituals assumed special significance in later Vedic period for the ruling elite, which now became crucial to assert their authority. Sacrifices were significant and were perceived to lend religious legitimacy to the rulers in the later Vedic period.

## 4. It was the beginning of administrative machinery. The king had to maintain a council of advisors known as the [Ratnis](https://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/list-of-important-ratnis-and-officials-of-vedic-period-1527078993-1?ref=list_gk).

## 5. A rudimentary taxation system began with Sangrihitri, as treasurer of taxes and Bhagadugha as the tax collector. Bali and Bhaga now became regular tributes and taxes.

## 6. The formation of bigger kingdoms made the chief or the king more powerful. Princes or chiefs ruled tribes, but the dominant tribe gave their names to the territories, which might be inhabited by tribes other than their own. In the beginning, each area was named after the tribe which settled there first. At first, Panchala was the name of the people and then, it became the name of a region.

## The Aryans of Vedic age had reached the highest stage of civilization. This age had excelled in every walks of life. All the valuable things in man’s life—philosophy, religion, science and code of conduct were all developed in the Vedic age.

## 1.3 .Political thought of Kautilya

## *The founder of the Mauryan Empire,*

## *Author of‘Arthashastra’*

## *Power is a tool to control people and suppress enemies*

## Kautilya was the Prime Minister of Chandragupta Maurya, the founder of the Mauryan Empire, who defeated the Greek ruler Seleukos and the mighty Nandas whose empire stretched over a large part of eastern India.

## Political thoughts of Kautilya are summarized in a book he wrote known as the Arthashastra, a Sanskrit name. ‘Arthashastra’ can be explained as ‘Science and art of politics and diplomacy.’ Kautilya’s Arthashastra is magnificent work on ancient political thought which was undoubtedly composed between 3rd -2nd century B.C. In his political and administrative ideas, the focus of attention was the king.

## Kautilya used power as a tool to control his society as well as his enemies. He aslo believed that it is the king’s duty to seek material gain, spiritual good and pleasures. Kautilya thinks that for a king to attain these three goals must create wealth, have armies and should conquer the kingdoms and enlarge the size of his state. He thought that for the smooth functioning of administration and for the welfare of the people, the king had to be acquainted in the four vedas and four sciences of government (Anviksiki, Trayi, Varta and Dandaniti). Kautilya proclaimed that politics was the suprem

## This book was lost for many centuries and a copy of it written on palm leaves was rediscovered in India in 1904 CE.

## The Arthashastra is a handbook for running an empire effectively and it contains detailed information about specific topics. Diplomacy and war are the two points treated in greater detail than any other and it also includes recommendations on [law](https://www.ancient.eu/law/), prisons, taxation, fortifications,

## [Coinage](https://www.ancient.eu/coinage/),

## Manufacturing,

## [Trade](https://www.ancient.eu/trade/),

## Administrations,

## And spies.

## The ideas expressed by Kautilya in the Arthashastra are totally practical and unsentimental. Kautliya openly writes about controversial topics such as assassinations, when to kill family members, how to manage secret agents, when it is useful to violate treaties and when to spy on ministers. Because of this, Kautilya is often compared to Machiavelli. It is fair to mention that Kautilya is not merciless all the time and he also writes about the moral duty of the king: he summarizes the duty of the king by saying “The happiness of the subjects is the happiness of the king; their welfare is his. His own pleasure is not his good but the pleasure of his subjects is his good”. Some scholars have seen in the ideas of Kautilya a combination of Zhinese [Confucianism](https://www.ancient.eu/Confucianism/) and [Legalism](https://www.ancient.eu/Legalism/).

## Organisation of the book

## Arthashastra is divided into 15 book titles, 150 chapters and 180 topics, as follows:[[47]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthashastra#cite_note-FOOTNOTEOlivelle2013vii%E2%80%93xxvii-47)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Title | English |  | Title | English |
| Raja | King |  | Yuvaraja | Crown prince |
| Senapati | Chief, armed forces |  | Parishad | Council |
| Nagarika | Town manager |  | Pauravya vaharika | City overseer |
| Mantri | Minister |  | Karmika | Works officer |
| Samnidhatr | Treasurer |  | Karmantika | Director, factories |
| Antapala | Frontier commander |  | Antar vimsaka | Head, guards |
| Dauvarika | Chief guard |  | Gopa | Revenue officer |
| Purohita | Chaplain |  | Karanika | Accounts officer |
| Prasastr | Administrator |  | Nayaka | Commander |
| Upayukta | Junior officer |  | Pradeshtri | Magistrate |
| Sunyapala | Regent |  | Adhyaksha | Superintendent |

## The need for law, economics and government

## The ancient Sanskrit text opens, by acknowledging that there are a number of extant schools with different theories on proper and necessary number of fields of knowledge, and asserts they all agree that the science of government is one of those fields.

## It lists the school of Brihaspati, the school of Usanas, the school of Manu and itself as the school of Kautilya as examples.

## The root of happiness is [Dharma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dharma) (ethics, righteousness),

## The root of Dharma is [Artha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Artha)  (economy, polity),

## The root of Artha is right governance,

## The root of right governance is victorious inner-restraint,

## The root of victorious inner-restraint is humility,

## The root of humility is serving the aged.

## The school of Usanas asserts, states the text, that there is only one necessary knowledge, the science of government because no other science can start or survive without it.

## The school of Brihaspati asserts, according to Arthashastra, that there are only two fields of knowledge, the science of government and the science of economics (Varta of agriculture, cattle and trade) because all other sciences are intellectual and mere flowering of the temporal life of man.

## The school of Manu asserts, states Arthashastra, that there are three fields of knowledge, the [Vedas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedas), the science of government and the science of economics (Varta of agriculture, cattle and trade) because these three support each other, and all other sciences are special branch of the Vedas.

## The Arthashastra then posits its own theory that there are four necessary fields of knowledge, The [Vedas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedas),

## The Anvikshaki (philosophy of Samkhya, Yoga and Lokayata),

## The science of government and

## The science of economics (Varta of agriculture, cattle and trade).

## It is from these four that all other knowledge, wealth and human prosperity is derived. The Kautilya text thereafter asserts that

## It is the Vedas that discuss what is [Dharma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dharma) (right, moral, ethical) and

## What is [Adharma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adharma) (wrong, immoral, unethical),

## It is the Varta that explain what creates wealth and What destroys wealth,

## It is the science of government that illuminates What is Nyaya (justice, expedient, proper) and

## Anyaya (unjust, inexpedient, improper), and

## That it is Anvishaki (philosophy)

## That is the light of these sciences, as well as the source of all knowledge, the guide to virtues, and the means to all kinds of acts.. He says of government in general:

## Without government, rises disorder as in the Matsya nyayamud bhavayati (proverb on law of fishes). In the absence of governance, the strong will swallow the weak. In the presence of governance, the weak resists the strong.

## Raja (king) The best king is the Raja-[rishi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rishi), the sage king.

## The Raja-rishi has

## Self-control and does not fall for the temptations of the senses,

## He learns continuously and cultivates his thoughts,

## He avoids false and flattering advisors and instead associates with the true and accomplished elders,

## He is genuinely promoting the security and welfare of his people,

## He enriches and empowers his people,

## He practices [ahimsa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahimsa) (non-violence against all living beings),

## He lives a simple life and avoids harmful people or activities, he keeps away from another's wife nor craves for other people's property.

## The greatest enemies of a king are not others, but are these six:

## Lust,

## Anger,

## Greed,

## Conceit,

## Arrogance and

## Foolhardiness.

## A just king gains the loyalty of his people not because he is king, but because he is just.

## Officials, advisors and checks on government

## The text discusses

## How the crown prince should be trained and

## How the king himself should continue learning,

## Selecting his key mantri (ministers),

## Officials,

## Administration,

## Staffing of the court personnel,

## Magistrates and

## Judges.

## The chapter 5 of Book 1, is dedicated to the continuous training and development of the king, where the text advises that he maintain a counsel of elders, from each field of various sciences, whose accomplishments he knows and respects.

## The text also describes the process of selecting the ministers and key officials, which it states must be based on king's personal knowledge of their honesty and capacity.

## Kautilya first lists various alternate different opinions among extant scholars on how key government officials should be selected,

## with Bharadvaja suggesting honesty and knowledge be the screen for selection,

## Kaunapadanta suggesting that heredity be favored,

## Visalaksha suggesting that king should hire those whose weaknesses he can exploit,

## Parasara cautioning against hiring vulnerable people because they will try to find king's vulnerability to exploit him instead, and yet another who insists that experience and not theoretical qualification be primary selection criterion.

## Kautilya, after describing the conflicting views on how to select officials, asserts that a king should select his Amatyah (ministers and high officials) based on the capacity to perform that they have shown in their past work, the character and their values that is accordance with the role.

## The Amatyah, states Arthashastra, must be those with following Amatya-sampat:

## Well trained,

## With foresight,

## With strong memory,

## Bold,

## Well spoken,

## Enthusiastic,

## Excellence in their field of expertise,

## Learned in theoretical and practical knowledge,

## Pure of character,

## Of good health,

## Kind and philanthropic,

## Free from procrastination,

## Free from ficklemindedness,

## Free from hate, f

## Ree from enmity, f

## Ree from anger, and

## Dedicated to [dharma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dharma).

## Those who lack one or a few of these characteristics must be considered for middle or lower positions in the administration, working under the supervision of more senior officials. The text describes tests to screen for the various Amatya-sampat.

## The Arthashastra, in Topic 6, describes checks and continuous measurement, in secret, of the integrity and lack of integrity of all ministers and high officials in the kingdom. Those officials who lack integrity must be arrested. Those who are unrighteous, should not work in civil and criminal courts. Those who lack integrity in financial matters or fall for the lure of money must not be in revenue collection or treasury, states the text, and those who lack integrity in sexual relationships must not be appointed to Vihara services (pleasure grounds). The highest level ministers must have been tested and have successfully demonstrated integrity in all situations and all types of allurements.

## Chapter 9 of Book 1 suggests the king to maintain a council and a Purohit (chaplain, spiritual guide) for his personal counsel. The Purohit, claims the text, must be one who is well educated in the [Vedas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedas) and its six Angas.

## Causes of impoverishment, lack of motivation and disaffection among people

## Civil, criminal law and court system- Crime and punishment

## It is power and power alone which, only when exercised by the king with impartiality and in proportion to guilt either over his son or his enemy, maintains both this world and the next. The just and victorious king administers justice in accordance with

## Dharma (established law),

## Sanstha (customary law),

## Nyaya (edicts, announced law) and

## Vyavahara (evidence, conduct).

## Book 3 of the Arthashastra, states Trautmann, is dedicated to civil law, including sections relating to economic relations of employer and employee, partnerships, sellers and buyers.

## Book 4 is a treatise on criminal law, where the king or officials acting on his behalf, take the initiative and start the judicial process against acts of crime, because the crime is felt to be a wrong against the people of the state. This system, states Trautman is similar to European system of criminal law, rather than other historic legal system, because in the European (and Arthashastra) system it is the state that initiates judicial process in cases that

## fall under criminal statutes, while in the latter systems the aggrieved party initiates a claim in the case of murder, rape, bodily injury among others.

## The ancient text stipulates that the courts have a panel of three pradeshtri (magistrates) for handling criminal cases, and this panel is different, separate and independent of the panel of judges of civil court system it specifies for a Hindu kingdom.

## The text lays out that just punishment is one that is in proportion to the crime in many sections starting with chapter 4 of Book 1, and repeatedly uses this principle in specifying punishments Economic crimes such as conspiracy by a group of traders or artisans is to be, states the Arthashastra, punished with much larger and punitive collective fine than those individually, as conspiracy causes systematic damage to the well being of the people.

## 7. Marriage laws

## The text asserts that a girl may marry any man she wishes, three years after her first menstruation, provided that she does not take her parent's property or ornaments received by her before the marriage. However, if she marries a man her father arranges or approves of, she has the right to take the ornaments with her.

## The text gives the right to a woman that she may remarry anyone if she wants to, if she has been abandoned by the man she was betrothed to, if she does not hear back from him for three menstrual periods, or if she does hear back and has waited for seven menses.

## The Arthashastra legally recognizes eight types of marriage.

## The bride is given the maximum property inheritance rights when the parents select the groom and the girl consents to the selection (Brahma marriage), and

## Minimal if bride and groom marry secretly as lovers (Gandharva marriage)

## Without the approval of her father and her mother.

## However, in cases of Gandharva marriage (love), she is given more rights than she has in Brahma marriage (arranged), if the husband uses the property she owns or has created, with husband required to repay her with interest when she demands.

## 8. Mines, factories and superintendents

## The Arthashastra dedicates the role of government in setting up

## Mines and factories,

## Gold and precious stone workshops,

## Commodities,

## Forest produce,

## Armory,

## Standards for balances and weight measures,

## Standards for length and time measures,

## Customs,

## Agriculture,

## liquor,

## Abattoirs and courtesans,

## Shipping,

## Domesticated animals such as

## cattle,

## horses and

## elephants

## along with animal welfare when they are injured or too old,pasture land, military preparedness and intelligence gathering operations of the state.

## On spying, propaganda and information

## 9. [Femme fatale](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Femme_fatale) as a secret agent

## .The Arthashastra describes + on the need, methods and goals of secret service, and how to build then use a network of spies that work for the state. The spies should be trained to adopt roles and guises, to use coded language to transmit information, and be rewarded by their performance and the results they achieve, states the text.

## The roles and guises recommended for Vyanjana (appearance) agents by the Arthashastra include

## Ascetics,

## Forest hermits,

## Mendicants,

## Cooks,

## Merchants,

## Doctors,

## Astrologers,

## Consumer householders,

## Entertainers,

## Dancers,

## Female agents and others.

## It suggests that members from these professions should be sought to serve for the secret service. A prudent state, states the text, must expect that its enemies seek information and are spying inside its territory and spreading propaganda, and therefore it must train and reward double agents to gain identity about such hostile intelligence operations.

## The goals of the secret service

## The goals of the secret service was to test the integrity of government officials, spy on cartels and population for conspiracy, to monitor hostile kingdoms suspected of preparing for war or in war against the state, to check spying and propaganda wars by hostile states, to destabilize enemy states, to get rid of troublesome powerful people who could not be challenged openly.The spy operations and its targets, should be pursued "with respect to traitors and unrighteous people, not with respect to others".

## 10. On war and peace

## The Arthashastra discusses on war, and considers numerous scenarios and reasons for war. It classifies war into three broad types – open war, covert war and silent war.It then dedicates chapters to defining each type of war, how to engage in these wars and how to detect that one is a target of covert or silent types of war The text cautions that the king should know the progress he expects to make, when considering the choice between waging war and pursuing peace.

## It further says that when the degree of progress is the same in pursuing peace and waging war, peace is to be preferred. For, in war, there are disadvantages such as losses, expenses and absence from home.

## Peace over war

## The state must always be adequately fortified, its armed forces prepared and resourced to defend itself against acts of war. Kautilya favors peace over war, because he asserts that in most situations, peace is more conducive to creation of wealth, prosperity and security of the people.Arthashastra defines the value of peace and the term peace, states Brekke, as "effort to achieve the results of work undertaken is industry, and absence of disturbance to the enjoyment of the results achieved from work is peace".

## All means to win a war are appropriate including assassination of enemy leaders, sowing discord in its leadership, engagement of covert men and women in the pursuit of military objectives and as weapons of war, deployment of accepted superstitions and propaganda to bolster one's own troops or to demoralize enemy soldiers, as well as open hostilities by deploying kingdom's armed forces. After success in a war by the victorious just and noble state, the text argues for humane treatment of conquered soldiers and subjects.

## 11. On regulations and taxes

## The Arthashastra discusses a mixed economy, where private enterprise and state enterprise frequently competed side by side,

## In agriculture,

## Animal husbandry,

## Forest produce,

## Mining,

## Manufacturing and

## Trade.

## However, royal statutes and officials regulated private economic activities, some economic activity was the monopoly of the state, and a superintendent oversaw that both private and state owned enterprises followed the same regulations.The private enterprises were taxed. Mines were state owned, but leased to private parties for operations.

## The Arthashastra states that protecting the consumer must be an important priority for the officials of the kingdom.

## 12. Tax collection and ripe fruits

## As one plucks one ripe fruit after another from a garden, so should the king from his kingdom. Out of fear for his own destruction, he should avoid unripe ones, which give rise to revolts.

## Arthashastra stipulates restraint on taxes imposed, fairness, the amounts and how tax increases should is implemented. Further, the text suggests that the tax should be "convenient to pay,

## Easy to calculate,

## Inexpensive to administer,

## Equitable and non-distortive, and

## Not inhibit growth.

## Fair taxes build popular support for the king, states the text, and some manufacturers and artisans, such as those of textiles, were subject to a flat tax.

## The taxes should only be collected from ripened economic activity, and should not be collected from early, unripe stages of economic activity.

## Agriculture on privately owned land was taxed at the rate of 16.67%, but the tax was exempted in cases of famine, epidemic, and settlement into new pastures previously uncultivated and if damaged during a war.

## New public projects such as irrigation and water works were exempt from taxes for five years, and major renovations to ruined or abandoned water works were granted tax exemption for four years.Temple and [gurukul](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guru) lands were exempt from taxes, fines or penalties. Trade into and outside the kingdom's borders was subject to toll fees or duties. Taxes varied between 10% to 25% on industrialists and businessmen, and it could be paid in kind (produce), through labor, or in cash.

## 13. Views on the role of the state

## Kautilya's Arthashastra depicts a bureaucratic welfare state, in fact some kind of socialized monarchy, in which the central government administers the details of the economy for the common good...In addition, Kautilya offers a work of genius in matters of foreign policy and welfare, including key principles of international relations from a realist perspective and a discussion of when an army must use cruel violence and when it is more advantageous to be humane.

## 14. Views on property and markets

## The Arthashastra  recognizes the concept of land ownership rights and other private property, and requires king to protect that right from seizure or abuse.

## Kautilya requires that the land sale be staggered and grants certain buyers automatic "[call rights](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Call_option)", which is not free market. The Arthashastra states that if someone wants to sell land, the owner's kins, neighbors and creditors have first right of purchase in that order, and only if they do not wish to buy the land for a fair competitive price, others and strangers can bid to buy.Further, the price must be announced in front of witnesses, recorded and taxes paid, for the buy-sale arrangement to deemed recognized by the state. The "call rights" and staggered bid buying is not truly a free market, states Trautmann.

## The text dedicates to economic laws, and a court system to oversee and resolve economic, contracts and market-related disputes.It also provides a system of appeal where three dharmastha (judges) consider contractual disputes between two parties, and considers profiteering and false claims to dupe customers a crime.

## 1.4 Political thought of Manu

## *First ancient legal text*

## *Advocates Varna system*

## *Basis for britishers to formulate Hindu Law*

## The Manusmṛti  also spelled as Manusmriti/Manusmruti, is an ancient legal text among the many [Dharmaśāstras](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dharma%C5%9B%C4%81stra) of [Hinduism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism). Manusmriti is also called the  Laws of Manu.

## It was one of the first Sanskrit texts to have been translated into English in 1794, and it was used to formulate the [Hindu law](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu_law) by the British colonial government.

## The Manu Smriti was one of the first [Sanskrit](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanskrit) texts studied by the [European philologists](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanskrit_in_the_West). It was first translated into English by [Sir William Jones](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Jones_(philologist)). His version was published in 1794. This interest in its translation was encouraged by British administrative requirements, which they believed to be legal codes. In fact, states Romila Thapar, these were not codes of law but social and ritual texts.

## Over fifty manuscripts of the Manusmriti are now known, but the earliest discovered, most translated and presumed authentic version since the 18th century has been the "Calcutta manuscript with Kulluka Bhatta commentary".

## The text's fame spread outside India, long before the colonial era. The medieval era Buddhistic law of [Myanmar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myanmar) and [Thailand](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thailand) are also ascribed to Manu, and the text influenced past Hindu kingdoms in [Cambodia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodia) and [Indonesia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia).

## What is manu dharmin

## Manu and Kautilya has given us comprehensive political and administrative ideas. They both believed in Vedas and goodness of human nature. But they also believed that the common man could be kept under control, and on the path of truth by the fear of punishment.

## Manu’s View on the Political System

## Manu’s view on the various aspects of a political system:

## On the Origin of State: People initially lived in a state of nature prior to the origin of an organized state. The state of nature was like a state of war as there was no harmony, peace and goodwill. This period was considered the darkest period in the human history, a situation that is more or less equal to Hobbesian Leviathan.

## In such conditions, it is stated in Manusmriti that people approached Lord Brahma, the creator, to relieve them from the tortuous life. Thus, the creator gave them a king to maintain law and order and punish the wicked. Thus, according to Manu, state is not an institution that evolved gradually, but was a sudden creation.

## Apart from the divine origin of the state, Manu opined that the need for the state was not out of economic needs, but out of evil intentions and uncontrollable habits of mankind. In a way, it upholds the theory of divine origin of the state.

## On Varna System: The caste system or the Varna was an essential part of the social fabric of the ancient Hindu society. He believed that the Varna’s would maintain and preserve social harmony and peace in the society. The state with a king came into existence to protect the Varna system and any failure on the part of the ruler makes him unworthy of ruling.

## A fourfold categorization of social organization derived from the Vedic hymns are Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vyshyas and Shudras. These four Varnas represent four different parts of the body of the God.

## Elaborating further, the Brahmanas rise from the head, the Kshatriyas from the arms, the Vyshyas from the thighs and the Shudras from the feet. Thus, Brahmanas occupy the highest place and they were conceived as the incarnation of the law. This supe­rior place given to Brahmanas in the social hierarchy is due to their purity and knowledge.

## Hierarchy of caste and their occupations

## The Kshatriyas enjoied the next highest position in the social hierarchy. They were expected to protect the state by their valor, offer sacrifices as well as gifts and protect the people. Manu believed that a society would be more secure if there is a harmonious rela­tion between the Brahmanas and the Kshatriyas. The Vyshyas were to be involved in trade and business, whereas the Shudras were confined to an occupation of serving the above three castes.

## According to Manu, the Varna system was not optional but had to be an integral part of the social and political set-up.

## Manu on Kingship: According to Manu, it was God, who created an entity called king to save the people of a region. Thus, kingship is of divine origin and it is this position held by the king that made the people expresses their obedience to him. Though king appears in a human form, he possesses the qualities of God.

## The king had certain qualities of Hindu Gods like

## Indra (God of War),

## Vaayu (God of Wind),

## Yama (God of Death),

## Ravi (God of Sun),

## Agni (God of Fire),

## Chandra or Moon, and

## Wealth.

## Thus, the king was described as an embodiment of eight guardians of the earth. The king, therefore, was a divine creation to promote social harmony, peace and welfare.

## Qualities of a King: The king is next best to God and he must have complete control over himself and his senses. A king was expected to control his anger, satisfy the people and govern the state with their consent rather than the use of force. The king must exhibit those qualities that naturally make citizens obey him, and he must function through pleasing manners and intelligence.

## He must overcome the six vices or the Arishadwargas, viz.;

## Kama (Lust),

## Krodha(Anger),

## Lobha (Greed),

## Moha (Attachment),

## Mada (Pride) and

## Mastcharya (Jealousy).

## If these six evils or vices are kept under con­trol, the welfare of society, according to Manu, is certain.

## Council of Ministers: The council of ministers are like the arms, eyes and ears of the king. He stated that a king without the council of ministers is like driving a chariot without wheels. An ideal number of council of ministers should not be more than seven to eight who collectively and individually assist and advise the king in the daily discharge of his duties. Apart from mere creation, The council of ministers must have certain qualities.

## The ministers were expected to have high learning skills, men from high caste by birth, good warriors with a sharp understanding of various techniques of warfare and proper comprehension of the state system and the like. A minister must prove to be an honest broker between the king and his subjects without causing any displeasure to the king..

## 

## On virtues and outcast; [Non-violence](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahimsa) towards everyone and [temperance](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Temperance_(virtue)) as key virtues. All four varnas must abstain from injuring any creature, abstain from falsehood and abstain from appropriating property of others.

## Similarly, it lists the recommended virtues to be,

## "Compassion,

## Forbearance,

## Truthfulness,

## Non-Injury,

## Self-Control,

## Not Desiring,

## Meditation,

## Serenity,

## Sweetness And

## Honesty" As Primary,

## and

## "Purification,

## Sacrifices,

## Ascetic toil,

## Gift giving,

## Vedic recitation,

## Restraining the sexual organs,

## Observances,

## Fasts,

## Silence and

## Bathing" as secondary.

## 

## On personal choices, behaviors and morals;

## Manusmriti has numerous verses on duties a person has towards himself and to others, thus including moral codes as well as legal codes. This is similar to the modern contrast between informal moral concerns to birth out of wedlock in the developed nations, along with simultaneous legal protection for children who are born out of wedlock.

## Personal behaviors covered by the text are extensive. A monk must go on his begging round, collect alms food and present it to his teacher first, then eat. One should revere whatever food one gets and eat it without disdain, but never overeat, as eating too much harms health . Work becomes without effort when a man contemplates, undertakes and does what he loves to do and when he does so without harming any creature.

## Numerous verses relate to the practice of meat eating, how it causes injury to living beings, why it is evil, and the morality of vegetarianism.  "There is no fault in eating meat, in drinking liquor, or in having sex; that is the natural activity of creatures. Abstaining from such activity, however, brings greatest rewards." in other places , allows either to dissolve the marriage. And it allows the man or the woman to get out of a fraudulent marriage or an abusive marriage, and remarry; the text also provides legal means for a woman to remarry when her husband has been missing or has abandoned her.

## It preaches [chastity](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chastity) to [widows](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Widow)  opposes a woman marrying someone outside her own social class .. In other versesit said that as a girl, she should obey and seek protection of her father, as a young woman her husband, and as a widow her son; and that a woman should always worship her husband as a god. It also declares that "women must be honored and adorned", and "where women are revered, there the gods rejoice; but where they are not, no sacred rite bears any fruit". Elsewhere, "a woman must never seek to live independently".

## Simultaneously the text presupposes numerous practices such a marriages outside varna, such as between a Brahmin man and a Shudra woman, a widow getting pregnant with a child of a man she is not married to marriage where a woman in love elopes with her man, and then grants legal rights in these cases such as property inheritance rights and the legal rights of the children so born. The text also presumes that a married woman may get pregnant by a man other than her husband, to conclude that the child's custody belongs to the woman and her legal husband, and not to the man she got pregnant with.

## Manusmriti provides a woman with property rights to six types of property. These include those she received at her marriage, or as gift when she eloped or when she was taken away, or as token of love before marriage, or as gifts from her biological family, or as received from her husband subsequent to marriage, and also from inheritance from deceased relatives.

## On statecraft and rules of war; It discusses the duties of a king, what virtues he must have, what vices he must avoid. It identifies precepts to be followed in selecting ministers, ambassadors and officials, as well as the characteristics of well fortified capital. It lays out the laws of just war, stating that first and foremost, war should be avoided by negotiations and reconciliations If war becomes necessary, a soldier must never harm civilians, non-combatants or someone who has surrendered, that use of force should be proportionate, and other rules.

## 1.5 Political thought in Thirukkural

## *Guidance for living for all human being at all the stages*

## *Great enunciator of morals*

## *A political philosopher*

## Introduction:

## Thirukkural was the icon of intellectual tradition of Tamil Society. The Kural being referred to as “Divine” or “Thiru”, it is a literary masterpiece on morality composed by a man, Thiruvalluvar, for the betterment and happiness of all mankind, regardless of age, gender, race, religion, nationality and language.

## Thiruvalluvar is one of the most celebrated poets in Tamil Nadu who wrote *Thirukkural* in the form of couplets, a highly regarded ethical work in Tamil literature.

## Though its period of composition is unknown, it is considered to be more than two thousand years old. It is respected by the Tamils irrespective of their religions, and has been quoted by all the sections of Tamil society irrespective of their castes and cultures. If *Thirukkural* is closely read, it reflects the ‘siddhar’ tradition, which is saintly, one who practices selfless life. *Thirukkural* is an ancient non-religious literature .

## The Thirukkural (or the Kural) is a collection of 1330 couplets organized into 133 chapters. There are three broad sections presented in the Kural, namely Aram (righteousness or dharma), Porul (wealth or artha) and Inbam (love or kama). The Kural encompasses the totality of human life via these three sections, providing a comprehensive guideline to the art of living. The values, wisdom, knowledge and emotions embedded in the Kural are truly unparalleled, which begs the question of the true identity of its author. Truly the author, Thiruvalluvar, must have been a master of all sorts; dutiful son, faithful husband, disciplining father, spiritual guru, political strategist, true friend, exemplary philanthropist, excellent orator, and extremely knowledgeable.

## Dharma

## The first part of the Kural, Aram (dharma), deals with various aspects of leading a righteous domestic life and ascetic life (if one chooses to do so). According to Valluvar, dharma is a simple and straightforward concept:

## Righteousness

## “*Righteousness is all about removing the four flaws – envy, desire, anger and harsh words.*”

## Removing the negativity within oneself and imbibing the positive values in one’s life is what dharma is all about. Love, compassion, use of pleasant words, having good conduct, forbearance and honesty are the positive qualities that one should cultivate and maintain in order to erase blemishes from one’s mind. Aside from providing us with the virtues associated with living a happy domestic life, Valluvar also describes the qualities to cultivate if one was to choose to take up asceticism. According to Valluvar, following an ascetic way of life is optional and even if one were to follow such a life style, one would still have to eliminate the blemishes of his mind and pursue the positive qualities mentioned above. Therefore, this section is testament to the position that Valluvar was most likely a Hindu, following the values and principles prescribed by the scriptures of Sanatana Dharma.

## Monarchy

## The second part of the Kural deals with Porul, or “wealth” as translated in English. During Valluvar’s time period, the type of government that was prevalent was monarchy. Therefore, the context of this section is to be considered as suitable for an emperor. For example, the first couplet of this section describes the qualities of a ruler:

## Qualities Of A Ruler

## “*The military, citizenry, resources, advisers, friends and fortresses: who owns these six is a lion amongst kings.*”

## Wealth is the base for life

## Valluvar’s economic and political views are applicable even in the modern context today, probably in the form of management training, leadership workshops, human resource management training and so on. According to Valluvar, life is worth living and gathering wealth is essential for life:

## Wealth through Daharma

## Gathering wealth is essential for life

## “*Accumulate wealth; it will destroy the arrogance of your foes; there is no weapon sharper than that.*”

## Gathering wealth through honest and righteous means is strongly emphasized by Valluvar. In fact, Valluvar is very strong in his position regarding unrighteousness or adharma:

## No immoral way of living

## Adharma

## “*One should not act in a way the wise men would condemn even if one’s mother is starving.*”

## Helping needy is the role of wealth

## According to Valluvar, gathering a vast amount of wealth is not an end in itself. It is only the means to achieve a noble purpose; sharing your wealth with the deserving and the needy. Beneficence is the purposing of earning and amassing money, and those who fail to share their food (or wealth) despite having more than enough are worse than beggars in Valluvar’s view:

## Wealth

## “*Amassing a lot of wealth and eating alone without sharing, is worse than the act of asking for alms.*”

## Love is base for life

## Love

## “*Love is the quintessence of life; without it, a man is but a frame of bones covered with skin.*”

## If one wants to enjoy love in his life, he first needs to accumulate wealth. But if he wants the wealth to last, he needs to accumulate wealth in a righteous manner. By way of presenting dharma, artha and kama, the Kural has very diligently and brilliantly embodied the pursuit of human goals.

## The Kural is over 2000 years old and it exhibits the unique traits and cultural values of the Tamil people during the Sangam period under the rule of the Pandiyans. The Kural should not be compared to other scriptures, since it is not at all a scripture to begin with. If the Bhagavad Gita is a scripture presented by the God for man, and if the Thiruvasagam is a hymn written by man for the God, then the Thirukkural is a “scripture” written by man for man.

## 1.5 Political Ideas Thiruvalluvar

## In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar was a great enunciator of morals; In Inbathupal, he has become a poet and in Porutpal, he is known to be a political philosopher.

## Ancient Political Ideas Thiruvalluvar

## In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar was a great enunciator of morals; In Inbathupal, he has become a poet and in Porutpal, he is known to be a political philosopher. The political philosophy of Thiruvalluvar is applicable across times even today.

## Seven Parts in Porutpal

## Porutpal consists of 7 parts, further it has 70 verses / couplets. They are Politics-25, Ministry-10, Defence-2, Wealth-1, Army-2, Friendship-17, and citizens-13 respectively.

## “An army, people, wealth, a minister, friends, fort; six things Who owns them all, a lion lives amid the kings” (Kural: 381)

## Determinants of a king

## In porutpal, at the first verse itself valluvar differentiated the six categories essential for a state. Thus, different parts of government are ministry, army, wealth, people, friendship and citizens, which determines the rule of a king. Moreover, these components are categorized for king in a separate way, thus contributing a lot of ideas regarding administration of a state and assets for a king.

## Nature of a king

## In porutpal, Valluvar mentioned about nature of a king in detailed manner in 25 chapters starting from Qualities of ruler (Iraimatchi – chapter 39) to idukkan azhaiyaamai (Unfazed in the face of trouble – chapter 63) in 25 chapters, in the name of “Arasar”, “Vender”, “Nilan Aandavar” “Mannavar” he has indicated 46 times about the king.

## Leadership qualities

## The King must possess the leadership qualities such as,

## Education (40),

## Listening Ability (42),

## Wisdom (43),

## Fending off Faults (44),

## Seeking the company of great men (45),

## Avoiding mean–minded (46)

## Rationality (47),

## Priority for time for action (51),

## Assessing and Assigning tasks (52), E

## Embracing the Kin (53),

## Doing duty without forgetting (54),

## Justice (55),

## Knowing the right place (50),

## Refraining from Terrifying Deeds (57),

## Compassion (58),

## Espionage (59),

## Spirit (60),

## To avoid laziness (61),

## Perseverance (62) and

## Determination (63)

## which should be the requisites of a king. These above-mentioned qualities may also be possessed by good people.

## Ideas on Democracy

## Valluvar lived in the period of monarchy. However, his ideas and ideals are also applicable for the present leaders of democracy. He also indicated the nature of state and government in the king’s rule. The words of Valluvar regarding government and state is applicable and suitable to all over the period as well as every organization in the world.

## Welfare state and King

## To put it in simple words, Valluvar’s political system is based on welfare state. For instance, in Iraimatchi (Qualities of a ruler), he says

## முறைசெய்து காப்பற்றும் மன்னவன மக்ட்கு இறையெனறு வைக்க படும். (குறள்: 388)

## Who guards the realm and justice strict maintains, That king as god over subject people reigns.

## If a king delivered justice by doing the duties honestly, he may be regarded as a God. Ideal path and welfare – arrived kings can be respected and kept on par with divine. This kind of view is not only applicable to monarchical period but it also applicable to present democratic period.

## Features of State

## The characteristics of a state is to maintain ethics, the eradication of wrong doing activity, mandating impartiality of justice and protection of honour.

## Kingship, in virtue failing not, all vice restrains, In courage failing not, it honour’s grace maintains.

## King’s path is the peoples’ path, king should act as a guide for his subjects, if he does harm or evil activities, it may influence all. It is because of his position as a leader, his discipline and private life will spread to all in the kingdom. Moral and ethical life is quite essential for the ruling kings. Indicating “Respect” in a broad manner relating it with nation, Valluvar gave priority for great honour which may be equated with the courage. He stressed that king must be loyal to the nation, it is the honour of nation.

## Ideal State and Welfare of people

## In the monarchical rule, the integrity and ideal governance for all periods were advocated by Valluvar. People of all regions expect rain for their growth; likewise, citizens of a nation expect integrity and ideal rule of the king.

## All earth looks up to heaven where raindrops fall; All subjects look to king that ruleth all. (Kural: 542)

## In this couplet Valluvar indicates “Kol” as ideal rule which not only applies for monarchy but also for democracy.

## Whose heart embraces subjects all, lord over mighty land Who rules, the world his feet embracing stands. (Kural: 544)

## This means that for a King, who protects his citizens with love and affection, his feet will be embraced by his subjects with love. This is an everlasting phrase propounded by Valluvar related to good governance.

## Against Tyranny

## In the chapter “Kodungonmai”, (Cruel Scepter) Valluvar explained it in negative words. The suppressive and exploitative rule of evil king may kindle unknown and indefinite agonies among the people. Those tears are most powerful and may annihilate the entire kingdom.

## His people’s tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they Sharp instrument to wear the marches wealth away. (Kural: 555)

## Sad tears of suffering citizens may dethrone and destroy the entire government, says Thiruvalluvar. Tears were equated with army, thus Valluvar’s visualization stands unique among others.

## Autocrats and Dictators like Hitler, Mussolini and Czar were the negative players for whom, Thirukkural served as a funeral sound.

## Government’s Budget

## A king should be an able handed administrator in increasing the income of government. Further he should be an expert in handling the budget.

## In Iraimatchi, he said,

## A king is be who treasure gains, stores up, defends,

## And duly for his kingdom’s weal expends. (Kural: 385)

## At first point, a king should search for the different sources of income. For this, he calls it as “Iyatral”. Then, the second point is that, all such resources should be put together, which is called as “Ettal”. Third, the resources thus collected must be protected with all precautionary measures which is called as “Kaathal”

## Fourth one, is most important (i.e) allotting the resources to various sectors for the welfare of the people, this he called it as “Vagutthal”. Thus iyatral, eetall, kaathal and vaguthal are the four ways of utilizing the income to be expertise by the king of nation. It is a primary duty of the king.

## These innovative and practical ideas were accepted by political and as well as economic exponents as the basic idea of socialistic society.

## Relevance of Thiruvalluvar

## The qualities for a king may also apply to the citizens. Thus, he used the words “Idukkan Ariyamai”, “Kalvi” for “Vazhum Uyirku”, “Maandharkku” which is for all the people.

## The political ideas advocated by Valluvar in porutpal highly circumvent around morals and noble principles.

## “People’s-we lfare” is the basic foundation of his contribution.

## To put it in a different way, Valluvar’s contribution to politics is applicable to the present democratic governance for the welfare of all the people.

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| --- | --- |
| |  | | --- | | Thirukkural on corruption (171)Now a days Corruption is being justified by the people of different fieldsFor examplePoliticians say , " We  spend crores during the election, why not  earn ?"Doctors say, " We  give more than a crore for a MD seat, why not  earn ?"Police inspectors say, " We pay  in lakhs to get a particular station, why not earn? "Corporate companies say, " We donate in crores to the political parties, why not earn ?Every corrupted person has some reason to justify. Thiruvalluvar says, Corruption or covetousness will bring disgrace not only to the person involved but also to his family .Let us see about it at the end.Corruption destroys familyCorruption or covetousness will bring disgrace to the person and his family.In the year 2007, in Japan its agricultural minister Matsuoka (62) was caught having involved  in a scandal.Unable to withstand the disgrace, he committed suicide.Syrian senior minister Ghazi committed suicide ( 2005 ) when caught in the murder of Lebanese PM.Thiruvalluvar warns that the corruption will destroy ones own family by leading to commit many more corruptions.Recently when many of the corrupted politicians were imprisoned, their family members wept in the judicial courts.Some of their  ' kith and kin '  houses were raided bringing a total disgrace to them, many went absconding.Families scattered, some of them escaped to foreign countries. What Thiruvalluvar postulated long ago came true.Kural 171 says,If a person covets others' belongings ,he will bring disgrace to the family and fall into unlimited errors.Covet = desire to possess in an unjust manner others/ Governments wealth, land , etcCovetousness  is nothing but  corruption.*in an unjust manner is  rarely used in Tamil )**The greed to obtain others belongings by illegitimate means  will bring disgrace,**Compel to commit many errors and destroy the family*.Bribery is not the only  corruption,Extortion ( illegal use of power to amass others properties)Cronyism ( favouring close friends)Nepotism ( favouring close relatives)Cartel (collectively controlling the market price for their benefits )Selling expired date products.Booth capturing in an election.Evading tax payment.Receiving illegal commissions.Misusing Government funds, properties and many more.Using the  political powers and purchasing others property for a bottom price is corruption.Using the  administrative powers and getting  a huge commission in a deal is  corruption.Using the social powers and grabbing the lands of the poor is  corruption.Using the religious powers and keeping the devotees in ignorance is  corruption.Using the police powers and eliminating an individual in a fake encounter is  corruption.Using the Muscle power and threatening the traders and collecting mamuls is  corruption.Using the Government funds to donate to  sacred places and praying for divine protection is corruption.Bhagaved Gita condemns corruption ( 16/21)" Kama ( desire in any form ), Krodha ( anger ), Lobha ( greed ) are doors to hell ".Here desire in any form is corruption.Sikhism which believes that the teaching of God  is manifested in " Guru Granth Sahib " says,Guru Govind Singh  instructed the Sikhs on 30th march 1699 to fight against corruption.Bible says, Moses the saviour of Jews, lived roughly in the twelfth century BC.Went to Mount Sinai and brought the ten commandments.One of  the commandments says, " You shall not covet."Covet means  acquiring illegally others' properties ( neighbour's wife , animals , lands,  servants etc.) | |

## =========================================================

## Major questions

1. Write an essay on the Nature of Ancient politica thought
2. Explain Vedic polity
3. What are Political thought of Kaultilya?
4. Give detail on the role of Manu in ancient politics
5. Narrate the perception of Thirukkural on the politics

## CHAPTER II

## Mideval political thought

* Nature of mideval political thought
* Impersonality
* Impact of invasion of muslims on India

## Kabir

## Sundara Das

## Thulasi Das

## Guru Nanak

## 2.1 Nature of mideval political thought:

## 1. Non- political ideology

## The medieval period has certain special features about political thought which need specific consideration. It is said that this period was un-political. Neither political theory nor any ideology developed in the middle Ages. The institutions and organizations were set up. But all these centred around religious dogmas and beliefs.

## 2. Dominaatd by the churches

## As the churches wee the most dominating institution all other institutions remained under their control. As a result, independ­ent thinking in the political arena could not flourish at all.

## Hearnshaw holds different view so far as the unproductiveness in political thought of the Middle Ages. He says that although in this period there was no political theory, worthy of its name there was political thought. What is the difference between the two? In the words of Hearnshaw “Political theory is the speculation of particular thinkers which may be remote from the actual facts of the time. Political thought is the immanent philosophy of a whole age which determines its actions and shapes its life.” There was abundant political thought in the middle Ages. The conflict between the church and the state; the relation of church to common people, learned persons, feudal landlords and students of educational institutions provided sufficient live materials for political thought.

## 3. Controlled by the feudalism

## Moreover, in the middle Ages, feudalism became one of the dominant forces and this was treated as part of political thought. So it cannot be said that the medieval period was barren or dead.

## Rather, it was live and fresh. It was full of events and numerous institutions grew. All these moulded the nature of political thought.

## 4. Universalism

## It is another feature of medieval political thought. Both in political and spiritual field’s universalism were strongly emphasized. The Romans inherited the Stoic philosophy of cosmopolitanism and the medieval period again inherited it from the Romans. The medieval thought assumed of a universal society in political matters and a universal ecclesiastical system.

## 2.2 Impersonality; Absence of human character or of the traits associated with the human character: He feared the impersonality of a mechanized world. absence or reduction of concern for individual needs or desires: the impersonality of a very large institution. lack of emotional involvement: His work reflected a certain impersonality.

## Absence or reduction of concern for individual needs or desires:*the impersonality of a very large institution.*

## Lack of emotional involvement:*His work reflected a certain impersonality.*

## Lack of a personal agent or of a known personal agent:*the impersonality of folk art.*

## The quality of not being concerned with particular persons:*the impersonality and universality of his interests.* Something that is [impersonal](https://www.dictionary.com/browse/impersonal).

## 2.3 Impact of Muslim invasion on India

## It was in the 5th to 7th centuries the Muslim conquest in the Indian subcontinent took place. Change was witnessed in almost every sphere. Indian Admisistration, Social life, religion and even in the culture of India, cuisine and art a colossal influence of Islam was witnessed. 1. On Administration: Administration of the villages during this period continued to be carried by the more or less autonomous panchayats. Babur and Humayun continued the administrative arrangements of the Sultanate period. The administrative policy and reforms formed the basis for the efficient and progressive government and administrative machinery developed by Akbar. Akbar did away entirely with one all-powerful Wazir and divided his powers and functions among four ministers of nearly equal power, rank and status. He divided his empire into twelve subahs. The subahs were further divided into sarkars and parganahs. A judicious fiscal policy was initiated and to conciliate the large non-Muslim population, religious taxes . Currency was also placed on a sound footing. With the establishment of peace and prosperity through efficient administrative machinery, there was a great development in the educational and cultural fields. The developments usually include art and architecture.

## Jahangir did not make any material changes in the system of administration, but both finance and general administration deteriorated to such an extent during his regime that his successor Shahjahan, was largely occupied in restoring stability and efficiency.

## The destructive forces

## The destructive forces had begun to undermine the edifice of the Mughal Empire during Shahjahan's regime. This happened due to his intolerance in religion gained increased momentum. Aurangzeb's abrogation of Akbar's policy of religious toleration transformed India into a strictly Islamic state. His discriminatory fiscal policy and methods of administration of justice were responsible for ever-increasing resistance on the part of the Marathas, Rajputs, Bundelas, Jats and Sikhs. These places developed into formidable powers and were in no small measure responsible for the downfall of the Mughal Empire in later days. According to the historians there was Mughal rule from past two hundred years from the accession of Akbar to the death of Muhammad Shah in the year of 1556-1749. This rule gave the whole of northern India and much of the Deccan some unique thoughts and these can be mentioned as oneness of official language, administrative system and coinage. 2. on Social Life

## Muslim rulers such as Alauddin, Firoz Tughlaq and Sikandar Lodi caused great persecution of the Hindus and inflicted many cruelties and injustices on them.

## Only Muslims were appointed on the high administrative posts at that time. The Hindus were not allowed to worship openly. They were discriminated in every matter and were considered inferior to Muslims. The Jazia tax was imposed on the Hindus.

## Originally, Brahmanas were exempted from paying this tax but Sultan Firoz Tughlaq imposed this tax upon them also. The Sultans hoped that the discriminatory treatment and economic pressure would make the bulk of the Hindus embrace Islam but this wish of theirs was not fulfilled at any point of time.

## A sense of Brotherhood

## Both Hindus and Muslims changed a lot because of the close contacts between the two over such a long period. This also brought changes in their social lives. The idea of the brotherhood of Islam and equality of its adherents had a powerful appeal for the low cases among the Hindus who were looked down upon by the people of high castes and there were large-scale conversions especially in Bengal.

## Islam minimized the importance of birth and heredity and its influence quickened in Hinduism the feelings of social equality and brotherhood.

## 3. on Hindu Caste System; The immediate result of the Muslim conquest was the rigidity of the caste system. Caste rules were framed in such a way that no loophole was left for any intrusion by outsiders who were declared Mlechchhas or untouchables at that time. But in the long run the Islamic ideas of brotherhood and equality tended to break these barriers through the teachings of religious reformers like Ramanand, Kabir, Chaitanya, Nanak, Dadu and others. 4. On the status of Women; In the royal harems of Hindu rulers, the Pardah system was rigidly enforced. The queens of Raja Rudra Pratap of Puri used to visit Chaitanya in covered palanquins. Akbar issued orders that young women should always move out only in Pardah. The evil practice of child infanticide also started due to the influence of the Muslims. Child marriage of the Hindu girls became prevalent to avoid their kidnapping by the Muslims. 5. On Slavery; Muslim rulers used to keep men and women as slaves. Alauddin Khilji had as many as 84,000 slaves. As a result of contact with the Muslim rulers the Hindu rulers also began to appoint a large number of male and female slaves in their palaces and the condition of slaves also deteriorated in this period.

## 6. On Dress and Amusements; Muslim villager of Bihar or Bengal or Punjab or U.P. wears a dress, which is indistinguishable from that of his Hindu compatriot. The pyjamas are worn by a majority of Muslims but the Hindus also wear pyjamas. The ornaments worn by women are common to both communities. Undoubtedly Achkan and Salwar owe their introduction to Muslim influence but many Hindus also wear these clothes.Hunting, hawking, chaughan (polo) and many other games became Mohammadanized in form and technique. 7. On Gardening; In gardening the Mughal rulers contributed to developing a sense of balance, harmony and precision. Many Hindu rulers imitated the plan of these gardens. Mughals were great lover of flowers and gardens and this habit was also transmitted to many Hindus. 8. On Food; The Muslims were accustomed to sumptuous dinners and sometimes as many as 100 dishes were served on their table. There is no doubt that many new preparations were introduced in Indian diet as a result of the contact of the Hindus with the Muslims. 9. On Indian Economy; Change came in the arena of Indian economy. Trade developed. An important result of the advent of Islam was the restoration of contact with the outside world. Hundreds of traders from Bukhara and Samarkand, Balkh and Khurasan, Khwarizm and Persia and also travelers from Europe poured into India.

## The Mughal government facilitated and fostered commercial relations with European nations and also allowed them to establish their factories in coastal towns. This resulted not only in commercial contacts but also in an exchange of ideas, customs, and traditions and even led to a quickening of contemporary local thought. During the two hundred years of Mughal rule towns and cities prospered while the peasants in the villages suffered from excessive taxation and from oppressive measures of collection.

## They were often compelled to abandon the country and seek a more tolerable mode of existence in the towns. In the imperial karkhanas luxury goods of great value and beauty were produced but the workers were often paid low wages.

## 10. On Education and Learning; The famous universities and centers of learning had grown stagnant before the advent of the Muslim rule. The Muslim conquerors introduced a new system of education through the media of Arabic and Persian but in spite of the establishment of a large number of madrasas they served only a small section of the people. The non-Muslim majority was not admitted to these institutions. It was only during Sikandar Lodi's rule that the Hindus connected with the courts of Muslim rulers commenced to study Persian literature. Hindu and Muslim represent two different cultures, world views and way of life. Islamic and Hindu traditions have interacted, synthesised and also remained insulated.

## These are

## (1) the duration of Islamic rule in India

## (2) during the British domination and

## (3) during the Indian freedom movement upto India’s independence and the country’s partition.

## The first stage is marked by conflict, tension, adaptation and cultural syncretism between the Hindu and Islamic tradition. The Muslim rulers carried out religious warfare (Jihad) with the help of Ulemas.

## Muslims also assimilated many Hindu practices. On the other hand Indian society and culture was influenced by Islamic tradition to a very large extent. The impact of Islam on Indian culture was both negative and positive aspects of the impact of Islam on Indian society.

## They write, “Islam was indirectly responsible for making Hindu society caste-ridden and exclusive. The Hindu woman was veiled and Sati was made more strict. Child marriage became more popular.”

## 11. Religious Impact: Islam brought to India a conception of human equality, pride in one’s religion, a legal system which was in many ways an advance on the codes of the time Hindu rulers were influenced to work as the upholders of Hindu religion..

## In due course, these ideas began to have a conscious or unconscious effect upon the philosophical Hindu mind and fostered the growth of liberal movements under religious reformers.

## The presence of Islam paved the way for the growth of the Bhakti cult. The saints and reformers of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries like Kabira, Nanak and Srichaitanya preached fundamental equality of all religions. However, medieval Bhakti cult was in some ways a reply to the attack of Islam on Hinduism.

## 12. Impacts on Upper Class Hindu: Rich Hindu classes were influenced by the Mohammedan dress, etiquette, recreation and other activities. The art of warfare was also influenced and developed as result of Islamic contact. Food of Muslims like Biryani, Kabab and Palan etc. were adopted by the Hindus.

## 13. On Music: Indian music and musical instruments were also influenced by Islam. Indian musical instruments were modified and new instruments were produced The Tab la was produced by modification of Hindu musical instrument, Mridanga. Indian Veena was combined with Iranian Tambura and Sitatar was produced.

## A fusion of Hindu and Iranian systems of music led to the evolution of light songs like quwwalis. Different classical vocal music of India underwent radical changes as a result of the contact with Muslim singers.

## 14. On Architecture: Assimilation and synthesis between Hindu and Islamic culture led to evolution of new styles of architecture. According to Dr. Tarachand, “The craftsmanship, ornamental richness and general design remained largely Hindu, the arcaded form, plain doms, smooth-faced walls and spacious interiors were Muslim impositions.”In the field of architecture new styles started of which Red Fort, Jama Masjid, Qutab Minar, Taj Mahal etc. are the living examples.

## 15. On Art and Craft: New art and crafts were introduced in the country; for example, paper-making, enamellings, metals and jewels etc. Many workshops were setup-for gold and silver articles and embroidery. The Mughal rulers, except Aurangzeb, patronised architecture, fine art and paintings. Under Jahangir painting received considerable fillip.

## 16. On Language and Literature: Hindu-Muslim contact led to linguistic synthesis. Urdu is the outcome of a mixture of Persian, Arabic and Turkish words and of ideas with the concepts and languages of Sanskrit origin. The Urdu became language of the people. The Hindi language was also influenced by Muslim contact. This is distinct in vocabulary, grammar, similes and styles. Literature in India was influenced by the Turko-Afghans to a large extent. Books like Hassan Nizami’s Taj-ul-Moa’ Sir, Qazi Minhaz-us-Siraj’s Tabakat-i-Nasiri etc. influenced the Hindus. Many good works were composed and written in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati and Marathi etc. Many Arabized Persian language words found their way into the local languages.

## Long association brought the two distinct groups of the Hindus and Muslims closer and closer with the result that the evolution of the Hindu culture was coloured with the Islamic thing. But the Hindu culture in its own turn influenced the Islamic elements. It is a fact that the Hindus and the Muslims have contributed to the evolution of common cultural heritage in India.

## Negatiave aspects of Muslims Invasion to India

## To fortify their position against the propagation and spread of Islam, the Hindus introduced of many social taboos and caste rules were made rigid. Under the impact of Islam continuous progress disappeared from the life of Hindus.

## 1. The Purda System: Islam and Muslim rule seriously affected the position of Indian women. The birth of a girl was looked upon as an inauspicious event. Consequently, female infanticide spread widely among the Hindu.

## This was also adopted by the Hindus in order to avoid the risk of losing their chastity by the Muslims. The Purda System, the seclusion of women from men, unknown in early days of Hindu rule, was introduced in the Hindu society. Women generally lived in seclusion in sphere of their homes.

## 2. Child Marriages and Sati System: Child marriage was introduced in society. Gradually, child marriage was enforced. Early marriage of the Hindu girls to avoid their knapping by the Muslims became the custom. System of Sati was another social evilof this period. During Muslim rule the inhuman practice of Sat, was started. Women were expected to observe strict fidelity in their conjugal life.

## The condition of the Hindu women deteriorated considerably. Dependence of women on their male relatives or husbands became the prominent feature of the Hindu society.

## 3. Slavery:An unhealthy feature of social life that crept into Hindu society due to Muslims was slavery. Slavery was common in the Muslim tradition. It was a practice among the Sultans. Amirs and nobles to keep both men and women slaves. This influenced the Hindu chiefs to keep slaves. Hence, slavery appeared, in India due to Muslims.

## 4. More Rigid Caste System:The missionary zeal of Islam which aimed at converting the Hindus to Muslims compelled the Hindus to be orthodox in outlook and practice to protect their religion and culture from the onslaught of Islam.

## Hence attempts were made to make caste rules more rigorous and daily rules of conduct more rigid. Restrictions regarding caste and marriage had become more stringent among the Hindus. New rules with regard to caste and marriage were also prescribed.

## 5. Conversions: When Hindu society became more rigid and conservative, the miseries of lower castes increased to a large extent. Due to this reason lower caste Hindus particularly the untouchables converted to Islam.

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## 6. Cultural influence;The divide and rule policies, two-nation theory, and subsequent partition of India in the wake of Independence from the British Empire has polarised the sub-continental psyche, making objective assessment hard in comparison to the other settled agricultural societies of India from the North West. Muslim rule differed from these others in the level of assimilation and syncretism that occurred. They retained their identity and introduced legal and administrative systems that superseded existing systems of social conduct and ethics. While this was a source of friction it resulted in a unique experience the legacy of which is a Muslim community strongly Islamic in character while at the same time distinctive and unique among its peers.

## The impact of Islam on Indian culture has been inestimable. It permanently influenced the development of all areas of human endeavour –

## Language,

## Dress,

## Cuisine,

## All the art forms,

## Architecture and

## Urban design, and

## Social customs and

## Values. Conversely,

## The languages of the

## Muslim invaders were modified by contact with local languages, to Urdu, which uses the Arabic script. This language was also known as Hindustani, an umbrella term used for the vernacular terminology of Hindi as well as Urdu, both major languages in South Asia today derived primarily from Sanskrit grammatical structures and vocabulary.

## Muslim rule saw a greater urbanisation of India and the rise of many cities and their urban cultures. The biggest impact was upon trade resulting from a common commercial and legal system extending from Morocco to Indonesia. This change of emphasis on mercantilism and trade from the more strongly centralised governance systems further clashed with the agricultural based traditional economy and also provided fuel for social and political tensions.

## A related development to the shifting economic conditions was the establishment of Karkhanas, or small factories and the import and dissemination of technology through India and the rest of the world. The use of ceramic tiles was adopted from architectural traditions of Iraq, Iran, and Central Asia. Rajasthan's blue pottery was a local variation of imported Chinese pottery. There is also the example of Sultan Abidin (1420–70) sending Kashmiri artisans to Samarqand to learn book-binding and paper making. Khurja and Siwan became renowned for pottery, Moradabad for brass ware, Mirzapur for carpets, Firozabad for glass wares, Farrukhabad for printing, Sahranpur and Nagina for wood-carving, Bidar and Lucknow for bidriware, Srinagar for papier-mache, Benaras for jewellery and textiles, and so on. On the flip-side encouraging such growth also resulted in higher taxes on the peasantry.

## Education

## Numerous Indian scientific and mathematical advances and the Hindu numerals were spread to the rest of the world and much of the scholarly work and advances in the sciences of the age under Muslim nations across the globe were imported by the liberal patronage of Arts and Sciences by the rulers. The languages brought by Islam were modified by contact with local languages leading to the creation of several new languages, such as Urdu, which uses the modified Arabic script, but with more Persian words. The influences of these languages exist in several dialects in India today.

## Architeuture

## Islamic and Mughal architecture and art is widely noticeable in India, examples being the Taj Mahal and Jama Masjid. At the same time, Muslim rulers destroyed most of the ancient Indian architectural marvels and converted them into Islamic structures, most notably at Varanasi, Mathura, Ayodhya and the Kutub Complex in New Delhi.

## The entry of Rajputs in central region of what is today Nepal were easily assisted by Khas Malla rulers who had developed a large feudatory state covering more than half of the Greater Nepal.The Hindu immigrants including Rajputs were mixed into the Khas society quickly as a result of much resemblance. Also, the Magar tribesmen of the Western region of what is today Nepal welcomed the immigrant Rajput chiefs with much cordiality.

**Medieval IndiaBhakthi Movements**

## Kabir

## Sundara Das

## Thulasi Das

## Guru Nanak

**2.4 Political thought of Kabir:**

* *Never married and led a celibate's life*
* *He was threatened by both Hindus and Muslims for his views*
* *Agaisnt all forms of discrimination*

## The year of Kabir's birth and death is still unclear. Some historians favor 1398–1448 as the period Kabir lived.

. It is said he was the son of a Hindu widow, who in order to hide her shame left the baby by the side of the tank in Banaras. Where from he was picked up by a Muslim weaver named Niru. From his childhood itself Kabir was a meditative child.

## Kabir is become the first disciple of the Bhakti poet-saint Swami Ramananda in Varanasi, known for devotional Vaishnavism. Kabir never married and led a celibate's life..

## He was a prominent saint of the Bhakti movement in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries northern India. He was Indian mystic poet and saint, whose writings, according influenced Hinduism's Bhakti movement. Many Hindu sects consider him as a reformer and great Bhakt. During his lifetime, he was threatened by both Hindus and Muslims for his views. Kabir was neither a Brahmin nor a Dalit – he was a Julaha – a Backward Muslim. Even today, Julahas have been categorized as backward-class Muslims. Kabir considered Julaha as his prime identity.

## Against idolatry ceremony

Kabir did not believe in extreme asceticism and abstractions from the world. He condemned idolatry and useless ceremonies. He believed in the equality of man and declared that before the high throne of God all were equal. He preached a religion of love which aimed at promoting unity amongst all castes and creeds. In fact he was the first saint who tried to reconcile Hinduism and Islam. Kabir was not interested in organising any religion.

**Popularizing Bhakti**

He merely wanted to popularize the current ideas of Bhakti., “The main aim of the teaching of Kabir was to find a modus vivendi,an acceptable means of reconciling the different castes and the religious communities of northern India.

**Abolision of caste sytem**

Abolism of the caste system as well as the antagonism of the religions based on blind superstition or on the selfish interest of the minority exploiting the ignorance of otherswas his wish . He also desired to establish social and religious peace among the people who lived together, but who were divided on the basis of religion.

**Good from two religions**

Kabir made an attempt at a fusion of Islamic mysticism, having as its object a loving devotion to a single God, and Hindu traditions”. He admired whatever was good in the two cults and condemned whatever was dogmatic irrespeactive o religion either the Hindu or Islam. He is not the supporter of any religion

**Root of all gods are the same**

The different appellations of God, are only ex­pressions of one and the same truth. He said: all ornaments of gold are made of a unique substance. Similarly all the Gods are originated from the same root.

## Political thought of Kabir

## Kabir did not believe in extreme asceticism and abstractions from the world. He condemned idolatry and useless ceremonies. He believed in the equality of man and declared that before the high throne of God all were equal. He preached a religion of love which aimed at promoting unity amongst all castes and creeds. In fact he was the first saint who tried to reconcile Hinduism and Islam. Kabir was not interested in organising any religion.

## 1. Alternative society

## His political ideas was an alternative society of his time. His critique of state, particularly of judicial and revenue administration, his utopia of Begumpura, of an ideal village polity without any private property, taxation and injustice, his secularism premised on monotheism and syncretism with the absence of critique of patriarchy or his idea of gender equality needs to be explained. His praxis in private and public domain which were fused, not separate, also requires to be analyzed in the backdrop of his ideas. Both, the ideas and the praxis, revolutionary in nature thus, represented the avant-garde of subalterneity of his time.

## Kabir suggested that True God is with the person who is on the path of righteousness, and thus considered all creatures on earth as his own self, and was passively detached from the affairs of the world.

## 3. Philosophy; Some commentators suggest Kabir's philosophy to be a syncretic synthesis of Hinduism and Islam, but scholars widely state that this is false and a misunderstanding of Kabir.He adopted their terminology and concepts, but vigorously criticized them both. He questioned the need for any holy book, as stated in Kabir Granthavali as follows:

## Against any discrimination The discourse on the political ideas of Kabir needs to be looked at the backdrop of 15-century Banaras in north India with

## The prevalent hegemonic culture and ideology of elite,

## Of its state structure,

## Taxation, technology,

## Of its caste,

## Class,

## Religious,

## Gender dominance and

## of protest movements of the subaltern in different forms.

## The elite, reacted against this upward mobility of subaltern. Kabir, himself a weaver and the vendor of his products in the textile market of Banaras, was critical of this feudal reaction and discrimination by the elite. His universal categories and monotheistic praxis were intended to transcend the social divide of his time.

## Besides it, freedom to be heretics, critical of existing order or searching for social alternatives was not only frowned upon but was also dealt with coercively, if it was persisted with. In such a situation, Kabir broke away from the traditions, defied it, was critical of the state, of elite, of clergy, and suggested the political alternatives of his time in Begumpura.

## Equqliy of man

## His political utopia, the Begum-pura, the kingdom of god, was an ideal village society without any sorrow, private property, taxes, monarchy or social hierarchy. It was a land of saintly people without any

## fear,

## greed,

## caprice,

## crime and

## scarcity.

## There was no distinction and discrimination premised on any primodialities of caste, religion and gender. It was a rationale and humane society.

## The Utopia was to be constructed through bhakti, i.e., through collective participation of people in decision making and in social construction which necessitates breakoff from the prevalent social-economic divisions. The monotheism (muwahid) that he had envisaged preset this condition. It was the ideological avantagarde for social change; and its believers, the bhakts, were vanguards of Begumpura. It reflected, in praxis, the freedom of religious expression premised on equality without any religious divide and internal hierarchical order. It manifested into syncretism of ideas and secularization of bhakt personified by Kabir himself.

## Kingdom of God

## His Begumpura had emerged out of his critical observation of society, of the functioning of the State, of clergy and its linkages with the elite that perpetuated propertied relations and social divisions. This reflects in his critique of the revenue administration which can be cited[13] here.

## “Both the cases reflect the oppression of the poor by the State and its linkages with the elite. It also reflects the situation of helplessness for them. Kabir, therefore, invokes God to protect them. His Begumpura was an imagined, ideal polity, the kingdom of God, that had no State, no elite, no corruption and no surplus extraction. It was premised on justice, equality and freedom.

## Feudal partirchal society

## Kabir, however, as critics have argued was uncritical of patriarchy. Or, there was an absence of gender equality in his discourse. At best, there was glorification of an ideal wife within the patriarchal values Kabir, protests against the patriarchy for not recognizing the woman’s labor within the households by glorifying the ideal wife. The feudal- patriarchal society treated the woman’s labour within the private domain or even in public domain as inconsequential, of no importance. It did not command merit and premium. The recognition of work of wife in the private domain was antidote to the feudal- patriarchal values. It was revolutionary in the 15th Century.

## No incarnation of God

## Kabir represents the organic, sub-altern intellect of radical intent. His Begumpura was a rupture from the past. It was the land of freedom and plenty. The sovereignty of the people over temporal and spiritual was final. He rejected the sovereignty of the monarch or refused to accept him as the incarnation of god.

## He constantly endeavored to subvert the authority of the elite and of its culture that fostered dominance. But, for the oppressed, he was inclusive in spirit. His emancipatory cultural movement and its Utopia represented the alternative political ideas of his age.

**2.5 Sundardas (1596—1689):**

* Sprritual teacher
* Social reformer
* Philosopher

## Sunderdas  was a noted saint, poet, philosopher and social reformer of [medieval India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medieval_India). He was a disciple of [Dadu Dayal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadu_Dayal). Sunderdas was born in 1596 in [Dausa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dausa) in [Rajasthan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rajasthan) state in India. Sant Sunderdas composed about 48 books. He is revered as the Sankaracharya of [Hindi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindi) literature, and is popularly known as Sant Kavi Sunderdas.

**Easy way for salvation**

He spent most of his early childhood with Dadu at Naraina, and soon gained popularity as a great poet and a saint. He returned to his home in 1603 after the death of Dadu and spent the rest of the life spreading the religion of Bhakti taught by Dadu.

He spent the later part of his life in travels and visited numerous places in Rajputana and Punjab.

The reputation of Sundardas rests on his work Sundarvilasa, In this work he deals with the six philosophic systems of the Hindus and emphasises their inadequacy in securing salvation of man. He insisted on the teachings of Dadu as an easy way for salvation.

## Political thought of Sundara Das

## The Blessings of Having A Spiritual Teacher, by Sant Sundar Das

## Without a Teacher there can be no knowledge of Truth, No meditation and no enquiry into Reality. Without him, where is love, where affection, Good conduct and satisfaction? The Guru alone helps true reasoning; He produces light in the intellect. Without him, doubts abide, illusion prevails. There is no path without a Teacher. Thus, O Sundar, do the Vedas teach.

## Abide in the presence of the one Who gives his whole heart to God, Who delights in nought else; From whom knowledge and love Flow like a limpid stream. Sundar says: Love him and remain with Him, And you will become as he is.

## -- Sant Sundar Das (One of the greatest Hindi poets and a God-realized Saint .

## "Indian Mystic Verse", Translated by H.P. Shastri, published by Shanti Sadan -- The poems in this anthology collected and translated by Dr. Hari Prasad Shastri, represent the great tradition of mystical poets of India and Persia, many of who are here introduced to Western readers for the first time. More than 300 mystical poems were drawn chiefly from Hindi and Urdu sources. This collection brings together two great traditions of mystic poetry. Most of the 43 poets represented, like Kabir, Nanak, Nazir and Tulsidas, were steeped in spiritual thought. They sing of their own experience and their one aim is to awaken the 'sleeping divinity' in the hearts of their hear

**2.6 Political thought of Tulsidas (1532—1623):**

* *Humanist and Universalist*
* *Rama is the only god*
* *Incarnation of valmiki*

Thulsidas was a humanist and universalist. Tulsidas tries to reconcile and assimilate various cultures and tenets of Hinduism. He wrote in accordance with different scriptures – the Vedas, Puranas, Tantra, Upayedas and Smriti.

## Incarnation of Valmiki

## He is believed by many to be a rebirth of [Valmiki](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valmiki). In the Hindu scripture [*Bhavishyottar Purana*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhavishya_Purana), the god [Shiva](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shiva) tells his wife [Parvati](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parvati) how Valmiki, who got a boon from Hanuman to sing the glory of Rama in vernacular language, will incarnate in future in the [Kali Yuga](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kali_Yuga)

## The literary worth of Tulsidas has been highligthed by Acharya Ram Chandra he has elaborated Tulsi's Lokmangal as the doctrine for social upliftment which made this great poet immortal and comparable to any other in world literature.

## Tulsidas was acclaimed in his lifetime to be a reincarnation of [Valmiki](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Valmiki), the composer of the original Ramayana in Sanskrit. He is also considered to be the composer of the [Hanuman Chalisa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanuman_Chalisa), a popular devotional hymn dedicated to [Hanuman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanuman),the monkey god and divine devotee of lord Rama.

## It is named for Tulsidas who lived there while he wrote the Ramcharitmanas. It can be said without reservation that Tulsidas is the greatest to write in the Hindi language. Tulsidas was a Brahmin by birth and was believed to be a reincarnation of the author of the Sanskrit Ramayana, Valmiki.

## This Awadhi version of Ramayana, like many translations of the original Sanskrit Ramayana, is read and worshipped with great reverence in many Hindu homes in northern India. It is an inspiring book that contains sweet couplets in beautiful rhyme called chaupai. Vinaya Patrika is another important book written by Tulsidas.

## Goswami Tulsidas

## A composer of several popular works, he is best known as the author of the epic Ramcharitmanas, a retelling of the Sanskrit Ramayana in the vernacular Awadhi. He was acclaimed in his lifetime to be a reincarnation of Valmiki, the composer of the original Ramayana in Sanskrit. He is also considered to be the composer of the Hanuman Chalisa, a popular devotional hymn dedicated to Hanuman, the divine devotee of Rama. Tulsidas spent most of his life in the city of Varanasi. The Tulsi Ghat on the Ganges River in Varanasi is named after him.

## New veda

## Tulsidas is considered a Prophet of Hinduism. His work, the Rāmacaritamānasa, purportedly dictated by God, was the new Veda for the Kalyug.

## Salvation by deed

## This new Veda teaches that salvation is achieved not by sacrifices, rituals, or intense yoga, but by simple devotion to Ram (God) and by doing good service to every living being.

## . In Ram Charit Manas, Tulsi Das makes an exposition of religious devotion of the highest order.

## Tulsi Das was a humanist and Universalist and laid stress upon

## Knowledge,

## Devotion,

## Worship and

## Mediation.

## He has blended in his work the philosophical monist of the past with stress on Bhakti, the poetry and dignity of Valmiki’s Ramayana with the devotional fervour and humanism of Bhagvata.

## Rama is the only God

## Rama was a personal and supreme God to Tulsidas, which had feeling of compassion for the humanity which suffered. Rama is one God; It is Rama, creator of heaven and earth and redeemer of mankind….For the sake of his faithful people a very god, Lord Rama, became incarnate as a king and for our sanctification lived as it were; the life of any ordinary man.”

## According to J. E. Carpenter “Tulsi Das starts from the fun­damental conception of philosophical theology, the ethical Brahman, passionless,’ formless, without attributes and yet possessing the fundamental quality of goodnessin still bolder speech, at once the sum and the negation of all quali­ties self, same in all time-past, present, and to come.

## Though Tulsi Das did not start any new sect or advocate any new doctrine, yet by his own pure life and the magic of his poetry he rendered great service to the Bhakti-marga.

## Emancipation (mukti) from the burden of birth and rebirth, and the highest happiness. Tulsi, as a Smarta [Brahmin](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Brahmin), venerates the whole Hindu pantheon, and is especially careful to give [Shiva](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Shiva) or Mahadeva, the special deity of the Brahmins, his due, and to point out that there is no inconsistency between devotion to Rama and attachment to Shiva . But the practical end of all his writings is to inculcate bhakti addressed to Rama as the great means of salvation and emancipation from the chain of births and deaths, a salvation which is as free and open to men of the lowest caste as to Brahmins.

## According to a traditional account, Hanuman went to Valmiki numerous times to hear him sing the Ramayana, but Valmiki turned down the request saying that Hanuman being a monkey was unworthy of hearing the epic.After the victory of Rama over [Ravana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ravana), [Hanuman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanuman) went to the Himalayas to continue his worship of Rama. There he scripted a play version of the Ramayana called *Mahanataka* or *Hanuman Nataka* engraved on the Himalayan rocks using his nails. When Valmiki saw the play written by Hanuman, he anticipated that the beauty of the *Mahanataka* would eclipse his own Ramayana. Hanuman was saddened at Valmiki's state of mind and, being a true [bhakta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhakta) without any desire for glory, Hanuman cast all the rocks into the ocean, some parts of which are believed to be available today as *Hanuman Nataka*. After this, Valmiki was instructed by Hanuman to take birth as Tulsidas and compose the Ramayana in the vernacular.

## Darshan of Rama

## As per Priyadas' account, Tulsidas followed the instruction of Hanumana and started living in an Ashram at [Ramghat](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chitrakoot_Dham_(Karwi)#Ramghat) in Chitrakuta. One day Tulsidas went to perform the [Parikrama](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parikrama_(religious_practice)) (circumambulation) of the [Kamadgiri](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chitrakoot_Dham_(Karwi)#Kamadgiri) mountain. He saw two princes, one dark and the other fair, dressed in green robes pass by mounted on horsebacks. Tulsidas was enraptured at the sight, however he could not recognise them and took his eyes off them. Later Hanuman asked Tulsidas if he saw Rama and his brother [Lakshmana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lakshmana) on horses. Tulsidas was disappointed and repentful.

## Hanuman assured Tulsidas that he would have the sight of Rama once again the next morning. Tulsidas recalls this incident in a song of the *Gitavali* and laments how "his eyes turned his own enemies" by staying fixed to the ground and how everything happened in a trice. On the next morning, Wednesday, the new-moon day of Magha, Vikram 1607 as per some sources, Rama again appeared to Tulsidas, this time as a child. Tulsidas was making sandalwood paste when a child came and asked for a sandalwood [Tilaka](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tilaka) (a religious mark on the forehead). This time Hanuman gave a hint to Tulsidas and he had a full view of Rama. Tulsidas was so charmed that he forgot about the sandalwood. Rama took the sandalwood paste and put a Tilaka himself on his forehead and Tulsidas' forehead before disappearing. This famous incidence is described in the verse .

## In a verse in the *Vinayapatrika*, Tulsidas alludes to a certain "miracle at Chitrakuta", and thanks Rama for what he did for him at Chitrakuta. Some biographers conclude that the deed of Rama at Chitrakuta referred to by Tulsidas is the Darshan of Rama.

## Social upliftment;

## The philosophy and principles of Tulsidas are found across his works, and are especially outlined in the dialogue between Kakbhushundi and [Garuda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Garuda) in the Uttar Kand of the Ramcharitmanas.  Tulsidas' doctrine has been described as an assimilation and reconciliation of the diverse tenets and cultures of Hinduism. At the beginning of the Ramcharitmanas, Tulsidas says that his work is in accordance with various scriptures – the [Puranas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Purana), [Vedas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Veda), [Upavedas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedas#Upaveda), [Tantra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tantra) and [Smriti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smriti).

## Ram Chandra Shukla in his critical work *Hindi Sahitya Ka Itihaas* elaborates on Tulsidas' *Lokmangal* as the doctrine for social upliftment which made this great poet immortal and comparable to any other world littérateur.

## Sant Tulsidas was a mahatma whose heart melted in the white heat of love for God, whose pure, home-spun, and simple longing for God was to show direction not only to a few individuals, but to humankind at large; not only to one particular nation, but also across all borders; not only for a decade or two, but for centuries. Such saints do not direct just a small number of persons but wake up the divine consciousness in all humanity.

## Nirguna and Saguna Brahman

## Verses from Ramcharitmanas equating the Saguna Brahman and Nirguna Brahman, at the entrance of a temple in [Bhopal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhopal).

## As per Tulsidas, the [Nirguna Brahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nirguna_Brahman) (quality-less impersonal absolute) and [Saguna Brahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saguna_Brahman) (personal God with qualities) are one and the same. It is the devotion (Bhakti) of the devotee that forces the Nirguna Brahman which is quality-less, formless, invisible and unborn, to become Saguna Brahman with qualities.

## Tulsidas holds both aspects of God to be equal, he favours the qualified Saguna aspect and the devotees of the highest category in the Ramcharitmanas repeatedly ask for the qualified Saguna aspect of Rama to dwell in their mind. Some authors contend from a few couplets in Ramcharitmanas and Vinay Patrika that Tulsidas has vigorously contradicted the denial of Avatar by [Kabir](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabir).

## In several of his works, Kabir had said that the actual *Rama* is not the son of [Dasharatha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dasharatha). In the Balkand of Ramcharitmanas, Shiva tells Parvati – those who say that the Rama whom the Vedas sing of and whom the sages contemplate on is different from the Rama of Raghu's race are possessed by the devil of delusion and do not know the difference between truth and falsehood. However, such allusions are based on interpretations of the text and do not hold much water when considered in the context of Ramcharitmanas. Tulsidas, in none of his works, has ever mentioned [Kabir](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kabir).

## The name of Rama

## Verses from Ramcharitmanas at the beginning of *Nam-vandana* (Extolling the name of Rama), at the Manas Mandir, Chitrakoot, India.

## At the beginning of the Ramcharitmanas, there is a section devoted to the veneration of the name of Rama. As per Tulsidas, repeating the name of Rama is the only means to attain God in the Kali age where the means suited for other ages like meditation, [Karma](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karma), and [Puja](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puja_(Hinduism)) are ineffective. He says in Kavitavali that his own redemption is because of the power, glory and majesty of the name of Rama.

## Tulsidas says that wishing for liberation without refuge in the name of Rama is like wishing to climb to the sky by holding on to the falling rain. In his view, the name of Rama is greater than both Nirguna and Saguna aspects of God – it controls both of them and is illuminates both like a bilingual interpreter. The Nirguna Brahman resides in his heart, the Saguna Brahman resides in his eyes and the name of Rama resides on his tongue, as if a radiant gemstone is kept between the lower and upper halves of a golden casket. He holds that *Rama* is superior to all other names of God, and argues that *ra* and *ma* being are the only two consonants that are written above all other consonants in the conjunct form in Sanskrit because they are the two sounds in the word *Rama*.

## Rama as Brahman

## At several places in Tulsidas' works, Rama is seen to be the higher than Vishnu and not as an [avatar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avatar) of Vishnu, which is the general portrayal of Rama.

## In the episode of the delusion of Sati in Ramcharitmanas, Sati sees many a Shiva, Brahma and Vishnu serving Rama and bowing at his feet.  When [Manu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sraddhadeva_Manu) and [Shatarupa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shatarupa) perform penance, they crave to see that Supreme Lord "from a part of whose being emanate a number of Shivas, Brahmas and Vishnus." Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva come to them many times tempting them with a boon, but Manu and Shatarupa do not stop their penance. They are finally satisfied only by the appearance of Rama, on whose left side is Sita, from a part of whom are born "countless Lakshmis, Umas (Parvatis) and Brahmanis (Sarasvatis)." In the episode of marriage of Sita and Rama in Balkand, the trio of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva is present – Brahma is astounded as he finds nowhere anything that is his own handiwork, while Vishnu is enchanted with Lakhmi on seeing Rama. In the [Sundarkand](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sundarkand), Hanuman tells Ravana that Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva can create, preserve and destroy by the might of Rama. In the Lankakand, Tulsidas presents the universe as the cosmic form of Rama, in which Shiva is the consciousness, Brahma is the reason and Vishnu is his intelligence. As per Tulsidas, Rama is not only an avatar, but also the source of avatars – Krishna is also an Avatar of Rama.  Thus, Tulsidas clearly considers Rama as supreme brahman and not an avatar of [Vishnu](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vishnu).

## In the opinion of Urvashi Soorati, the Rama of Tulsidas is an amalgamation of Vishnu who takes [avatars](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dashavatara), Vishnu in the abode of Ksheera Sagara, [Brahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brahman) and the Para manifestation of the [Pancharatra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pa%C3%B1caratra). Macfie concludes that Tulsidas makes a "double claim", i.e. Rama is an incarnation of both Vishnu and Brahman. In the words of Lutgendorf, Tulsidas' Rama is at once "Valmiki's exemplary prince, the cosmic Vishnu of Puranas, and the transcendent *brahman* of the Advaitins."

## Vedanta, World and Maya

## In the Sundarkand of Ramcharitmanas, Tulsidas says that Rama is knowable by [Vedanta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedanta). As per Tulsidas, Rama is the efficient and material cause (*Nimitta* and *Upadana*) of the world, which is real since Rama is real.  In several verses of the Ramcharitmanas, Tulsidas says that the animate and inanimate world is a manifestation of Rama, and the universe is the cosmic form of Rama. Authors interpret these verses to mean that the world is real according to Tulsidas, in keeping with the [Vishishtadvaita](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vishishtadvaita) philosophy of [Ramanuja](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramanuja).

## However, at some places in the Ramcharitmanas and Kavitavali, Tulsidas compares the world to a night or a dream and says it is *Mithya* (false or unreal). Some commentators interpret these verses to mean that in Tulsidas' opinion the world is unreal as per the *Vivartavada* doctrine of [Adi Shankara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adi_Shankara), while some others interpret them to mean that the world is transient yet real as per the *Satkhyativada* doctrine of Ramananda. Uday Bhanu Singh concludes that in Tulsidas' view, the world is essentially the form of Rama and appears to be different from Rama due to [Maya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maya_(illusion)). Its visible form is transient, which is what Tulsidas means by *Mithya*.

## In the Vinayapatrika, Tulsidas says that the world in itself is neither true (*Satya*), nor false (*Asatya*), nor both true and false together (*Satyasatya*) – one who casts aside all these three illusions, knows oneself. This has been interpreted to mean that as per Tulsidas, the entire world is a [Lila](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lila_(Hinduism)) of Rama. At the beginning of the Ramcharitmanas,

## Tulsidas performs *Samasti Vandana* (obeisance to all beings) in which he bows down to the world also, saying it is "pervaded by" or "born out of" Sita and Rama. As per some verses in Ramcharitmanas and Vinaypatrika, when a [Jiva](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jiva) (living being) knows the Self, *Maya* and Rama, it sees the world as being pervaded by Rama.

## In the Balkand episode of the marriage of the princes of Ayodhya with the princesses of Mithila, Tulsidas presents a metaphor in which the four brides are compared with the four states of consciousness – the waking state (*Jagrat*), sleep with dreams (*Swapna*), dreamless sleep (*Sushupti*) and the fourth self-conscious state ([Turiya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turiya)). The four grooms are compared with the presiding divinity ([*Vibhu*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vibhu)) of the four states – *Vishva*, *Taijasa*, *Prajna* and *Brahman*. Tulsidas says as the four states of consciousness with their presiding divinities reside in the mind of a Jiva, so the four brides with their grooms are resplendent in the same pavilion.

## Inseparable Energy

## Tulsidas identifies Maya with Sita, the inseparable energy of Rama which takes avatar along with Rama. In his view, Maya is of two types – Vidya and . *Vidya Maya* is the cause of creation and the liberation of Jiva. Avidya Maya is the cause of illusion and bondage of the Jiva. The entire world is under the control of Maya. Maya is essentially the same but the two divisions are made for cognitive purposes, this view of Tulsidas is in accordance with [Vaishnava](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vaishnava) teachers of Vedanta.

## What is the importance of the bhakti movement in general and of Tulsidas in particular? Through his works, Tulsidas set in train some important effects, pertinent to his time, without which Indian society would probably have gone into darker times.

**2.7 Political thought of Guru Nanak**

* *Prominent saint*
* *Selfless service to the community is the prime principles*
* *Founder of sikh – moralith is the vehicle to reach God*

**Guru Nanak was**  another prominent saint and the founder of the Sikh religion. He greatly appreciated the teachings of Kabir. Guru Nanak was born at village Talwandi near Lahore in 1460. From his childhood he involved in religious discussions with holy men against the wishes of his parents who wanted him to involve him in worldly things . Though he was married and had children, he paid visits to various holy places to preach spiritualism. He denounced caste distinctions and rituals like bathing in holy rivers. His conception of religion was highly practical and sternly ethical. He advocated people to give up selfish- ness, falsehood and hypocrisy and to lead a life of truth, honesty and kindness. 'Abide pure amidst the impurities of the world' his famous sayings. His life was dedicated to establishing harmony between Hindus and Muslims. His followers were called as Sikhs.

## Relevance of Guru Nanak's Teachings In the Modern World

## His teachings are very relevant in the modern world, which is presently suffering from by religious animosity,

## unbridled materialism,

## moral decline,

## superficial religiosity and

## misuse of religions and religious symbols.

## Even if you are not a Sikh, you can still apply his teachings to your daily life and benefit from them immensely, because his teachings transcend social and religious barriers and appeal to us directly as the guiding principles of an ideal human life that can bring out the best in our character and reconnect us with our source.

## Guru Nanak would have declared that a Sikh would not become a true devotee of God and followers of his teachings by just being born in a Sikh family or wearing the five Ks or visiting a Gurudwara or by superficially reciting the Adi Granth.

## More important than all these is adhering to truth,

## devotion to God,

## constantly remembering

## His name, practicing inner purity by overcoming the five enemies of

## lust,

## greed,

## attachment,

## anger and

## pride,

## cultivating selflessness and

## doing selfless service to humanity.

## To realize God you do not have to become a monk beard or long hair, or subject your body and mind to severe austerities are lead a normal and ordinary life, as a householder, just as Nanakji did, doing whatever you are interested in, but with a selfless attitude, keeping your heart and mind filled with devotion to God and dedicating life to the service of God and His creation. These are the values taught by Guru Nanak.

According to Guru Nanak man could attain salvation by doing four things—Fearing God, doing the right, trust in the mercy of his name and taking a guide to direct him upon the path which leads to the goal.

Nanak believed in God as the omnipotent reality and the human soul could attain union with him through love and devo­tion, and not by knowledge of ceremonial observance. He believed in oneness of God and the brotherhood of man. Nanak preached in the language of the people and his preaching’s became very popular during his lifetime itself. Hindus and the Muslims,were his disciples.

Though Guru Nanak did not intend to start any distinct religion of his own, but gradually his followers evolved a new reli­gion known as Sikhism, which was quite distinct from Hinduism

## Guru Nanak believed that the married life and secular business did not obstruct the spiritual progress and emancipation of man. Nanak not only visited various parts of India but also visited a number of foreign countries like Ceylon, Persia, Arabia. He is also said to have visited Mecca.

## Political thought of Guru Nanak.

## Guru is paramount in bhakti as well as in Sikhism ."

## 1. Life ideals; Accept the will of God

## The ideal that Bhakti laid down for man was to achieve personal release (moksha or mukti). In [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism) the ideal was stated in these terms: “I long not for a kingdom or for mukti but only for the lotus feet of the Lord” (In the [Sikh](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikh) faith the highest ideal is to be able cheerfully to accept the will of God (raza, bhana) and to live one’s life it its dynamic mould, to be ready to give oneself to carrying out what ought to happen. This concept of Divine Will (hukam) as well as the injunction to accept it cheerfully is peculiar to Sikhism. Also, whereas the ultimate aim of bhakti is for the individual to attain personal liberation, the Sikh ideal is well-being of all .

## 2. Modes of Worship ; Only Bhajan and Kirthan

## The modes of worship in Bhakti cults included not only bhajan (adoration) and kirtan (singing praises of the deity), but also Yogic upasana (literally, to sit beside, to meditate), Vedic sacrifices, Brahmanical ritualism and Tantric practices. Of these, Sikhism retains only bhajan and kirtan and disclaims the rest. It categorically rejects sacrificial rites. The only sacrifice it approves of is self-sacrifice for the sake of righteousness. [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism) strongly censures idol-worship. Instead, sabda (the Divine Word) is determined to be the focus of all adoration. However, as in bhakti, nam (Logos) is both the object and means of adoration of God.

## 3. Morality is the vehicle to reach Gods

## Thus, bhakti has been radically transformed and redefined in Sikhism. [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism) is in fact much wider than bhakti both in its conceptual gamut as well as in practice. For the Bhakti cults, bhakti is the be-all and end-all of everything; for Sikhism two other crucially important ends are ethical living and spiritual liberation. The cultivation of moral qualities, in Sikhism, is the requisite precondition for bhakti. “Without morality bhakti is not practicable. Moral discipline is considered a vehicle for attaining nearness to God. “It is by our deeds that we become closer to God or become distant from Him”

## 4. Bhagti with Shakti (fearlessness) in Sikhism

## While the bhagats’ sole stress was on bhakti or loving devotion, the [Gurus](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Gurus) also wanted to inculcate along with love and faith the spirit of fearlessness and valour among the [Sikhs](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikh).

## A Sikh was to “overcome all fear by cherishing the Fearless Lord” “He must not terrorize anyone, nor must he submit to anyone’s fear”. He was “to be subservient to none but the True Lord”. He was not to be a quietist ascetic but a valiant saint ready to “battle in open field” to destroy the tyrants; In their scheme of ethical dynamism the Gurus gave priority to zeal for freedom. [Sikhs](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikh) were not only given nam (Logos) as the symbol of the Formless One (which they shared with the bhaktas) but were also given kirpan (sword) as the symbol of the Fearless One. [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism), thus addressed itself to dual ideals, the other-worldly (piri) as well as this-worldly

## Further, from "History of Sikh Gurus Retold: 1606-1708 C.E" By Surjit Singh Gandhi, "Shakti in Sikhism is a part and parcel of Bhakti because the user of Shakti was required to work—even sacrifice, to see the will of God operating without any let and hindrance. In this sense Sikh Shakti is suffused with devotion to God because if it is not so, the Shakti (power) would turn out to be a power of a tyrant and not of God. A true Gurmukh or Gyani is the embodiment of Bhakti and Shakti.

## According to Bhatt Kalsar, all the Gurus right from Guru Nanak to Guru Arian Dev had lived the life of Raj Jogi. Guru Hargobind underscored this point by wearing two swords representing Miri (temporal) and Piri (spiritual) aspect of Guru's office, which were the same as Bhakti and Shakti. Guru Tegh Bahadur, therefore, besides remembrance of God received military training.

## After he was elevated to guruship, he travelled widely and in course of his travels conducted himself in the manner of a chief, fond of horse-riding, wearing arms with the Kalghi on his turban, followed by a large retinue, just as his warrior father used to do. According to Dr. Fauja Singh, "Bhakti was to be continued with Shakti to offer full view of the Guru's philosophy of life."

## 5. Equality, Selfless Service, Honest Livelihood

## Since Fatherhood of God was the basic Sikh tenet, brotherhood of man facto became its social corollary. No one was to be reckoned low or high –“Reckon the entire mankind as One” was the [Guru](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Guru)’s precept. Most of the bhakti cults also decried inequality, and especially condemned caste-distinctions, giving the right of worship to the low caste. However, service continued to be a menial pursuit, and manual labour was looked upon as the job of the lowly.

## Service needs spiritual

## The Gurus went further than just proclaiming the equality of man. They established dignity of labour, by making social service (seva) as an important vehicle of spiritual advancement. “The hands and feet sans seva are condemnable; actions other than seva are fruitless” . Begging is taboo for the Sikhs. While bhaktas could live on alms and public charity, not so a [Sikh](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikh). He is ordained to earn his living by the honest labour of his hands (kirt) and share his earnings with others. It rehearsed in the fifteenth century the ideology of fraternity, equality and liberty. Devotion was defined as a positive phenomenon. Full-faced participation in life was recommended. In the time and space setting, bhakti and [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism) lie close to each other which has led some to describe [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism) as an offshoot of bhakti.

## 6. Guru Nanak's Revelation; Like the bhaktas and the Sufis, [Guru Nanak](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Guru_Nanak), founder of [Sikhism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sikhism), proclaimed the love of God and, through it, communion with Him as the primary aim of man. More like the former, he repudiated caste and ritualism, and in common with the latter, emphasized submission to God’s will as the ultimate means of realization. Agreeably to the atmosphere created by Bhakti and Sufism, he rejoiced in singing praises of the Almighty and indicated the way to reconciliation between the [Hindus](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Hindu) and the [Muslims](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Muslim). He brought to these general tendencies the force and urgency of a deeply inspired and forward-looking faith.

## Equality with dignity

## He added elements which were characteristically his own and which empowered current trends with wholly new possibilities of fulfilment. Life in all of its different aspects was the subject of [Guru Nanak](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Guru_Nanak)’s attention. Integral to his intuition was an awareness of the ills and errors of society and his concern to remedy these. This was in contrast to the attitude of escape implicit in Bhakti and [Sufism](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Sufism). [Guru Nanak](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Guru_Nanak) did not admit, like many of their protagonists, the possibility of man ever attaining, in his mystical progress, equality with Divinity. He also did not share the Bhaktas’ belief in incarnation or the Sufis’ insistence on bodily mortification and frenzied singing and dancing to bring about spiritual illumination. The faith begins with the [revelation](https://www.sikhiwiki.org/index.php/Revelation_in_Sikhism) brought to light by Guru Nanak. To understand Sikhism fully the study of the totality of its tenet and of what impact it made on history will be very vital. In this perspective, the precept he preached is definitively the starting-point of Sikhism and not bhakti or any other cult He too was a Nirguna Bhakti Saint and social reformer.

## Social Change of Punjab

## .At the time when he was born,the concept of Sufism and Bhakti Movement was in full swing,especially in Northern India.Through Guru Nanak,the Bhakti movement in Punjab became a vehicle of social change and it was the intensity and depth of his message,fortified and consolidated by successor Gurus that served as an edifice on which the super-structure of Sikhism was built.Guru Nanak's genius lay specifically in integrating the contemporary Bhakti-Sufi tradition of spiritual quest with the socio milieu in the totality of the medieval Indian life.

## Guru Nanak differed from other saints of the Bhakti movement on the concept of God and World.The policy of renunciation of the world or detachment with worldly responsibilities did not find place in his teachings.

## He denounced the leading of life as an ascetic and put great emphasis on hard work and earning livelihood.For him taking care of one's family and providing food and shelter

## Family is the first

## .According to him ,to find God one does not have to renounce the world , and God could be found while leading an ordinary life as a householder.Nanak saw the world as creation of one supreme power , and since the creator was in the world he created , it could not be treated as unreal.

## Guru Nanak led a simple but extraordinary life, preaching a straightforward way to find God in one's own heart through inner purity and social responsibility.

## He lived in troubled times, when religious practice in the Indian subcontinent was dogged by spiritual and moral crisis and the country was witnessing an intense conflict between Hindus and Muslims, aggravated by the religious zeal of Muslim rulers. It was also the time when Hinduism was undergoing an internal reform through the bhakti movement. Very few people in his life time would have thought that Guru Nanak's teachings would eventually culminate in the formation a new religion and attract millions of followers from various parts of the world.

## .Guru Nanak's parents wanted him to lead a normal householder's life. So in 1487 they married him to a girl named Sulkhni, of Batala, through whom he had two sons, Sri Chand and Lakhmi Das. Like many other Prophets, Guru Nanak led an ordinary householder's life, signifying the fact that a true follower of God ought live in the middle of people and work for the salvation of himself and others through his good deeds and exemplary life. For some time he worked as a store keeper in the state granary of Daulat Khan Lodi in Sultanpur, where he came into contact with a Muslim servant named Mardana. The two were perhaps destined to meet, as Maradana subsequently began setting music for the hymns Nanak composed. Together they organized satsangs or religious gatherings, in which they involved both Hindus and Muslims in singing bhajans or devotional songs in praise of God.

## Neither Hindu nor Chrisatian

## It is said that when he was twenty-eight years, he suddenly disappeared and returned after three days, revealing that he had a vision of God in which he was made aware of his mission in life. Declaring himself to be neither a Hindu nor a Muslim, He began preaching that there was only one God, who could be worshipped by any name and reached directly by any one, through abiding faith and devotion. He proclaimed God as the creator on whose command or Hukm moved all things and who being formless and transcendental would not assume any form, nor manifest Himself physically in our world as an embodied being. But, as the true witness, He resided in the heart of every one. So the best way to reach Him was by obtaining His grace through namsmaran or constant remembrance of His name and leading an ethical and selfless life.

## No to caste discrimination

## Guru Nanak criticized caste and gender inequalities, idol worship, superficial observances, sacrificial rituals, religious marks, widow burning, and many other practices which he believed were superstitious and not conducive to liberation. Among other things he acknowledged as valid were the law of karma, rebirth, respect for Guru, importance of righteous conduct etc.

## Travels; According to tradition Guru Nanak traveled widely in his life time and went as far as Assam in the east, Sri Lanka in the south, Tibet in the north and Mecca and Baghdad in the west. During his travels, he met people of all faiths: Hindus, Buddhists, Jains, Muslims, Zoroastrians.

## Simplicity and humanity

## He also met Kabir, the famous bhakti saint of Benaras in whose company he spent some time, and who exemplified his vision of an ideal devotee of God with a pure heart and selfless attitude. In his life time Guru Nanak personified humility and simplicity. He always presented himself to others as an obedient follower of God who cherished His company and the sweet nectar of His love in his own heart.

## He never claimed himself any special privileges nor prophethood. His teachings stood in contrast with the religious practices of his time and in due course of time constituted the core teachings of Sikhism. He worked for the unity of people and universal brotherhood, by emphasizing the underlying unity of all men and the entire creation and the need for leading socially responsible and morally pure lives for the collective welfare of all.

## 8. Teachings; Nanakji taught that if God was to be found, he would be found in the inner chambers of human heart. If man is intoxicated enough with the name, memory and thought of God, he would experience Him in his own self. For Nanakji such a person was a true yogi and a true Brahmin, not the one who wore orange robes for appearance sake or some one who was born into a Brahmin caste. Nanak Dev castigated ostentatious display of religiosity and superficial observation of religious conduct.

## Pure mind and heart

## He laid emphasis on inner virtue and adherence to truth, sincerity and honesty in devotion to God. Without these man is devoid of any hope to earn the grace of God. According Guru Nanak God may be known to man by many names and attributes, but there is only one God. He is the creator (kartar) and sustainer of all, who abides in the realm of eternity, casting His graceful glance over His entire creation and who responds to the call of His true devotees, who are pure in their minds and hearts. In God's realm there are innumerable worlds and beings, who are showered by His grace when they submit to His Hukm (command). His supreme power is characterized by the twin principles of justice (nian) and grace (nadar). In the creation of God, human beings occupy the highest position.

## Overcome five vices

## All human beings are created equal and endowed with the same potential to achieve mukati or liberation, which is freedom from the cycle of births and deaths and union with God. What prevents human beings from achieving it is their haumai or self-centeredness, which can be overcome by cultivating love (bhau) and fear (bhai) towards God, which is possible only through constant remembrance of the names of God (namsmaran), good works (kirat karana), charity (vaad chhakna) and overcoming the five vices, namely lust, greed, attachment, anger and pride.

## Earn five ideals

## Guru Nanak traced the progress of the human beings on the path of liberation in five distant phases by attaining five distinct ideals: dharam, gian, saram, karam and sach. In the first phase man comes to know about God and his supremacy as the creator and upholder of divine justice (dharam). In the second he gains the knowledge (gian) and immensity of God's complex creation.

## This awareness creates in him the feelings of humility (saram) and self-surrender. This prompts him to overcome his self-centeredness and indulge in good actions (karam) such as constant remembrance of God's name, giving charity and doing selfless service. Doing good works, finally he becomes eligible for the divine grace through which he comes face to face with the divine Truth (sach) and attains liberation.

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## Major Questions

1. Elaborate the Nature of dedieval politica thought
2. Write about impersonality
3. What are impacts of Islamic invasion on Indian society?
4. Write the contribution of Kabir and sundardas on Indian politics
5. Elucidate the principles of Guru Nanak or Thulasi Das

## 3.1 Modern political thought

## Modern political thought

## 3.1Nature of modern political thought

## 3.2 Revivalism and Renainsance

## 3.a) Raja Ram Monhan Roy.

## 3.b) Dada Boi Nowroj

## 3.c)Dayanandha Saraswathi

## 3.d) Gokale Tilak

**Introduction**

## Political Theory  by David Weld was that the  political theory is a network of concepts and generalisations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of government, state and society, and about the political capabilities of human beings' ...

## Modern political thought

## Machiavelli is most famous for a short political treatise, The Prince, written in 1513 but not published until 1532, five years after his death. Although he privately circulated The Prince among friends, the only theoretical work to be printed in his lifetime was The Art of War, which was about military science.

## The Greek polis served as an influential model of citizenship and governance for centuries. Modern political philosophers, however, found that they needed to rethink politics according to a new, more realistic understanding of the way humans actually behave. As a result, modern government requires both a keen historical sense and the pragmatic use of power.

## Why is Machiavelli considered as the first modern political thinker?

## Niccolo Machiavelli was born on 3rd May 1469 in Florence. He died on 21 June 1527. He was an Italian Renaissance, historian, politician, diplomat, philosopher, humanist and writer.

## Machiavelli is known as first modern political thinker because:

## Nation State supporter : Italy was divided into 5 parts which had the possibility of being attacked. Machiavelli wanted to unite the parts into one as he believed that it is better. He kept the nation state at the top of any other institute.

## Laws were not divine : He said that man made the laws hence, they may have merits and demerits and also can be am...

## He is considered the father of political science, not the first modern political thinker.

## Father of political science

## Machiavelli’s idea was to take historical examples and learn from them, a tradition stemming back to Roman times. Whereas the Romans would use history to teach moral lessons, Machiavelli used it to teach political lessons.

## He took examples from history, analyzed them in a political light, and used them to show the best way to operate a government. By providing insight into how to carry out political maneuvers, he shows how to run a nation, being one of the first to do so, and w...

## He was the first to talk of State sovereignty, separating the state from religion and the state crafts. That makes him the first Modern political thinker.

**State and sovereignty**

He believed with Aristotle that man is by nature and necessity a social animal. He has a desire to live in society. His social instinct brought him in society and that the state simply represented this small section of the society. The state is the product of social instinct and mutual consent of mankind and its proper understanding. The utility is the basis on which the state stands. Grotius neither specifically defined sovereignty nor did he wish to discuss the relation of subjects with the sovereign. But his attention was focused on the subject while dealing with the idea of Jus-Gentium. He did not agree with the then prevailing view that sovereignty had any divine origin.

He believed that the sovereignty originally vested in the people who could delegate it to any authority either conditionally or unconditionally. He agreed with Hobbes that once the sovereignty had delegated, people could not take that back. Rebellion against a sovereign was unjustified. A sovereign was supreme and had full command over the subjects in his territory. In international relations all sovereign were equal in position and status. A prerequisite for enjoying this equality was that a state must have a civilisation and also a fixed territory and stability. The state must have the capacity to honour its international commitments.

## Industrialization

## Karl Marx and his theory of Communism developed along with Friedrich Engels proved to be one of the most influential political ideologies of the 20th century.

## Industrial revolution

## The industrial revolution produced a parallel revolution in political thought. Urbanization and capitalism greatly reshaped society. During this same period, the socialist movement began to form. In the mid-19th century, Marxism was developed, and socialism in general gained increasing popular support, mostly from the urban working class. By the late 19th century, socialism and trade unions were established members of the political landscape. In addition, the various branches of anarchism and syndicalism also gained some prominence, particularly in Spain and France. In the Anglo-American world, anti-imperialism and pluralism began gaining currency around the start of the 20th century.

## Social demogrtic parties

## World War I was a watershed event in human history. The Russian Revolution of 1917 (and similar, albeit less successful, revolutions in many other European countries) brought communism – and in particular the political theory of Leninism, but also on a smaller level Luxemburgism (gradually) – on the world stage. At the same time, social democratic parties won elections and formed governments for the first time, often as a result of the introduction of universal suffrage.[citation needed] However, a group of central European economists led by Austrian School economists Ludwig von Mises and Friedrich Hayek identified the collectivist underpinnings to the various new socialist and fascist doctrines of government power as being different brands of political totalitarianism.

## 3.2 Definition of revivalism.

## The foundation of social movement activities since the 1980s.

## The structural transformations which contributed to changing conditions of religiosity in the period in order to, explore religious revivalism as the foundation of a variety of social movement activities. A basic theoretical claim is that there is a lot to be gained from further integrating elements of the sociological study of religion with the sociological study of social movements. Making sense of religious revivalism as a source of societal change calls for such integration.

## What is revivalism?

## Revivalism, generally, renewed religious fervour within a Christian group, church, or community, but primarily a movement in some Protestant churches to revitalize the spiritual ardour of their members and win new adherents.

## Definition and the person started revivalism

## According to the JIS, 'Revivalism began in Jamaica between 1860 and 1861 as a part of a religious movement called the Great Revival. It is a combination of elements from African pagan beliefs and Christianity and has several forms, the two major forms being Revival Zion and Pocomania.

## Who lead the religious revivalism?

## The Second Great Awakening was a Protestant religious revival during the early 19th century in the United States. The movement began around 1790, gained momentum by 1800 and, after 1820, membership rose rapidly among Baptist and Methodist congregations whose preachers led the movement.

## 3.2.A Renaissance

## It is the beginning of the modern worls and government

## Meaning and causes of renainssance

## Meaning of Renaissance: 'Renaissance' means 'Rebirth' or 'New Birth'. Analysed from the point of history, 'Renaissance' means the love, eagerness and interest which were shown towards the art and literature of Greece and Rome in the fifteenth century A.D.

## Renaissance. The Renaissance was the period in Europe between the 14th and 17th centuries when there was a surge of interest in and production of art and literature. "Renaissance art" describes the style of art that came out of this period. ... In Old French renaissance means "rebirth."

## It  was a fervent period of European cultural, artistic, political and economic “rebirth” following the Middle Ages. Generally described as taking place from the 14th century to the 17th century, the Renaissance promoted the rediscovery of classical philosophy, literature and art.

## The word ‘’Renaissance’’ means ‘’Be-Birth.’’ In order for there to be a ‘rebirth’ there has to have been a ‘death’ of sorts. Indeed, in 1348 -1350 the most culturally shocking event happened to the peoples in Europe, and it began in Genoa and Venice. These were two important trading cities of the growing Italian city-states and had just begun to flush in their own right. Then, on an August afternoon in 1348, a number of rats made their way down the rope line from the merchant ships and into one of the worst moments in human history.

## The Renaissance was a fervent period of European cultural, artistic, political and economic “rebirth” following the Middle Ages. Generally described as taking place from the 14th century to the 17th century, the Renaissance promoted the rediscovery of classical philosophy, literature and art.

## Some of the greatest thinkers, authors, statesmen, scientists and artists in human history thrived during this era, while global exploration opened up new lands and cultures to European commerce. The Renaissance is credited with bridging the gap between the Middle Ages and modern-day civilization.

## The rebirth of Europe touched ALL the classes of people and it was a much more broad Renaissance than simply in the arts. The 12th century Renaissance was also a wide array and the lessons learned there were a catalyst for what would become the period of time known as the Renaissance.

## Revivalism and renaissance

## Consequences

Resurgence or Renaissance of modern Asia is one of the most significant phenomena of world history during the last two hundred years. Since the middle of the 19th century the mind and soul of Asia have definitely awakened. The intellectual renaissance of India has been a great casual factor in the rise of modern Indian nationalism. The awakening of the Indian spirit manifested its relativism first in the realms of philosophy, religion and culture and political self consciousness came as an inevitable consequence.

**Moral and spiritual aspiratiin**

The European Renaissance was mainly intellectual and aesthetic. But the renaissance in India was characterized primarily by moral and spiritual aspirations. Revivalism was far more dominant in the Indian Renaissance. Some of the leaders of the Indian Renaissance movement advocated a deliberate modeling and moulding of the present life on the basis of the past scriptures like the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas and Gita.

**Emergence of Brahma Samaj**

One of the greatest forces in the making of renaissance in India is the Brahma Samaj founded by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The Brahma Samaj has done considerable cultural, humanitarian and social work in north India during the mid 19th century.

**Towards equality**

The Brahma Samaj is based on a synthesis of stern monotheism, intellectual rationalism, the monism of the Upanishad and the religious principles of Christianity. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the earliest scholars of comparative religions. In his writings and deeds, Roy launched a vigorous attack on the archaic social principles and mores dividing Indian along caste and religious cleavages. For him, the priority was to create a society free from decadent feudal values that stood in the way of attaining the goal of liberty, equality and fraternity

**Emergence of Arya Samaj**

Arya Samaj, founded by Dayananda Saraswathi, has been another powerful religious and social movement successfully fought for Indian renaissance. Arya Samaj has done a great service to Indian nationalism especially in Punjab. It created a new progressive and militant spirit among the Hindus. Another movement which has championed Hinduism in all its comprehensiveness was started by Swami Vivekananda, the foremost disciple of Ramakrishna. Vivekananda was a great intellectual and orator and had a remarkable insight both in the Vedanta scriptures and European philosophy. His historic role at the Chicago parliament in 1893 prepared the ground for the propagation of Hinduism in America and Europe.

The renaissance in Northern India and southern India was mainly spiritual and religious in character.

## 3 major characteristics of the Renaissance.

## 1. Urbanization and secular viewpoints

## 2. Recovery from disasters of the fourteenth century (plagues, political instability, decline of church power)

## 3. Individuality. Italy failed to develop a centralized monarchical state.

## What was the political system during the Renaissance?

## Along with society and culture, politics also changed. Renaissance and Politics Renaissance states had three basic forms of Government: princedoms, monarchies and oligarchies or the republics. One of the largest political changes during that period was segregation of politics from Christianity.

## Social Impact

## Governments in the Renaissance focused on reducing the impact religion had on the economy and politics of their society. Wealth began to impact politics more, such as the Medecci family, who accumulated huge profits and which were used to finance cultural and political activities.

## Political impacts of renainsance

## The political impact of the 'Renaissance' has been immense in the West and beyond. It shaped its context, led to the Reformation and Counter Reformation, and produced an intellectual flurry of political ideas that laid down foundations for politics in the following centuries.

## From Darkness to Light: The Renaissance Begins

## Humanism

## Medici Family

## Social impact

## Economic impact

## Political impact

## 1. From Darkness to Light: The Renaissance Begins

## During the Middle Ages, a period that took place between the fall of ancient Rome in 476 A.D. and the beginning of the 14th century, Europeans made few advances in science and art.

## Also known as the “Dark Ages,” the era is often branded as a time of war, ignorance, famine and pandemics such as the Black Death.

## It is believed by some historians, that such grim depictions of the Middle Ages were greatly exaggerated, though many agree that there was relatively little regard for ancient Greek and Roman philosophies and learning at the time.

## 2. Humanism; During the 14th century, humanism began to gain momentum in Italy. Among its many principles, humanism promoted the idea that man was the center of his own universe, and people should embrace human achievements in education, classical arts, literature and science. In 1450, the invention of the Gutenberg printing press allowed for improved communication throughout Europe and for ideas to spread more quickly.

## As a result of this advance in communication, little-known texts from early humanist authors such as those by Francesco Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio, which promoted the renewal of traditional Greek and Roman culture and values, were printed and distributed to the masses.

## Advances in international finance and trade impacted culture in Europe and set the stage for the Renaissance.

## 3. Medici Family; The Renaissance started in Florence, Italy, a place with a rich cultural history where wealthy citizens could afford to support budding artists.Members of the powerful Medici family, which ruled Florence for more than 60 years, were famous backers of the movement.

## Great Italian writers, artists, politicians and others declared that they were participating in an intellectual and artistic revolution that would be much different from what they experienced during the Dark Ages.The movement first expanded to other Italian city-states, such as Venice, Milan, Bologna, Ferrara and Rome. Then, during the 15th century, Renaissance ideas spread from Italy to France and then throughout western and northern Europe.Although other European countries experienced their Renaissance later than Italy, the impacts were still revolutionary.

## 4 . Social Impact

## Governments in the Renaissance focused on reducing the impact religion had on the economy and politics of their society.

## Wealth began to impact politics more, such as the Medecci family, who accumulated huge profits and which were used to finance cultural and political activities.

## Western Europe began to gain much more power and influence during the Renaissance

## The Renaissiance changed the way all of society. This was the time period where people as a whole taught us three things and started to do these things.

## Stoppped caring about each other as much and surviving and more of focousing on them selves.

## They did stated dancing and teaching each other the way of music.

## They also changed the way people viewed the arts.

## 5. Economic Effects of the Renaissance

## The Atlantic powers of Portugal, Spain and France increased their colonial territory. This led to an increase in their wealth also.

## As there was the political changes it became easier to accumulate wealth and industry continued to grow.

## The changes also for more class mobility which in turn led to better quality of life

## More governments began to tax their citizens to support their military and government

## 6. Political Effects of the Renaissance

## History has shown us how civilizations evolve over time. Broadly interpreted, the age of Diocletian marked a decisive stage in the transition from the classical, the Greco-Roman, civilization of the ancient Roman Empire to the Christian-Germanic civilization of the early Middle Ages. Similarly interpreted, "the age of the Renaissance marked the transition from the civilization of the Middle Ages to the modern world” Therefore, the Renaissance is the beginning of the modern world and modern government.

## POLITICAL THINKERS

## Raj Ram Mohan Roy

## Dadaboi Nowroj

## Dayanandha Saraswathi

## Gopala Krishna Gokale

## Balagangathara Tilak

**3.1 RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY (1772-1833**)

* *Father of modern India -Social and political reformer*
* *Knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English*
* *Had deeper understanding on all the major religions*

## The "Father of Modern India", 'the father of Indian renaissance', the founder of 'Brahmo Samaj' and the man who tirelessly fought against the social evils prevailing in the Indian society, Rammohan has a gifted brain with a remarkable knowledge of India’s cultural traditions.

## He has been called the father of modern India,Born in 1772, in a conservative Brahmin family, Rammohan Roy is the pioneer reformer of modern India. He represented the real spirit of Indian renaissance at its beginning.

## Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a key social reformer of modern India and a vital personality of Indian Renaissance period. Brahma Samaj which played an important role in abolition of Sati and child marriage. He was a scholar and a great educationist who had detailed knowledge of Sanskrit, Persian, English, Arabic, Latin and Greek. He supported English as a medium of teaching in India as he believed that teaching through English language was superior to traditional Indian education system.

**Raja Ram Mohan Roy**

Monier Williams salutes him as "the first earnest-minded investigator of the science of comparative religion that the world has produced." For Sarojini Naidu, he was "the first great modern International Ambassador."

Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan calls him "a philosophic modernist, a progressive religious thinker anxious to emphasize the essentials of religion." And Mahatama Gandhi saw him as "the father of advanced liberal thought in Hinduism." For each of these authorities, the life of Ram Mohan Roy added up to something more in some particular field of endeavor—religion, social welfare, education, politics and internationalism.

## For his unparallel contribution he has been described as the father of Indian Nationalism. When India was passing in a critical time, Rammohan appeared in the scene who gathered in himself all the significant trends of his time

Raja Ram Mohan Roy stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science and between despotism and democracy. He was the first cosmopolitan religious thinker and father of modern.

Roy was deeply imbued with the culture of the west and East, and was a scholar and reformer. He was a nationalist but had profound contempt for narrow-minded nationalism. In religion, Ram Mohan pointed to a universal inner spiritual synthesis, far from the external forms represented through meaningless practice. In pursuit of these religious objectives, Ram Mohan thought of a concerted action by a band of true reformers. His crusade against Hindu modes of worship roused in the orthodox and fanatical reaction against the reformer.

**Mediam of reform**

Reformist propaganda was initiated through books, tracts, articles and translations from the Upanishads. Jeremy Bentham saluted him as “an admired and beloved fellow worker in the cause of humanity.”

When he was at nine, he had to marry two times, and subsequently one more, because it was impossible for him to escape the privilege of Kulinism. As a grown-up man he saw the burning of his brother’s wife a sati, a sight that shocked his conscience. A prisoner of society and religion, he nevertheless enjoyed certain advantages which even the Dark Age provided.

**Monotheism**

He studied the essence of the Koran Sufi Philosophy; from Sanskrit, the deeper philosophies of the Hindu Upanishads. The inner meaning of Hinduism and Islam drew him to monotheism and created an aversion in him towards idolatry.

With profound knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and English and with a deeper understanding of the philosophies of Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism and Christianity he became a rare intellectual of his time. He was in search of rationalism and felt resentful towards the prevailing socio-religious customs around him. Ram Mohan’s vision was broad enough to encompass various aspects of human life. His movement covered religious, social, economic, educational, political and national issues. A Brahmin himself, he peeped into the inner substance of Brahminical Hinduism to discover the existence of one omnipotent being.

**One God**

The ideal of monotheism was itself a supreme force in Hinduism, as it was in Islam and Christianity. Roy was highly critical of the outer forms of Hinduism, notably, polytheism, worship of images, ritualistic ceremonies, and suspirations rites. Belief in one Almighty god is the fundamental principles of every religion, he said. He established his theories from the Vedanta, the Bible and Koran.

**As a liberal political thinker**

Like Rousseau, Voltaire and Montesquieu, Ram Mohan Roy had a passionate attachment to the concept of liberty. He urged the necessity of personal freedom. Liberty is a priceless possession of the human being and, hence, Ram Mohan was a champion of personal freedom. But liberty is also needed for the nation.

**Moral right of the individual**

Roy had a passion for liberty and equality, yet he showed his respect for property and believed in the freedom of contract. Indeed, he pleaded for state intervention in suppressing evil practices in society and held that it was the duty of the state to protect tenants against the oppression of the landlords; Like John Locke, Thomas Paine and Hugo Grotius, Roy accepted the immutable sanctity of natural rights. He believed not only in the natural rights of life, liberty, and pursuit of property, but also championed the moral rights of the individual.

**Demogratic Rights**

His theory of natural rights, however, was constructed in the prevailing Indian conditions. Thus although an exponent of the theory of Natural Rights and freedom, he also advocated state legislation for social reform and educational reconstruction. As a champion of freedom and democratic rights and a believer in parliamentary democracy, Roy whole-heartedly supported the reform Bill agitation in England.

**Freedom for the entire human beings**

In his opinion, the struggle between the reformers and anti-reformers was nothing but a struggle between liberty and tyranny throughout the world, between justice and injustice and between right and wrong. It should be remembered that Ram Mohan Roy championed the struggle for freedom and democratic rights, not for Indians alone but for the entire human beings in the world. Ram Mohan Roy had a keen appreciation of the uncompromising freedom of the creative spirit. He wanted the people of India to develop a sense of self confidence.

**Crusader against superstitiouns**

He through out his life time was against unreason and superstition. He admired the English people who not only enjoyed civil and political liberty but was interested in promoting freedom, social happiness and rationalism in the areas where their influence extended. Bipin Chandra Pal while assessing the contribution of Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Indian freedom wrote: Raja was the first to deliver the message of political freedom to India.

He so keenly felt the loss of this freedom by his people that even as a boy, yet within his teens, he left his country and travelled to Tibet, because he found it difficult to tolerate the domination of his country by another nation, though, subsequently, with close acquaintance with culture and character of the British people, who seemed to him to have been more intelligent more steady and moderate in their conduct …’ Similarly, Raja Ram Mohan Roy felt quite happy to hear the news of the introduction of constitutional government in Portugal.

**Funds collections**

He supported the struggle for freedom of the Greeks against the Turks. Again, Roy was opposed to the British occupation of Ireland. He collected funds for the relief of the famine stricken people of Ireland.

**Freedom of the Press**

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was one of the earliest champions of the freedom of the press. Like Milton and other scholars who fought for freedom of press, Roy championed the concept of freedom of written expression. Along with Dwarakanath Tagore, Harchandra Gosh, Gouri Charan Banerjee, Ram Mohan had written a petition in 1823, addressed to the Supreme Court, for the freedom of the press. When the Petition was rejected, and appeal was made to the king in council.

The appeal contained Ram Mohan’s reflections on the governmental mechanism of the day. It stated men in power hostile to the liberty of the press, which is a disagreeable. Check upon their conduct, when unable to discover any real evil arising from its existence; have attempted to make the world imagine that it might, in some possible contingency afford the means of combination against the government, but not to mention that extraordinary emergencies would warrant measures which in ordinary times are totally unjustifiable.

Your majesty in well aware that a free press has never yet caused a revolution in any part of world, because, while men can early by represent their grievances arising from the conduct of the local authorities to the supreme Government’

He strongly believed that not only would the freedom of press provide a device for ventilation of grievances it would also enable the government to adopt steps for their redressal before they caused damage to the administration. Roy recognized and appreciated British rule in India. Although he despised colonialism, he appeared to have endorsed the British rule presumably, because of its historical role in combating the prevalent feudal forces.

**Democratic governance**

Not only was the British rule superior to the erst-while feudal rulers, it would also contribute to different India by injecting the values it represented. The continued British rule, he further added, would eventually lead to the establishment of democratic institutions as in Great Britiain. Like any other liberals, Roy also felt that the uncritical acceptance of British liberal values was probably the best possible means of creating democratic institutions in India. He appreciated the British rule as a boon in disguise’ because it would eventually transplant democratise governance in India.

**Humanism and Universal Religion**

Being a champion of freedom and rights, Ram Mohan was a great humanist and believed in co-operation, tolerance and fellowship. Roy established the ethical concept of universal love on the basis of the doctrine of ethical personality of God. He was also the exponent of cosmopolitanism and stood for brotherhood and independence. He had begun with the study of comparative religion but later come to visualise the necessity of a universal religion.

Finally, he formulated the scheme of a fundamental spiritual synthesis stressing the unity of religious experience based on the worship of a monotheistic God. Thus he carried forward the traditions of social and spiritual synthesis stressed by Guru Nanak, Kabir and other saints.

Roy believed in universalism and regarded humanity as one family with the different nations and tribes as its branches. In his famous letter written to the French Foreign Minister in 1832, he suggested the establishment of a ‘Congress’ for the settlement of commercial and political disputes. He was a humanitarian and universalist, and like David Hume he also subscribed to the doctrine of universal sympathy.

Jeremy Bentham admired Ram Mohan’s Universalism and humanitarianism, and in a letter to him, he said: ‘……Your works are made known to me by a book in which I read a style which but for the name of the Hindoo I should certainly have as cribbed to the pen of a superiority educated and instructed English man., Ram Mohan Roy advocated liberal humanitarian nationalism. Emancipation of man from the bondage for ignorance, and social tyranny, his freedom of thought and conscience and his equality School of Distance Education [Modern Indian Political Thought] Page 9 with other fellow men were considered as the fundamentals of liberalism. Such free and emancipated individuals, with feeling towards their mother land, could create national unity. It was through a spiritual and mental revival that Ram Mohan wanted to regenerate the Indian people and unite them into a national fraternity.

**Empowerment of** women

He was interested in the emancipation and empowerment of women and was earliest feminist in modern India who revolted against the subjection of women and preached against the modern encroachments on the ancient rights of Hindu females. He was also a model social reformer who was highly a critical of the prevailing social evils in the traditional Hindu society. He was a prophet of universalism, a keen and ardent champion of liberty in all its phases and apolitical agitator for the freedom of the press and the right of the tenants. **He has been called the father of modern India,** the first earnest minded investigator of the science of comparative religion and the harbinger of the idea of universal humanism. He stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future.

**English : a gate way**

## He read the Upanishads in Sanskrit and translated them into Bengali. His theological treatises show his depth in Koran as well as in the commentaries of Sankara. He realized the importance of English as the gateway to modern knowledge. He acquired enough knowledge in English while working under the company administration. Besides he studied Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. He understood the inner meaning of Hinduism and Islam. Coming in contact with the

## Christian Missonaries, he also learnt the real meaning of Christianity. For his vast knowledge, he tried to bring the Indian society into order; thus became a rebel against many evils of the society. In a powerful way, he started writing on Indian religions, Indian economy and Indian education. In course of time, he started organized reform movement.

## Against idol worship

## Rammohan stood against idol worship, beliefs in many Gods and Goddesses, meaningless ceremonies and unnecessary rituals. He Vehemently criticised the Hindu orthodox practices and religious dogmas present in his contemporary Indian society. He said that Hinduism as the most ancient religion on earth should rest on its inner spiritual vitality.

## Purity, virtues and ethics

## The Hindu Vedanta and Upanishad had described clearly about birth, life and death. According to him, there is the Creator who creates and describes everything on earth. He is the Supreme Being without any beginning and end without description or shape. Rammohan pointed out the value of those beliefs and wanted religion to rest on purity, virtues and ethics.

## He openly declared, “My constant reflections; on the inconvenient, or rather injurious rites, introduced by the peculiar practice of Hindu idolatry, which more than any other pagan worship destroys the texture of society together with compassion for, any countrymen, have compelled one to use every possible effort to awaken them from their dream of error and by moving them acquainted with their scriptures, enable them to contemplate with true devotion, the unity and omnipresence of nature’s God.”

## With these ideas he wanted to transform the Indian Hindu society with a new light.. Brahmo Samaj became one of the most important agents of religious and social change in the nineteenth century India.

## The main aim of the Samaj was to foster the idea of brotherhood of men since all men are the creation of the eternal Being. It advocated for the promotion of charity, morality, piety, benevolence, virtue and the strengthening of the bonds of union between man of all religious beliefs.

## Attacked social evil practices

## The immobile structure of the Indian society, with blind beliefs like Sati system, polygamy, caste excesses, untouchability and the oppression of women divided the Indian society and kept them from acting together as a united nation. Rammohan started Champaign against these wrong doings of the Hindu society.

## Rammohan Roy openly said that Sati system was more than murders according to all Shastra as well as to the common science of every nation. He protested against the Sati system inside and outside his home. Consequent upon this the orthodox community rose up in protest and social boycott was organized against him. His life was threatened. On the support of Rammohan Roy, Lord Bentinck finally decided to abolish Sati system in 1929.

## On education

## Rammohan was one of the first thinkers in India to realise the value of Western Science, and thought. He created major opinion in favour of the English education that could generate a sense of unity among the Indian educated youths. Rammohan’s idea of western education helped the Government of Lord William Bentinck to introduce European learning in India. Bentinck could ignore the group of orientalists of India who were pleading in favour of oriental languages to be used as medium of instructions in schools and colleges.

## Political awakening

## Rammohan also tried his best for the poetical awakening among Indians. He first realized the value of free press and free opinion. He first published a weekly to ventilate the views of the people on social, political, economic problems both national and international. Through the publication of a comparative study of national problem with international issues, Indians could understand their defects. With the result they tried to work for the motherland jointly. Rammohan became the pioneer of Indian nationalism by preaching the sensitive value of unity among men. The aim of his reform movement was to liberate the individual from social tyranny and from mental ignorance. Breaking the orthodox belief to cross the sea and to lose the caste, Rammohan Roy was the first Indian to go to England crossing sea in 1830. Fighting in favour of the abolition of Saji, the introduction of Western Education in India and to introduce measures to put an end to the false beliefs among Indians, he died there is 1833.

## After the death of Rammohan Roy, the Brahmo movement continued to carry its mission under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen, Maharishi Debendranath Tagore and Akshaya Kumar Dutta etc. Thus in the growth of Indian renaissance the Brahmo movement played a very significant role in India.

## Political reforms Roy lived in the era of freedom fighters and revolutionaries. Publicly, he never demanded independence for India, but still, he fought for the civil rights of the Indians and opposed the racial superiority of Europeans. Roy and hi. Roy and his 'Brahmo Samaj' had a vital role in renewing the Hindu society but it always focussed on Bengal. Later, it branched itself to Madras, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh.  Raja Ram Mohan Roy died on September 27, 1833 in  Bristol, United Kingdom and was buried at the Arnos Vale Cemetery in England. After the death of Roy, Dwaraka Nath Tagore led Brahmo Samaj for some time. Even today, Roy's powerful quotes are remembered and revered by Indians

## Ram Mohan Roy as a political activist; Ram Mohan Roy was an independent thinker and always promoted freedom of thought. He put his efforts to oblige the British authority to appoint qualified educated Indians in the administrative services. He was associated with East India Company where he started his career as a private clerk and raised himself to high offices in the revenue department. He went to England in a very opportune time when the charter of East India was to be renewed. He used this opportunity to insert new provisions for better administration of the country. His two papers on Indian Revenue and Judicial systems are masterpieces which has an exhaustive content on with accuracy and insightfulness. He advocated substitution of English in place of Parsi language in courts of law, employment of Indian personnel in civil services, separation of offices of judges and revenue commissioners.

## He also suggested consultation with Indian public before enactment of law in the country. At the time, Roy was an ambassador of the Mughal emperor Akbar II, who conferred on him the title of Raja to convince the British government for welfare of India and to ensure that the Lord Bentinck's regulation banning the practice of Sati was not overturned. Roy also visited France.

**3.4 . Dadabai Nouroj**

* *Grand Old Man of India*
* *Unofficial Ambassador of India*
* *The first Indian to be elected to British Parliament*

Sir Dadabhai Naoroji Dordi (4 September 1825 – 30 June 1917) also known as the "Grand Old Man of India" and "Unofficial Ambassador of India" was a British [Parsi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parsi) scholar, trader and politician who was a [Liberal Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Party_(UK)) member of Parliament (MP) in the [United Kingdom House of Commons](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/House_of_Commons_of_the_United_Kingdom) between 1892 and 1895, and the first Indian to be a [British MP](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parliament_of_the_United_Kingdom), notwithstanding the [Anglo-Indian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Indian) MP [David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Ochterlony_Dyce_Sombre), who was disenfranchised for corruption. Naoroji was one of the founding members of the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress).

Dadabhai Naoroji was an Indian political leader and one of the founders of the [Indian National Congress](https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/asia-and-africa/south-asian-history/indian-national-congress). A leading nationalist author and spokesman, he was the first Indian to be elected to membership in the British Parliament.

Dadabhai Naoroji was born into a leading Parsi family in Bombay. After an outstanding career at Elphinstone College, Naoroji served briefly as professor of mathematics at Elphinstone. In 1855 Naoroji became a partner in an important Parsi commercial firm in London, and in 1862 he set up his own commercial house there. In the same year he founded the influential East Indian Association to educate the English public on Indian affairs.

Of the modern political thinkers of pre-independent India, Dadabhai Naoroji is an accomplished leader shining forth in all areas of life.

*‘If we twenty croce of Indians were entitled to send only one member to the British parliament, there is no doubt that we would have elected Dadabhai Naoroji unanimously to grace that post.’* - Bal Gangadhar Tilak

It is a hard fact that he pioneered Indian freedom struggle in the very beginning and cherished much influence on Gandhi and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. A staunch patriot, he was elected to British Parliament as an MP though Lord Salisbury, the then PM of Britain labelled him "black man".

He proved his mettle as an MP - the first Indian to be elected to British Parliament! He authored Poverty and Un-British Rule in India wherein he castigated British policies. Herein he demonstrates how India gets impoverished as the wealth drains out of India as consequence of inordinate taxes, imbalance between exports and Imports.

His critique of the colonial policies is still relevant as the neo-colonial policies show their baneful influence across the globe. Naoroji gave his all to the cause of India setting an example to emulate for the following generation of patriots. A moderate to the core, he was elected to Indian National Congress three times. It is gratifying to note that he was honoured not only in India , but in Pakistan and England as well.It is noteworthy that when he was an MP he was assisted by Jinnah and further, Gandhi considered him his mentor. It is for all these causes he is rightly called the Grand old man of India.

His book Poverty and Un-British Rule in India brought attention to the draining of India's wealth into Britain. In it he explained his wealth drain theory. He was also a member of the [Second International](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_International) along with [Kautsky](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kautsky) and [Plekhanov](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgi_Plekhanov).

In 2014, Deputy Prime Minister [Nick Clegg](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nick_Clegg) inaugurated the Dadabhai Naoroji Awards for services to UK-India relations.

[India Post](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India_Post) dedicated stamps to Naoroji in 1963, 1997 and 2017.

also published another newspaper called " Voice of India ".

In 1873 Naoroji accepted the difficult post of Divan, or chief minister, of the prominent Indian princely state of Baroda but left it fairly soon for an elected seat in the Bombay Municipal Corporation. It was here that his public service career truly began. After several busy years in the public life of the province, Naoroji published his famous indictment of British exploitation of India, Poverty and Un-British Rule in India. This book guaranteed his position in the very front rank of the Indian nationalist movement.

In 1885 Lord Reay, the governor of Bombay, appointed him to the [Legislative Council](https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/law/law/legislative-council), and in the same year Naoroji played a leading role in the creation of the [Indian National Congress](https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/asia-and-africa/south-asian-history/indian-national-congress), the major organization promoting Indian nationalism. A year later he was elected president of the Indian National Congress at its second session. During the same year he was one of a very few prominent Indians chosen to testify before the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India.

Naoroji set off for England on June 27,1855 to be a part of the production firm of the mercantile Cama family. Naoroji tried to inform and teach the British public about their tasks and duties. He tried to illuminate the British citizens about the torture and cruelty of the British Raj.To fight for the rights of Indians, he formed the East India Association. Naoroji helped in establishing the Indian National Congress and became its President thrice. In 1883 he was re- elected to the Bombay Municipal Council. An example of his modesty was that he refused the title of “Sir” given to Dadabhai by the British. The Shah of Iran wanted to honor him but he refused. In 1916 he returned to England but fell sick. He started suffering from bronchitis. He was looked after by his granddaughters Mrs. Nargis and Gosi Captain .He returned to India in October. Dr. Mehrbanoo took charge of his health. Dadabhai Naoroji left for his heavenly abode on June 30, 1917.

Dadabhai Naoroji was an Indian social political leader and one of the founders of the Indian National Congress. A leading nationalist author and spokesman, He was the first Indian to be elected to membership in the British Parliament.

Naoroji had started his public life as the Dewan (minister) to the Maharaja of Barado and later was a member of the of the Legislative Council of Mumbai.

During Naoroji’s lifetime, the Indian population accounted for over four fifths of the British Empire, but its 250 million people were unrepresented in British Parliament. Continuing his political involvement, Naoroji relocated to Britain once again and stood several times for election to the House of Commons, facing considerable racism each time.

His 1886 bid as Liberal Party candidate for the strongly Conservative Holborn seat in London was unsuccessful and following his defeat, Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister, remarked that an English constituency was not ready to elect a ‘black man’. The statement gave Naoroji notoriety and popular satirical magazine Punch referred to it in a cartoon depicting Naoroji as Othello and Salisbury as the ‘Doge of Westminster’.

**Robert Cecil, Lord Salisbury, in 1886**

Known as the ‘Grand Old Man of India’, Naoroji became a well-known public figure, gaining the support of Florence Nightingale and suffrage campaigners. In 1892 he was eventually elected as the Liberal candidate for the strongly working-class marginal seat of Central Finsbury in the Clerkenwell (now part of the London Borough of Islington) and joined Gladstone’s government.

Naoroji was the first Asian to be a British MP, notwithstanding Anglo-Indian MP David Ochterlony Dyce Sombre, who was elected as a Radical-Liberal to the seat of Sudbury in Suffolk in 1841 but disenfranchised for corruption in 1842 (Parliament overturned the result citing ‘gross, systematic and extensive bribery’ during the election campaign, and he and the other Member for the Sudbury division lost their seats). As he was not a Christian, Naoroji refused to take the oath of office on the Bible, but was allowed to take the oath in the name of God on his copy of the Khordeh Avesta.

Campaign for independence

During his time in the House of Commons Naoroji devoted his time towards improving the situation in India and campaigned for Indian independence. However he also supported votes for women, pensions for the elderly, Irish home role and the abolition of the House of Lords. He was assisted in duties as an MP by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the future Muslim nationalist and founder of Pakistan. Although Naoroji lost his seat in the General Election of 1895 when the Conservatives won back power, he continued to campaign to the end of his life, being elected president of the Indian National Congress for a third time in 1906. A staunch moderate within the congress, he was a mentor to Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma) Gandhi.

‘The Indians look up to you as children to the father. Such is really the feeling here.’- Mahatma Gandhi, Known as the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji was an educator, social reformer and an important political leader.

As a young man he traveled to London to become a partner in Cama & Co, the first Indian company to be established in Britain. However, he was fed up with the unethical practices adopted in the company and resigned. Later on he went on to establish his own cotton trading company and became actively involved in politics. He felt that the British were exploiting India and set up the Gyan Prasarak Mandali to educate the adult men folk. He wrote many articles and gave speeches on the plight of India and played an important role in the formation of the Indian National Congress.

**Childhood & Early Life**

* He was born in Bombay in 1825 into a poor Parsi family. The family fell upon really difficult times when his father died when Dadabhai was just four years old.
* He became involved with politics and helped to establish the East India Association in 1867. This association would serve as one of the predecessor organizations of the Indian National Congress.
* He was patronised by Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III of Baroda and started his public life as the Dewan (Minister) to the Maharaja in 1874. He also served as a member of the Legislative Council of Mumbai from 1885 to 1888.
* He was elected the president of the Indian National Congress in 1886.
* He moved to London in the late 1880s and was elected for the Liberal Party in Finsbury Central at the 1892 general election - becoming the first British Indian MP.
* He spent his later years writing articles and giving speeches on the exploitation of India by the British, thus setting the foundation for the Indian Nationalist Movement.

**Major Works**

* Known as the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji was an intellectual, educator and political figure who worked to promote the Zoroastrian religion and the Indian culture. He spearheaded India’s freedom struggle by giving speeches and writing articles on the exploitation of India by the British.

**Personal Life & Legacy**

* When he was 11 years old, his mother arranged his marriage with Gulbaai, a seven year old girl. The couple went on to have three children—one son and two daughters.
* This freedom fighter, social reformer and educator had a long and productive life, spanning nine long decades. He died in 1917 at the age of 91.
* The Dadabhai Naoroji Road is named in his honour.
* Over the next few years Naoroji campaigned against the financial drain on India caused by British taxation and trade regulations. On the left-wing of the party, Naoroji also advocated Irish Home Rule and extensive social reforms.
* Naoroji was defeated in the [1895 General Election](https://spartacus-educational.com/GE1895.htm) and in his later years concentrated on writing books such as [Poverty and Un-British Rule in India](http://www.amazon.co.uk/s/ref=nb_sb_noss?url=search-alias%3Dstripbooks&field-keywords=Dadabhai+Naoroji&rh=n%3A266239%2Ck%3ADadabhai+Naoroji&ajr=8) (1901) and [The Rights of Labor](http://www.amazon.co.uk/s/ref=nb_sb_noss?url=search-alias%3Dstripbooks&field-keywords=Dadabhai+Naoroji&rh=n%3A266239%2Ck%3ADadabhai+Naoroji&ajr=8) (1906).
* Dadabhai Naoroji died on 2nd July, 1917.

In 1892 Naoroji was elected to the British Parliament on the Liberal ticket from Central Finsbury. He was the first Indian to win a seat in the [House of Commons](https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/modern-europe/british-and-irish-history/house-commons). A year later he was, for the second time, elected to the presidency of the Indian National Congress. In 1895 Naoroji lost his seat in Parliament, but in 1896 he was appointed to the influential Royal Commission on Indian Expenditures, to whose labors he made a significant contribution. The report of the commission was important in shaping Indian fiscal practices. In 1906 Nairobi’s public service was given special mark when he was elected to a third term as president of the National Congress. Navroji's probity, care in the use of evidence, painstaking research in Indian economic conditions, and persistent advocacy of the Indian cause were the hallmarks of his active and impressive career.

In 1855, he was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the [Elphinstone College](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elphinstone_College) in Bombay,[[9]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji#cite_note-Mistry-9) becoming the first Indian to hold such an academic position. He travelled to London in 1855 to become a partner in Cama & Co, opening a [Liverpool](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liverpool) location for the first Indian company to be established in [Britain](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom). Within three years, he had resigned on ethical grounds. In 1859, he established his own cotton [trading company](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merchant), Dadabhai Naoroji & Co. Later, he became professor of [Gujarati](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gujarati_language) at [University College London](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_College_London).

In 1865, Naoroji directed and launch the [London Indian Society](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Indian_Society), the purpose of which was to discuss Indian political, social and literary subjects.[[10]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji#cite_note-10) In 1861 Naoroji founded [The Zoroastrian Trust Funds of Europe](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Zoroastrian_Trust_Funds_of_Europe) alongside Muncherjee Hormusji Cama[[11]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji#cite_note-Hinnells2005-11) In 1867 Naoroji also helped to establish the East India Association, one of the predecessor organisations of the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) with the aim of putting across the Indian point of view before the British public. The Association was instrumental in counter-acting the [propaganda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Propaganda) by the [Ethnological Society of London](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnological_Society_of_London) which, in its session in 1866, had tried to prove the inferiority of the Asians to the Europeans. This Association soon won the support of eminent Englishmen and was able to exercise considerable influence in the [British Parliament](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Parliament).[[citation needed](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)] In 1874, he became Prime Minister of [Baroda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vadodara) and was a member of the [Legislative Council of Bombay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legislative_Council_of_Bombay) (1885–88). He was also a member of the [Indian National Association](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Association) founded by Sir [Surendranath Banerjee](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surendranath_Banerjee) from [Calcutta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calcutta) a few years before the founding of the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) in Bombay, with the same objectives and practices.[[3]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji#cite_note-INC_BritishRaj-3) The two groups later merged into the INC, and Naoroji was elected President of the Congress in 1886. Naoroji published Poverty and un-British Rule in India in 1901.

**Navroji in 1892.**

Naoroji moved to Britain once again and continued his political involvement. Elected for the [Liberal Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Party_(UK)) in [Finsbury Central](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finsbury_Central_(UK_Parliament_constituency)) at the [1892 general election](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1892_United_Kingdom_general_election), he was the first British Indian MP.  He refused to take the oath on the Bible as he was not a Christian, but was allowed to take the oath of office in the name of God on his copy of [Khordeh Avesta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avesta). During his time he put his efforts towards improving the situation in India. He had a very clear vision and was an effective communicator. He set forth his views about the situation in India over the course of history of the governance of the country and the way in which the colonial rulers rules. In Parliament, he spoke on [Irish Home Rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Home_Rule) and the condition of the Indian people. He was also a notable [Freemason](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freemason). In his political campaign and duties as an MP, he was assisted by [Muhammed Ali Jinnah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammed_Ali_Jinnah), the future [Muslim nationalist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_nationalism_in_South_Asia) and founder of [Pakistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan). In 1906, Naoroji was again elected president of the Indian National Congress. Naoroji was a staunch moderate within the Congress, during the phase when opinion in the party was split between the moderates and extremists. Naoroji was a mentor to [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bal_Gangadhar_Tilak), [Gopal Krishna Gokhale](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gopal_Krishna_Gokhale) and [Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohandas_Karamchand_Gandhi). He was married to Gulbai [at the age of eleven](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Child_marriage). He died in Bombay on 30 June 1917, at the age of 91. Today the [Dadabhai Naoroji Road](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji_Road), a heritage road of Mumbai, is named after him. Also, the Dadabhai Naoroji Road in [Karachi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karachi), [Pakistan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) is also named after him as well, as Naoroji Street in the [Finsbury](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finsbury) area of [London](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London). A prominent residential colony for central government servants in the south of [Delhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Delhi) is also named Naoroji Nagar. His granddaughters [Perin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perin_Captain) and Khrushedben were also involved in the freedom struggle. In 1930, Khurshedben was arrested along with other revolutionaries for attempting to hoist the [Indian flag](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_flag) in a [Government College](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_College_(disambiguation)) in [Ahmedabad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmedabad).

**Naoroji's drain theory and poverty**

Dadabhai Naoroji's work focused on the drain of wealth from India to England during colonial rule of British in India. One of the reasons that the Drain theory is attributed to Naoroji is his decision to estimate the net national profit of India, and by extension, the effect that colonisation has on the country. Through his work with economics, Naoroji sought to prove that Britain was draining money out of India. Naoroji described 6 factors which resulted in the external drain. Firstly, India is [governed by a foreign government](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism). Secondly, India does not attract [immigrants](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_migrant) which bring labour and capital for economic growth. Thirdly, India pays for Britain's civil administrations and occupational army. Fourthly, India bears the burden of [empire building](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire-building) in and out of its borders. Fifthly, opening the country to [free trade](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_trade) was actually a way to exploit India by offering highly paid jobs to foreign personnel. Lastly, the principal income-earners would buy outside of India or leave with the money as they were mostly foreign personnel. In Naoroji's book 'Poverty' he estimated a 200–300 million pounds loss of India's revenue to Britain that is not returned. Naoroji described this as vampirism, with money being a metaphor for blood, which humanised India and attempted to show Britain's actions as monstrous in an attempt to garner sympathy for the nationalist movement.[[18]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji#cite_note-Banerjee-18)

When referring to the Drain, Naoroji stated that he believed some tribute was necessary as payment for the services that England brought to India such as the [railways](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Railways). However the money from these services were being drained out of India; for instance the money being earned by the railways did not belong to India, which supported his assessment that India was giving too much to Britain. India was paying tribute for something that was not bringing profit to the country directly. Instead of paying off foreign investment which other countries did, India was paying for services rendered despite the operation of the railway being already profitable for Britain. This type of drain was experienced in different ways as well, for instance, British workers earning wages that were not equal with the work that they have done in India, or trade that undervalued India's goods and overvalued outside goods.  Englishmen were encouraged to take on high paying jobs in India, and the British government allowed them to take a portion of their income back to Britain. Furthermore, the [East India Company](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_India_Company) was purchasing Indian goods with money drained from India to export to Britain, which was a way that the opening up of free trade allowed India to be exploited.

When elected to Parliament by a narrow margin of 5 votes his first speech was about questioning Britain's role in India. Naoroji explained that Indians were either [British subjects](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_subject) or British slaves, depending on how willing Britain was to give India the institutions that Britain already operated. By giving these institutions to India it would allow India to govern itself and as a result the revenue would stay in India.It is because Naoroji identified himself as an Imperial citizen that he was able to address the economic hardships facing India to an English audience. By presenting himself as an Imperial citizen he was able to use rhetoric to show the benefit to Britain that an ease of financial burden on India would have. He argued that by allowing the money earned in India to stay in India, tributes would be willingly and easily paid without fear of poverty; he argued that this could be done by giving equal employment opportunities to Indian professionals who consistently took jobs they were over-qualified for. Indian labour would be more likely to spend their income within India preventing one aspect of the drain.Naoroji believed that to solve the problem of the drain it was important to allow India to develop industries; this would not be possible without the revenue draining from India into England.

It was also important to examine British and Indian trade to prevent the end of budding industries due to unfair valuing of goods and services. By allowing industry to grow in India, tribute could be paid to Britain in the form of taxation and the increase in interest for British goods in India. Over time, Naoroji became more extreme in his comments as he began to lose patience with Britain. This was shown in his comments which became increasingly aggressive. Naoroji showed how the ideologies of Britain conflicted when asking them if they would allow French youth to occupy all the lucrative posts in England. He also brought up the way that Britain objected to the drain of wealth to the papacy during the 16th century. Naoroji's work on the drain theory was the main reason behind the creation of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure in 1896 in which he was also a member. This commission reviewed financial burdens on India and in some cases came to the conclusion that those burdens were misplaced.

Dadabhai Naoroji is regarded as one of the most important Indians during the independence movement. In his writings, he considered that the foreign intervention into India was clearly not favourable for the country.

Further development was checked by the frequent invasions of India by, and the subsequent continuous rule of, foreigners of entirely different character and genius, who, not having any sympathy with the indigenous literature – on the contrary, having much fanatical antipathy to the religion of the Hindus – prevented its further growth. Priest-hood, first for power and afterwards from ignorance, completed the mischief, as has happened in all other countries.

**3. 5. Dayananadha Saraswathi**

* *Started activity at his*
* *Language is for Nation Building*
* *Opposition to Caste System and Untouchability*

Dayananda Saraswati is most notable for influencing the freedom movement of India. Swami Dayananda ranked highest among the makers of modern India. He had worked tirelessly for the political, religious and cultural emancipation of the country. He was guided by reason, taking Hinduism back to the Vedic foundations.

**Reforms Brought by Dayanand Saraswati**

He loved Eastern culture very much. His contribution to the reforms of nineteenth century was immense.

**Veda – The mine of knowledge**:

Swami Dayanand put emphasis on the Veda. He praised the culture of the Vedas in no uncertain terms. He gave the slogan— “Go back to the Vedas”. He discerned how the Vedas contained the message of equality, parity and several reforms. The Vedas contain scientific knowledge, several reforms, philosophy and doctrines of morality.

Dayanand emphasized that the Indian society can be reformed and reconstructed by following the Vedic practices.

**Opposition to Caste System and Untouchability:**

Dayanand spearheaded his crusade against caste system and untouchability. He reinterpreted the system of Varna mentioned in the Veda. It was meant for occupational purpose in the society. As per the doctrines of guna, karma and swabhava, the society was divided into different varnas like the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras with their respective occupation like worship, protecting the country, carrying on trade and commerce and to serve the other three castes. This occupation was interchangeable. He emphasized the political need of this division of society. According to him caste is “A political institution made by the rulers for the common good of the society and not a natural or religious distinction. It is not a natural distinction, for the four castes were not created by God as distinct species of men; but all men are of equal nature, of the same species, and brothers”.

He also denounced untouchability and labeled it as inhuman and unsocial. He cited the Vedas where the practice of untouchability was not at all present.

**Sushi Movement:savior of Hinduism**

Dayanand was deeply moved by the conversion of the Hindus to the Christianity or Islam. He appeared as a savior of Hinduism. He took steps to return back the Hindus into the fold of Hinduism those who had accepted Christianity or Islam due to adverse circumstances. Thus, he initiated a movement which was very famous as the ‘Buddha Movement’. By this he brought back the converted Hindus from Christianity or Islam to the fold of Hinduism again. For that he was vehemently opposed by others but he did not care it at all.

This ‘Buddha Movement’ of Dayanand mainly checked the attitudes of Christian Fathers who were converting the poorer section of the Hindus to their religion. This made the mind of the Hindus strings and checked its further deterioration. Thus, Dayanand appeared as a savior of Hinduism.

**On Status of Women:**

Dayanand championed the cause of women. Child marriage and Purdon system were the orders of the Hindu society. Women education was restricted and widow remarriage was not allowed. Dayanand protested against all these evils. He cited the high position of women during Vedic period. So, he argued in favour of the equal rights of women with men. He explained that an illiterate woman will be a liability to her husband, children and for the whole family.

**Against child marriage**

He also asserted the right of women over property. He emphasized on women education and created provisions for them to read in DAV schools and colleges. He opposed child marriage and argued in favour of legislation to stop this evil practice. He also condemned polygamy and polyandry. His reforms gave a moral boost to the women and helped in their upliftment.

**Educational Reforms:**

Dayanand gave a terrible blow to Lord Macaulay’s idea on English education. For the revival of India’s glory Dayanand put emphasis on the Vedic education which was based on morality. Equality of treatment in the educational institution was advocated by Dayanand. Emphasis was to be laid down on character building of the pupils championing the moral-based education. Dayanand wrote in the Satyartha Prakash—

“It is the highest duty of parents, tutors and relatives to adorn children with good, sound education, nobility of character, refinement of manner and amiability of temper….”

**Character building**

He also recruited the good, noble and kind-hearted teachers having mastery over his subject. Then and then only, he would be able to infuse new vim and vitality into the nerves of his pupils. Thus, the motto of education, according to Dayanand, was self-control and character-building.

**Nationalism: Indian for Indians**

Dayanand was an ardent champion of nationalism. He injected a sense of pride and dignity in every Indian by unfolding the glorious cultural heritage of this land before them. “Indian for Indians” was his doctrine. He wanted to get rid of European influence.

He stood for national unity. He revealed that mutual feuds, lack of education, untouchability, impurity in life, negligence in studying the Vedas etc. were certain reasons for the downfall of the Indians. When these evils will be relegated to distant background, then nationalism will emerge among the Indians.

He also emphasized that until and unless India broke the shackles of economic and political slavery of the Europeans, it cannot achieve independence. For the first time, he had uttered the word “Swaraj” and put emphasis on “Swadeshi” or self-reliance. Thus, Swami Dayanand was a champion of Indian nationalism.

**Believer of Democracy:**

Vehemently condemning the imperialism and colonialism, Swami Dayanand was a firm believer in the concept of democracy. He believed the process of election. An elected body would definitely protect the interest of the common men. A ruler should not be an autocrat or impose his whims and caprices over the people. He cited Veda and told that everybody was equal before the law—the king and the subjects. In his words —

“…. the relationship between the ruler and the ruled should be based on mutual respect and responsibility. The ruler should treat their people as their own sons and daughters, the latter should respect the former as their father..”

Dayanand was well aware of the fact that absolute power tends to corrupt a man. So, he was against it. He championed liberalism and democracy. He also advocated about the decentralization of power.

**Need for Village Administration**: The importance of village administration was felt by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He told that the villages should be involved with the system of administration. Due to that the all-round development of villages would be possible. There should be a hierarchy of officers in charge of several villages.

They would give their best direction for the progress and prosperity of the villages. India, whose lifeblood is present in the village life, would be glorified by the progress and prosperity of villages. Much before Mahatma Gandhi, Swami Dayanand Saraswati had thought about the village administration and economic progress of the villages.

**Language : for Nation Building**: Swami Dayanand was a nation builder. The necessity of a common language for fostering national unity was felt by him. He had observed that Hindu was spoken largely by the people of India. He could discern that it might be a cementing force among the Indians. So, Dayanand his ‘Satyartha Prakash’ in Hindi. He also writes the commentaries on the Vedas in Hindi. This endeavor of Dayanand facilitated the common men to go through the inner meaning of the Veda. Thus, Hindi became the Lingua Franca in the country. Its importance was largely felt during the freedom struggle.

**Estimate:**

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was condemned variously for his conservatism. He glorified Veda and Hindu culture even at the cost of Christianity and Islam. Further, he tried to establish blindly the superiority of the Arias. In the next turn, he took for granted the Vedic polity as a perfect one and failed to find fault in it. However, Dayanand never criticized any religious belief Even; he never directly inspired any Indians to fight against the British authorities.

His ideas of ‘Swadeshi’ and ‘Swaraj’ later on inspired Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lela Lappet Ray and Eurobond Ghost. His Buddha Movement established a new milestone in the realm of Hindu reformative movement. His burning patriotism inspired many Indian leaders. Paying tribute to him,

Subhas Chandra Bose remarked — “Swami Dayanand Saraswati is certainly one of the most powerful personalities who has shaped modern Indian and is responsible for its moral regeneration and religious revival.”

Indeed, the reforms of Swami Dayanand Saraswati had inspired the Indians immensely. The reforms which Dayanand carried on through the Arya Samaj are certainly memorable. Through various social, religious and other reforms Dayanand established the superiority of the Veda. The Anglo-Vedic Colleges established by Dayanand Saraswati, later on, played a vital role for the spread of education in the nook and comer of our country.

**Activities**

Swami Dayanand Saraswati is recorded to have been active since he was 14, which time he was able to recite religious verses and teach about them. He was respected at the time for taking part in religious debates. His debates were attended by relatively large crowd of the public.

One of the most important debates took place on 22 October 1869 in [Varanasi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Varanasi), where he won a debate against 27 scholars and approximately 12 expert pundits. The debate recorded to have been attended by over 50,000 people. The main topic was "Do the Vedas uphold deity worship?"

**Arya Samaj**

Swami Dayananda Saraswati creations, the [Arya Samaj](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arya_Samaj), condemns practices of several different religions and communities, including such practices as [idol worship](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idol_worship), [animal sacrifice](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Animal_sacrifice), [pilgrimages](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pilgrimages), priest craft, offerings made in temples, the [castes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caste_system), [child marriages](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Child_marriages), [meat eating](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meat) and discrimination against women. He argues that all of these practices run contrary to good sense and the wisdom of the [Vedas](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedas). The [Arya Samaj](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arya_Samaj) discourages dogma and symbolism and encourages [skepticism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Skepticism) in beliefs that run contrary to common sense and logic.

**Views on superstitions** He severely criticized the practice what he considered superstitions, including sorcery, and astrology, which were prevalent in India at the time.

They should also counsel then against all things that lead to superstition, and are opposed to true religion and science, so that they may never give credence to such imaginary things as ghosts (Buts) and spirits (Pretax).

**Views on other religions :** Dayanand Saraswati is noted to have thoroughly studied religions other than Hinduism, including [Islam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam), [Buddhism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhism), [Jainism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jainism), [Christianity](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity), [Sikhism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikhism), and others. He described these religions in the chapters of his book [Satyarth Prakash](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satyarth_Prakash), though his analysis seemed critical.

**Islam;** He viewed [Islam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) to be waging wars and immorality. He doubted that Islam had anything to do with the God, and questioned why a God would hate every non-believer, allowing slaughter of animals, and command [Muhammad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) to slaughter innocent people.

He further described Muhammad as "imposter” and one who held out bait to men and women, in the name of God, to compass his own selfish needs". He regarded Quran as "Not the Word of God. It is a human work. Hence it cannot be believed in".

**Christianity;** His analysis of the [Bible](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bible) was based on the comparison with scientific evidences, morality, and other properties. His analysis brings out that the Bible contains many stories and precepts that are immoral, praising cruelty, deceit and that encourage sin.[[26]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dayananda_Saraswati#cite_note-26) One notes many discrepancies and fallacies of logic in the Bible after reading [Chapter XIII](http://www.aryasamajjamnagar.org/chapterthirteen.htm) of Satyarth Prakash, showing e.g. that God fearing Adam eating the fruit of life and becoming his equal displays jealousy. His critique shows logical fallacies in the Bible, and throughout he asserts that the events depicted in the Bible portray God as a man rather than an Omniscient, Omnipotent or Complete being.

He opposed the [perpetual virginity of Mary](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perpetual_virginity_of_Mary), he added that such doctrines are simply against the nature of law, and that God will never break his own law because God is Omniscient and infallible.

**Sikhism;** He regarded [Guru Nanak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guru_Nanak) as having noble aims but "not much literate", who had no knowledge of the Vedas or Sanskrit. Otherwise, , [Guru Nanak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guru_Nanak) wouldn't be mistaken with words such as wrongly using "north" in place of "nirbhaya". However, he compliments Guru Nanak for saving people in Punjab as it was then downtrodden by the Muslims. He further pointed that followers of Sikhism are to be blamed for making up stories that Guru Nanak possessed miraculous powers and had met the Gods. He slammed the successors of Nanaka as having "invented fictitious stories", although he also recognized Guru Gobind Singh to "indeed a very brave man".

**Jainism;**He regarded Jainism as "a most dreadful religion", writing that Jains were intolerant and hostile towards the non-Jains.

**Buddhism;** Dayanand described Buddhism as ridiculous and "atheistic".He describes the type of "salvation" Buddhism as being attainable even to dogs and donkeys. He further criticized the Cosmogony of Buddhism, stating that the earth was not created.

**Works;** Dayananda Saraswati wrote more than 60 works in all, including a 16 volume explanation of the six Vedangas, an incomplete commentary on the [Ashtadhyayi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ashtadhyayi) (Panini's grammar), several small tracts on ethics and morality, Vedic rituals and sacraments, and a piece on the analysis of rival doctrines (such as [Advaita](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Advaita) [Vedanta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedanta), [Islam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) and Christianity). Some of his major works include the Satyarth Prakash, Satyarth Bhumika, Sanskarvidhi, [Rigvedadi Bhashya Bhumika](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rigvedadi_Bhashya_Bhumika), Rigved Bhashyam (up to 7/61/2)and Yajurved Bhashyam. The Paropakarini Sabha located in the Indian city of [Ajmer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ajmer) was founded by the Swami himself to publish and preach his works and [Vedic](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedic) texts.

**3.6 Gopala Krishna Gokhale**

* *Senior leader of Indian national congress*
* *Founder of servants of Indian society*
* *Liberal political leader*

Gopal Krishna Gokhale  (9 May 1866 – 19 February 1915) was an Indian liberal political leader and a social reformer during the [Indian Independence Movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Independence_Movement). Gokhale was a senior leader of the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) and the founder of the [Servants of India Society](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Servants_of_India_Society). Through the Society as well as the Congress and other legislative bodies he served in, Gokhale campaigned for Indian self-rule and for social reforms. He was the leader of the moderate faction of the Congress party that advocated reforms by working with existing government institutions.

His political thought revolves around the socio- political issues. He appreciated and welcomed the British rule in India. He was essentially a liberal thinker and preferred constitutional methods for attaining the goal of self government. He supported the idea of strengthening local self government institutions.

He was one of the founding social and political leaders during the Indian Independence Movement against the British Empire. He welcomed the British rule in India.: Gokhale preferred constitutional methods for attaining the goal of self government. Gokhale strongly favoured the idea of strengthening local self government institutions. Gokhale gave more importance to national unity and considered it as the first pre-requisite for the growth and development of Indian nationalism. He also stood for the principle of racial equality and expressed strong resentment against the policy of racial discrimination being pursued by the English. He was interested in building a state based on western ideas. He thus laid emphasis on the principles of individual liberty and social equality. Gokhale supported the Swadeshi movement. Like Gandhi, Gokhale also believed in the primacy of means: In present days, we see the relevance of Gokhale’s political ideas.

\**Political Ideas of Gokhale ;** Gokhale’s political ideas revolves more around the socio-political issues. The political thoughts of Gokhale areas follows…

**Trust in the English conscience**

Gokhale appreciated and welcomed the British rule in India.He had trust in the English conscience. He supported the British rule for two reasons.

Firstly like all themoderates, Gokhale was convinced that it was because of British Rule that the process of modernization of theIndian society had set in.

Secondly, the British upheld the concept of equality before the law. They introduced the principle of representative government and guaranteed freedom of speech and press. Gokhale was convincedthat if British Rule continued for sometimes, India would be modernized completely. He also believed that inkeeping with their traditions, the British would fulfill their pledges and bestow on India-self government onceIndians qualified for the same. Gokhale’s faith in the British sense of justice does not imply that he was theirblind admirer. He bitterly criticized the policies of the British government on a number of issues. He condemnedthe British for keeping the Indians out of high position despite their professions of equal treatment to all. He alsoopposed the partitioned of Bengal.

**Faith in individual liberty: H**is liberalism was slightly different from the classical liberalismthat existed in the 18th and 19th century. As a liberal Gokhale stood for individual liberty and certain basic rightswhich the people should enjoy. He felt that individualliberty could be usefully allowed only when individual behave with a sense of self –restraint.

To himthe right of free expression and freedom of the press were essential to realize the ideal of individual liberty. Hetherefore, opposed the Official Secret Bill in 1904. Gokhale also supported the right to private property andfreedom of contract. In order to maintain individual liberty and essential civil rights, he proposed theestablishment of the representative institution in the country. Gokhale did not demand universal franchise.

For e.g. for the village Panchayat election he wanted that only such person should be enfranchised who paid aminimum land revenue. Gokhale also suggested the principle of special representation for the religious minority. Recognizing the communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims, he pleaded for separate representationof the Muslims. Gokhale’s ideas regarding the role of state remarkably differed from that of classical liberalism.Classical liberalism stands for a laissez-faire state. But, Gokhale wanted state intervention to regulate the economic and social life of the country.

**Method of Struggle;** Gokhale preferred constitutional methods for attaining the goal of self government. He argued that the chief merits of constitutional method were that it involved a minimum of disturbances in the existing arrangement andwould help in winning the support of the freedom loving people of England. Gokhale’s constitutional methodincludes passive resistance, non payment of taxes etc. avoiding violence, rebellion and abetting of foreigninvasion.

**Local Self Government for power decentralization ;** Gokhale strongly favoured the idea of strengthening local self government institutions. He stood for decentralization of authority. He felt that it was through this gradual decentralization and by way of forming an Advisory District Council for advising the District administration that India could progress. Gokhale while giving evidence to the Hob house Decentralization Commission pleaded for the system of village Panchayat and District Council for the smooth running of Indian Administration. By self government he never meant complete independence for India. He wanted self government only within the limits of the British Empire.

**National Unity;** Gokhale gave more importance to national unity and considered it as the first prerequisite for the growth and development of Indian nationalism. He tried to blind the people of different parts to a single unit by eliminating caste and creed considerations. He was also a strong advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity and asserted that there could not be any future of India without the cooperation of these two communities.

**Principle of Racial Equality;** He also stood for the principle of racial equality and expressed strong resentment against the policy of racial discrimination being pursued by the English. He was particularly critical of the treatment meted out to the Indian labourers sent for work to foreign lands. In March 1912, he moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Council recommending prohibition of recruitment of Indian indentured labour.

**Faith in the Western Principles;** He was interested in building a state based on western ideas. He thus laid emphasis on the principles of individual liberty and social equality. Gokhale did not favour reconstruction of Hindu society on the basis of past.Instead he favoured reconstruction according to the western modern ideas so that the people could claim equality.

**Support for Swadeshi**: Gokhale supported the Swadeshi movement. To him Swadeshi meant an exalted, deepand all-embracing love India. Like Ranade, he felt that the key-problem in India was that of production whichinvolved the utilization of capital and entrepreneurship. India was deficient in these fields and hence anyone whocontributed to these aspects was working towards Swadeshism.

**The primacy of Means;** Like Gandhi, Gokhale also believed in the primacy of means. He insisted on the spiritualization of politics and wanted to use it as a means for serving the people. He laid more emphasis on building up of character andasserted that a nation must deserve liberty before it puts forward the demand for the same. Gokhale laid emphasis on the need of raising the moral and social standards of the people to fully involve them in the national movement.

**Relevance of Gokhale’s Idea;** Now a days, we see the relevance of Gokhale’s political ideas.Gokhale wanted that the state should do for the welfare of the people. According to the Directive Principle of State Policy of the Indian Constitution India is awelfare State. The Constitution of India under Article 19 guarantees the six Fundamental Rights for theprotection of individual rights for the protection of individual liberty. Article 21 also gives the right to life andpersonal liberty and this is must for the development of human quality. Decentralization of power is needed forstrengthening of democracy and for development. Realizing the needs of it, the 73rd and 74th ConstitutionalAmendment Act of 1993 has provided provision for devolution of powers and responsibilities to the Panchayat’sto both preparations of economic plans for development and social justice.

He contributed a lot of service to Indian politics. He also stood for the introduction of moral values in politics and his life. He also advocated moderation, reason and compromise as political technique.

**3. 5. BALA GANGATHATRA TILAK**

* Father of Indian unrest
* Authority in Vedas , sanscrit and Mathematician
* Accepted by the all the people

He was the father of Indian unrest because he was the man who stood the Indian people for the first time against British Government and from that time the rest of British Government in India was gone and never came back. The one man who is known as “The Father of Indian Unrest” is “Lokmanya” Bal Gandhar Tilak.- which means "accepted by the people (as their leader)".

According to Britishers,

His slogan, "Swaraj (Self Rule) is my birthright", inspired millions of Indians. Tilak was born on 23.07.1856. Bal Gangadhar Tilak described by British as "The Father of Indian Unrest " Following a disagreement with the school authorities he quit and helped found a school in 1880 that laid emphasis on nationalism. Though, he was among India's first generation of youths to receive a modern, college education, Tilak strongly criticised the educational system followed by the British in India. He received his law degree in 1879. He had an intolerant attitude towards injustice and had independent opinions from an early age. Tilak was a brilliant student. As a child, he was truthful and straightforward in nature.

Tilak had a long political career agitating for Indian autonomy from the British rule. Before Gandhi, he was the most widely known Indian political leader. Unlike his fellow Maharashtrian contemporary, [Gokhale](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gopal_Krishna_Gokhale), Tilak was considered a radical Nationalist but a Social conservative. He was imprisoned on a number of occasions that included a long stint at Mandalay.

He was Great journalist- editor, an authority on Vedas, Sanskrit Scholar, mathematician and a natural leader of India.

Tilak was the first leader of the [Indian Independence Movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Independence_Movement).

Tilak was one of the first and strongest advocates of [Swaraj](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swaraj) ("self-rule") and a strong radical in Indian consciousness. He is known for his quote in [Marathi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marathi_language): "Swarajya is my birthright and I shall have it!". He formed a close alliance with many Indian National Congress leaders including [Bipin Chandra Pal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bipin_Chandra_Pal), [Lala Lajpat Rai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lala_Lajpat_Rai), [Aurobindo Ghose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurobindo_Ghose), [V. O. Chidambaram Pillai](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/V._O._Chidambaram_Pillai) and [Muhammad Ali Jinnah](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ali_Jinnah).

**Religio-Political Views;** Tilak sought to unite the Indian population for mass political action throughout his life. For this to happen, he believed there needed to be a comprehensive justification for anti-British pro-Hindu activism. For this end, he sought justification in the supposed original principles of the [Ramayana](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramayana) and the [Bhagavad Gita](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagavad_Gita). He named this call to activism karma-yoga or the yoga of action. In his interpretation, the Bhagavad Gita reveals this principle in the conversation between Krishna and Arjuna when Krishna exhorts Arjuna to fight his enemies (which in this case included many members of his family) because it is his duty. In Tilaks opinion, the Bhagavad Gita provided a strong justification of activism. However, this conflicted with the mainstream exegesis of the text at the time which was predominated by renunciate views and the idea of acts purely for God. This was represented by the two mainstream views at the time by [Ramanuja](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramanuja) and [Adi Shankara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adi_Shankara). To find support for this philosophy, Tilak wrote his own interpretations of the relevant passages of the Gita and backed his views using Jnanadeva's commentary on the Gita, Ramanuja's critical commentary and his own translation of the Gita. His main battle was against the renunciate views of the time which conflicted with worldly activism. To fight this, he went to extents to reinterpret words such as karma, dharma, yoga as well as the concept of renunciation itself. Because he found his rationalization on Hindu religious symbols and lines, he alienated many non-Hindus such as the Muslims who began to ally with the British for support.

**Political ideas of Bal Gangadhar Tilak’s;** Among the many great figures of the British Period of Indian History there is none more impressive of distinctive than Bal Gangadhar Tilak’s the only Lokmanya of India. In the course of his career of 64 years this versatile man achived not only India wide but also world- wide fame as a patriot, a politician, an educationist, a scholar and a philosopher which no other personality equalled or excelled.

Shri Bal Gangadhar Tilak popularly know as the Lokmanya, was one of the greated personalities in the political history of Modern Asia. He was a great scholar, journalist, educator, partriot and the leader of the Extremist Sections of the Indian National Congress.

Tilak was the first who converted the Indian National Congress in to a mass organization. In the words of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, “The early founders of the National Congress were great man but the rather made the intellectual foundation in the early stages of the freedom Movement.

I don’t think that it is unfair to them to say that they were not mass leader in the sense that some subsequent great leaders becomes. I think the first mass leader of this new state of our revolutionary movement was lokmanya Tilak.” He was the great guide and the leader of the nationalist movement in contemporary India. In the words of T.L. Sahay:’ For Gandhiji and the congress he left a philosophy of struggle and a clearly demarcated goal, for free India he left the broad outlines of a new political philosophy integreated with the value system of his people. However, a study of the works and speeches of Tilak does provide us with an insight into

the fundamentals of the extremist school of political thought in Modern India.

**Basis of Political Thought:**  Bal Gangadhar was not an idealistic thinker like Plato or Aristotle. Tilak never depicted any picture of the ideal State. His main aim was the political mancipation of India. Tilak was realistic in his political thought. Tilak was a Vedantist and believed in metaphysical assumptions. Tilak was of the view that metaphysics of the Vedanta, was the political conception of natural rights. All men have the same autonomous spiritual potentiality. Tilak regarded freedom as a divine attribute, without which on spiritual and moral life was possible. That is way he regarded Swarajya as Dharma. Politicaly, Swarajy, according to Tilak meant Home Rule and morally, it meant the attainment of the perfection of self control. For Tilak, Swaraj was a moral necessity. It was the duty of every men to achieve Swaraj or self rule. In his own words: “it is a life centered in selfrule. There is Swarajya in this world as well as in the world here after.The Rishis who laid down the law of duty be took themseleves t because the people were already enjoying Swarajya or people’s dominion which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshatriya Kings.” Tilak was a deeply religious man and held the conviction that India must be re-created on the foundations of her own greatnes in the past.

**As a revivalist**: Tilak was a revivalist in the sense that he wanted to revive all that was good and noble in India’s past culture and civilization.

**Preserve tradition**

Tilak never wanted to have a complete break with the past. In his own words, … a proper knowledge of the old traditions and philosophies must be imported the newly educated classes, and the Pandits and Shastris must be given information about the newly changed and changing circumstances. Tilak’ criticized and repudiated the blind imitation of the west by the Indian moderates. Lokmanya Tilak was partially, a revivalist, it must not be thought that he was a more Hindu nationalist. As a person,

Tilak had intense pride in Hindu religion and culture. As a Political leader he wanted to preserve the legitimate interests of the Hindu people and would not sanction cowardice and surrender. The moderates like Ghokhale and Ranade were of the opinion that the only way on the lines of western society. They wanted to,reform Indian society of the moderates. However Tilak was not a narrow-minded person. Tilak appreciated the introduction of English education in India and he himself propagated in favour of the same. Tilak also studies the works of western liberal thinkers like Hegel, Kant, Spencers, Mill and Rousseaio.

**On Nationalism:**

Tilak’s nationalism had to some extent a revivalstic orientation. Tilak wanted to bring to the front the message of Veds and the Gita for providing spiritual energy and moral enthusiasm to the national. A recovery of the healthy and vital traditions, of the old culture of India was essential. His concept of nationalism was based on the synthesis of the Vedantic of the Vedantic spirit as self contained freedom and the western conception of Mazzini, Burke, Mill, and Wilson. Like Aurobindo Ghosh, Bankim Chandra, Bipin Chandra Pal, Tilak was an advocated of religious nationalism concern for motherland was his primary political objective. Hence during the partition of Bengal, Tilak said, “The partition grievance,,for the whole of India is at your back.

**Nation first**

The love of nation is ones first duty. Next comes religious will be the edifice for the regeneration of India. The love of nation is ones first duty. Next comes religion and next to it government.” Tilak advocacy of religious nationalism was explicit from his statement which he said “I regard India as my motherland and my Goddes ,the people of India my kith and kin and loyal and steadfast work for their political and social emancipation my highest religion and duty.” Nationalism has different foundations such as geographical area, language, religion, common felling etc. Tilak’s nationalism highlighted psychological aspect. Nationalism according to Tilak, “is not visible and concrete entity but is a kind of sentiment an idea and in generating this idea, the historical memories of the great figures of country play a significant part.” As a leader, Tilak wanted to creat a solid nationalistic following in Maharashtra and for purpose Tilak wanted to symbolize the permanent religious and historical traditions of the people. The Ganapti and the Shivaji festivals were the symbols of therising nationalism in Maharashtra and late on to some extent in other part of India also.

**Devotion is the root of nationalism**

Tilak was of the view that the roots of Indian Nationalism must lie in the sentiments and devotaions of the Indian people. In fact, Tilak tried to bring nationalism to the masses, by inaugurating these festivals. Tilak was not only a patriot and a nationalist but also an internationalist.

**Political Method Passive Resistance: Ba**l Gangadhar Tilak substituted the use of passive resistance for constitutional method to attain Swaraj. Tilak declared, ‘the congress agitation based on the so called constitutional method is sheer-waste of time. Tilak was of the opinion that theconstitutional method used by the Moderates was not at all applicable under the conditios then prevailing in India. The constitutional method was applicable only where the people enjoyed the power of over throwing a government by the use of ballot box , a government of whose policies the people disapproved and where there existed a strong and virile public opinion.

In the words of Tilak, there is no constitution in India. The government in India is irresponsible and non-constitutional. Constituted authorities in India are irresponsible and we have to take our rights from them. The legality of our action is decided by this government. Tilak wanted the people to appose these laws which were against justice and morality. But Tilak ruled out the use of violence in attaining self rule. However, he was not a preacher of Ahisnsa a or non-violence. He said,‘passive resistance was the means to an end but was not the goal in itself.’ To Tilak nonviolent resistance was at best a policy, a matter of convenience.

**On violence**: As mentioned earlier, Tilak ruled out the use of violence in India’s struggle for elf rule. However, Tilak was not a preacher of Ahimsa or non-violence. Some people are of the opinion that Lokmanya Tilak was a revolutionary as he wished to awaken the people of India so that they could rise in revolt against the British. Some foreign critics of Tilak’s philosophy also regarded him as a revolutionary. There is no doubt that Tilak was in touch with some of the revolutionaries of those days, Tilak also supported the action of Shivaji in Killing Afzal Khan and some people believe that Tilak had a hand in the setting up of an Arms Factory in Nepal in 1903. In spite of all that ,

Tilak was not a revolutionary. He felt that the conditions in the country were not fit for revolutionary activies. Gandhiji was an apostle of non-violence, But Tilak did not have the same faith non-violence, Tilak did not rule out the possibility of resorting to violence as a means of achieving independence. As a practical politician Tilak relised that it was never wise to restrict onself to the employment of one single method only for the achievement of freedom, one should have more than string to one’s bow. Tilak did not encourage crimes of violence and sought to restrain the young revolutionaries but was not opposed to the use of violence on principle,

Tilak thought that the conditions in India were not favourable for its employment. He relised the necessity of having some devoted revolutionaries who could devote themselves to the work of preparing the country for an eventual issurrection. But Tilak did not want that the two activities, awakening the spirt of the people for passive resistance and preparing the ground for armed revolt should be mixed up. If they were mixed together, the government would get a pretext to repress the civic rising also. Tilak’s attitude in this matter was wholly pragmatic, it was no theoretic or philosophical.

**The Moderates**: Lokamany Tilak has won lasting fame by creating the vital foundation of an assertive nationalism. Tilak was an extremist and there were several factors responsible for that. Temperamentally he was buoyant and represented the aggressive vigorous spirit of method. Tilak coustically about the moderates methods, Tilak slashes. The time has come when if no further step be taken, the congress is sure to sink to the position of an annual elocution gathering on a grand scale. Crying once in a year like frogs in rains is not likely to do any good. We now want a persistent and single- minded effort to conunce to British publice of the injustice and iniquity of our position and our determination not to lay down arms until we get what we also for.Tilak had been inspired by the careers and exploits of Shivaji and the other Maratha heroes who represented struggle and fight and successful victories.

Tilak believed in legal ethod of agitation. Tilak was twice elected to the Bombay legislative council. Tilak contemplated elected also a third time. He formed the congress democratic party in 1920 for contesting lections. But although Tilak accepted the frame work of the existing law he wanted to use the areas of action left free by the law of the British government to intensify the nationalism ovement in the country. Before Tilak come into active prominence as a leader as a leader, the Indian nationalist movement was committed to a philosophy of intellectual discussion on a idental lines. Tilak taught the gospel of Indianization of the nationalist movement.Hence his echniques of political action and his philosophical defense of the nationalist movement were oriented to the historical heritage of the people of India. If some of the moderate leaders looked only to Burke, Mazzini, and spencer for intellecutual inspiration, Tilak also looked to Shivaji and Nana Fadnavis and the Bhagavadgita. Tilak’s attempts to Indianize the policy and orientation of the nationalist movement brought to him the support of Lala Lajpat Rai who in several respects closely associated him self with Gokhale.

**Economic Independence**: Tilak realized that the Britishers were not simply satisfied with holding the ruling power in their hands. They also captured the trade and industries of India. As a result our trade were used as the largest market by the British industries. The Indians had to pay taxes to meet the comfort and luxury of the British people. Our agricultural products went to British and their finished products were sold in the Indian maret. Swadeshi cannot be possible withiout boycott. Hence Tilak called upon the people to agitate against the British policies. But at the same time Swadeshi should by adopted by each and every Indian.

The object ives of swadeshi there fore is to make Indians free from being slaves. Tilak said there is the violent pressure of the three’d’s daridrya, dushkal, and dravyashosha up of wealth constantly, troubling us. Every one must come out for sacrifice and adopt swadeshi. Swadeshi cannot be possible without boycott. People should boycott the British goods and commodities. Every effort should be made by the Indian to establish indigenous industries and buy Indian goods. Self reliance and self sacrifice should be the way of life of every Indian. People must get ready to refuse to pay tax and refuse to assist in the collection of revenue. All these effortswould make us courageous to fight against the exploitation made by the British.

**Political Education:**  There was always a value base for Tilak’s Political education. Even though Tilak was a hard realist and pragmatist his objectives and the method selected by him for the political education had value orientation. Tilak looked upon political freedom, the objective of his education, as a moral obligation, not merely as a natural right but a moral necessity. Tilak believed that human mind is a combination of ‘Devine’ and ‘Animal’ .He therefore ,wanted to educate the animal and incarnate Divinity in the human beings. Tilak believed in democracy and therefore always advocated the concept of popular sovereignty. His concept of nationalism was also not romantic or negative in natures. It had secular bearing and welfare of the Humanity was its ultimate goal. Tilak did not favour aggressive nationalism. Tilak witnessed that the Indian people were suffering

from an inferiority complex and had lost all hope and confidence. The Indian civilization was passing through a period of uncertainty and disintegration. India was ruled by an alien power for over a thousand years. The impact of the west in the form of British political domination come as the necessary stimulus to its reawakening. This reawakening created moderates who believed in the Divine dispensation of the British rajwith which Tilak did not agree.Tilak wanted freedom as a precondition for the development of society. ‘Swaraj’ is my birth- right and I will have it was not just a rhetoric for him of just an emotional tool to achieve independence. Tilak claimed that people had a right to claim freedom just by virtue of their becoming a human society and that no further justification wasnecessary.

“We are human beings and as such we have the right to be free.” Tilak stressed that history and tradition, religion and philosophy, action and philosophy, action and unity were all made meaningful in the concept of love of the country. Tilak also took

notice of the fact that the British government did not respond to the honest demands of Indian politicians as they had hoped. Tilak felt the need of exploring the myth of ‘benevolent imperialism’. Instead of accepting the British contacts as Divine dispensation and putting his faith in the bonafides of these ‘generous’ impact rules, Tilak thought it necessary to investigate the true character of the basic relationship between great Britain and India. This brought him face to face with many a basic political and social issus. Knowedge about the basic problesm of the country facing in different walk of life.

The basic problems which Tilak identified were

1. Need of creating a sense of national pride based on the values in Indian history and culture.
2. His belief that the British rule was imperial in nature and in no way of divine dispensation. He therefore, was dissactisfied with the moderates programme of prayers and petitions. It was the legitimacy given by the Indian people to the British rule, which was an obstacle in the way of Swaraj.
3. Understanding of the need of brining the masses in the mainstream of the nationalstruggle.
4. Belief that violent revolutions were not successful without enough popular
5. support.
6. The need of political education to the masses though poor and ignorant for their organization and politicisation.
7. They were only to be made aware of their true potential assuring them that their future rested entirely in their own hands.

**Human Rights**: Tilak demanded rights for the people of India. According to him, to demand rights was the most sacred and honoured duty of each citizen. It was not an art of sedition. He, therefore, declared that rights were most essential for the healthy life of a nation. In this connection Tilak said, what do weask for

? Do we say, drive away the English Government, But I ask what is it to the Emperor lose anything whether the administration is carried on by the civil servents or by our Delhi Sahibs? The rule still remains, the Emperor still remains. The difference will be that the

white servants who were with them would be replaced by a black servant. From whom does this opposition come? This opposition comes from those people who are in power. It does not come from the Emperer from the Emperor’s point of view there is neither anarchy not want of loyalty nor sedition in this. What does sedition mean natred of the king. Does king mean a police sepey? Thus, **Tilak was a great advocate of rights**. Hedemanded just rights for the people of the country.

**On Swaraj:** The political goal of Bal Gangadhar Tilak was to atain Swaraj or self government for the people of India. Tilak was the most significant and And dominant political personality of the early years of the 20 century who gave to the people of the country the first lesson in the form of the consciousness of the right of Swaraj are Home Rule.

At the lucknow session of the Indian Naitional Congress 1916 Tilak declared: ‘Swaraj is the birth right of the Indians.’ To Tilak, Swaraj meant Home Rule or self- government for the people of India. Usually Swaraj is translated to mean self rule or independence for foreign political domination. It did not imply the negation of the ultimate British Sovereignty.

According to Tilak Swaraj was not only a right but also a Dharma. It was a moral necessity. In the words of T.L. sahay: ‘Swaraj meant the lowful exercise of the community’s freedom. For the community it also meant the choice of order over chaos and the regulation of all community activities morally in accordance with Dharmrajya, the rule of Dharma. Tilak insisted that in the absence of Swaraj, our life and our Dharma were is vain. Without Swaraj life was not worthwhile. Tilak was not very keen on securing government jobs for deserveing India .In hisown word , “To get posts of big salaries is not the meaning of Swarajya ‘Swaraj’ to him meant a total change in political theory .Tilak wanted complete swaraj According to him swaraj under Dharmarajya either existed fully or did not exit at all.

For the Indian people ,there could be no such thing as partial swaraj .This was Tilak’s meaning when Tilak declared “swaraj is my birth right and I will have it.” During Bengal partition Tilak formulated four paint programmes life Swadeshi ,Boycott ,National education, and Passive Resistance for swaraj. However ,his political techniques are discussed below.

**Freedom of the press**. Tilak held the view that press had a right to criticise the bureaucracy. In fact ,it was the duty of the newspapers to place before the government the grievances of the people. As Tilak’s attacks become more and more fierce the bureaucracy started perseuting and prosecuting him. Tilak’s was unrepentant and continude his virulent attacks .Tilaks used to ask “we have government. we shall not be sorry for its displeasure,because of our criticism of policy.

Nor will we hesitate to suffer the consequences of that displeasure .If the repressive policy of the government is not to be protested against and if we are not to tell the people that the folly of the administration will cause them suffering and that all such acts of the government will not be in the interests of all the government itself, why them have any paper at all? Our views and the way in which they are expressed may sound harsh, but that is so because of the way our thinking when the heart burns under protest against disgusting wrong and gross injustice, that fire will naturally be reflected in the writing and expressions of the writer.” In fact, Tilak by these attacks on bureaucracy invited proseution in 1908. But Tilak used this trial for asserting the right of freedom of press.

**Evolving a democratic process:** Tilak was the first leader who introduced democratic process in the country. His leadership the Indian National Congress was a forum of only the educated aristocrats and landlords. Tilak attempted to make it a mass organization. Tilak always identified himself with the masses, he championed their cause and spoke their languages. In his well informed essay on Indian Democracy Dr. P.G. Sahasrabudhe has shoun how every page of the Kesari bears witness to Tilak’s great concern for workers, peasant, artisans, weavers, gardeners-all the vast number of tailing mass who are the majority of all Indian people.

After the Revolt of 1857, no body had developed so much faith in Indian masses in the India’s struggle for liberation and using mass action in the form of passive resistance. Tilak did not approach the princes or the big landlord for help, Tilak want to the masses, galvanized them with a new spirit and organized them in a national movement where they contributed to the final outcome the end of the British Raj in India and of imperialism in Asia.

**Live with rural people**

Tilak advised the educated middle class youth to go to village and work for the peasants. Thus Tilak was the founder of a true democratic process in India where there will by equality among the people and the gap between the rulers and the ruled, land owners and the landless will be bridged, every one will have his identity in the society.

**Education and agiation**: To pressurise the administration and make it annul the partition of Bengal the extremists suggested the triple programme of National Education, Swadeshi, and Boycott of British goods. Before the entry of Tilak in the public life, most educational I stitutions in the country were run by the Government. Tilak and his associates held the view that the education imparted through government school and colleges encouraged amongst the students a tendency to imitate the westerners in all aspec s of life.

Tilak desired the new generation of students to cultivate the qualities of

1. self-respect,
2. hard work,
3. sincerity of purpose and
4. above all
5. the willingness to sacrifice the comforts of family life and worldly career for the sake of the motherland.

So in 1880 Tilak cooperated with Vishnushastri Chiplunkar in the establishment of the New English School and later the Fergusson college where he wanted as a teacher for a few years.Tilak was agitated over the economic exploition of India by British imperialists. A large number of his articles were devoted to such topics as the land revenue system, famines budgets of the Government of India and provincial Governments, the rate of

foreign exchange etc.

**Power lies with the people:**

The victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 Stirred the minds of the people of Asia. They yellow people of a small Asion island, united, courageous ready for any sacrifice, had bent to their will the mightiest Emperor in Europle. The very next year, the British Government announced the partition of Bengal. The callous indifferenc shown by the Victory lord Curzon to the sentiments of the people shattered the illusions of the Indians about the freedom loving genious of the British people, public meeting of vast numbers were organized in Bengal to experess public opinion but they were of no avail. The determination shown by the people of Bengal confirmed Tilak’s belief in the power of Public opionion and Tilak devoted all his resources in the next few years to arouse and organize the people’s will. “The will of the people and their potential power for noncooperation constitute invariably and extraordinary force.” But to be effective it had to be

united and resolute.

The government in our country was indifferent to public opinion because it was not backed by any resolution or collective action. To quote Tilak: the power of public opinion lies in its resolute will. It cannot be gauged by the supporting numbers. The straws put together to make a big heap serve no useful purpose. But the same grass twisted into a strong rope is capable of subjugating even an intoxicated elephant. If this state of affair did not change the blame lay with the leaders. It was the business of the leaders to prepare the nation for a concerted struggle for Swaraj such will should be the stern stuff of which th Indian leadership should be made. The people would learn the method of struggle by carrying out the struggle itself. For this end the leaders would be called upon to court imprisonment and even deportation. They only could they inspire unshakeable confidence in the public. These statement of Tilak were no mere empty preaching’s but were acted upon when occasions arose. Tilak suffered his

imprisonment and deportation with extraordinary equanimity and for bearance.

**National Education;**  Tilak insisted on National Education continuously. Tilak was not favour of liberal and English education. Tilak said ,”only to read and write is not education. An education should enable us to earn our livelihood and teach us about our ancestors.” Only English could not do that.This could only produce clerks and employess. Tilak wanted to end the impact of Christianity through education. Tilak was in favour of giving education in mother language. He wanted to give moral and religion to the students. Thus Tilak was the greatest supporter of moral education. Tilak wanted efforts were made for the National school, national college and national university so that the student could get patriotic,self reliance self help education. Acoording to Tilakk , to get Swaraj the scattering of national educationwas necessary. Tilak had strong belief that Indian should be given national education so that Indian could get freedom from western education and they could become independent.

Though some private educational institutes were present then, they were not free from government rule. Students were not allowed to take part in national movements. Many students were either expelled from the colleges or fined heavily. These students had taken part in boycott and movements. Mr.Tilakk wanted that Indian students should knowabout their respectable history through national education so the quality of self-sacrifice,fearlessness and self-confidence might be inculcated in them.

For this purpose he had supported the movement of establishing Maharastra Education movement in 1906 and when the Smarth College of Kohlapur faced financial shortage,Tilak toured whole India and collected the money for the college.He wanted to establish a world university for national education. But Tilak could not realized his dreamExplaning National Education ,Tilak had said that national education enables people to learn about their country.

Tilak told that in America such education is given in the schools, But if such education is given in India it will be considered as disloyalty.Tilak told that our students had not know about that to buy sugar rupess 6 crores are spent. This is because of business policy of our government, But student of today know nothing about this. Tilak told that he himself got this knowledge after leaving his college after 25 years. So he wanted that the students of his country should know all about this in their schools or colleges. In other countries, technical and vocational education is given. But in India, education is producing only clerks.

**Evolving a Democratic Process:** Tilak was the first leader who introduced democratic process in the country. Prior to his leadership the Indian National Congress was a forum of only the educated aristocrats and landlords. Tilak attempted to make it a mass organization. Tilak always indentified himself with the masses, he championed their cause and spoke their languages. In his well informed essay on Indian Democracy Dr. P. G. Sahasrabudhe hasshown how every page of the Kesari bears witness to Tilak’s great concern for workers, peasants, artisans, weavers, gardeners- all the vast number of tailing mass who are the majority of the Indian people. After the Revolt of 1857, nobody had developed so much faith in Indian masses in the India’s struggle for liberation and using mass action in the form of passive resistances.

Tilak did not approach the princes or the big landlords for help, Tilak went to the masses, galvanised them with a new spirit and organized them in a national movement where they contributed to the final outcome the end of the British Raj in India and of imperialism in Asia. Tilak advised the educated middle class youth to go to village and work for the peasants. Thus he was the founder of a true democratic process in India where there will be equality among the people and the gap between the rulers and the ruled, land owners and the landles will be bridged, everyone will have his identity in the society.

**Functions of state;** According to political view of Tilak, the state duty is not only to maintain the law and order situation of country but also to take care of the progress of the country. Tilakasserted that the bad economic condition is the responsibility of the British government. itis not proper for the government that it consider the drought, flood and plague responsible for the poor financial condition of the country. Tilak cited the example of England and said that the land of England does not produce wheat to the demand of the people. So it cannot meet the demand of the people. But the government does not say that the land is not fertile. If government says such thing the public will demand itsresignation.

But this is not possible in Indian. Tilak said that if the harvest is not up to the mark due to shortage of rain,, it was the responsibility of the government it should have done other arrangement for the supply of the water to the fields. But the government had not delivered the goods. Because it has kept his political motive in mind instead of the economic-welfare of the people. Tilak believed that unless there was no industrial progress in the country,we cannot solve the financial problems of the people. Indian government’s economic policy had destroyed Indian industries.Due to this policy of the Bitish government,Indian has become an agricultural country instead of an industrial country.To save the Indian industries, it is necessary that Indian industries should be protected and the influx of Indian currency should be stopped, immediately.

**Hindi as a national language;** Though Tilak respected all the languages yet he wanted Hindi be a national language. Tilak thought that if we want to keep the whole country in a thread then Hindi is the best option. For a country where people were divided on the basis of language, one national language was the need of the hour. Thus Tilak was the first congress leader who advocated for Hindi as a national languages.

**Synthesis nationalism**

His nationalism was not devoid of revivalism. Tilak’s nationalism was also influenced by the western theories of national independence and self- determination. In the famous trial speech of 1908, He accepted the wilsonian concept or self determination and pleaded for its application to India. Hence Tilak’s philosophy of nationalism was a synthesis of the Vedantic ideas of the spirit as supreme freedom ovn and later on of Wilson.

This synthesis Tilak expressed in terms of Swarajya, a Vedic term which was used in Maharashtra to indicate of Maratha polity of Shivaji Tilak looked upon ‘Nation’ as one form of secular social organizations among many other such organizations.

**Subjugation is base for nationalism**

Tilak observed that the concept of nationalism would not have emerged in the history of mankind if no nation on this earth had suffered from the foreign subjugation or had been living under such threat. Tilak did not elaborate this point. Yet his arguments clearly indicate that for him, Nationalism was a secular phenomenon. As Nevinson has so rightly pointed out, ‘‘To Tilak nationalism was mainly a political agent, a means of material improvement.”

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## Major Questions

1. What are impacts of renaissance ?
2. Elaborate the politica thought of Raja Ram Mohan Roy
3. Write about the political contribution nof Dadaboi Nowroj
4. Write the share of Dayananda Saraswathi in shping the Indian politics
5. Elucidate the principles of Gokhale

**UNIT IV**

**Modern Political Thinkers …II**

1. Bibin Chandra Pal
2. Lala Lajapathi Roi
3. Aurabindo
4. M.K Gandhi
5. NSC Bose
6. **Bibin Chandra Pal**

* *Father of revolutionary thought*
* *Part of Lal Bal Pal*
* *Popularized Swaraj and swathesi*

'Jai Hind': Netaji Subhas **Chandra** Bose. 'Swaraj Mera Janamsiddha adhikar hai, aur main ise laker rahoonga (Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it)': coined by Kaka Baptista and adopted by Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Poil Village, Habiganj District, Bengal state of British India (now part of Bangladesh), in a wealthy Hindu Vaishnava family His father, Ramchandra Pal, was a Persian scholar and small landowner

Pal is known as the 'Father of Revolutionary Thoughts' in India and was one of the freedom fighters of India. Pal became a major leader of the Indian National Congress. At the Madras session of congress held in 1887, Bipin Chandra Pal made a strong plea for repeal of the Arms Act which was discriminatory in nature.

**Bipin Chandra Pal** was part of the 'Lal Bal **Pal**' trio that largely orchestrated the actions of the 'radicals', as they came to be known. This comprised of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and **Pal** himself.

Bipin Chandra Pal was born on November 7, 1858 in Sylhet, now in Bangladesh.

**Political Thought of Bipin Chandara Pal**

Bipili Chandra Pal had been in the forefront of our struggle for Independence.

**1.) Freedom through Peaceful and Constitutional Means**

He was of the opinion that since revolution is detestable and since the dangers to India, wider international situations and a higher political philosophy suggest undesirability of isolated Independence, the logical way

to India’s freedom lies through peaceful and constitutional means. Pal never under-estimated the need and efficacy of constitutional reforms in the advancement of India’s political freedom. He

desired “to gradually have a popular government in India” with this belief that “whatever may be the scheme of election the spirit of popular government is identical with that of Parliament

tary government.” Repeatedly he urged the necessity of an open and candid declaration from the King and the British Par liament recognising the absolute legitimacy of India’s claim to popular government.

**2.) Hinduism, a Federal Idea**

Pal delved **into the** examination and explanation of the Indian spirit. He formed

a balanced and dispassionate judgment of every creed or prac- tice, following Emersonian dictum that for every good there is a counterpoise of evil and that for every evil there is, whether manifest or unmanifest, some compensating good — a dictum which he frequently used in his writings and speeches. Ritualism, which he earlier thought “absolutely antidemocratic ” now appeared to him with a new meaning. There can be no religion, strictly so called, though there may be any amount of philosophy and theology, without symbolism and rituals. The symbols must be natural, rational, and adequate; but there must be some in every true religion .” The object of image worship was “to train the mind to see and seize the Un- seen. in and through the seen”, and thus it was “not idolatry at all but ideolatry .” And in spite of his reservations from the philosophical stndpoint, he became a sincere admirer of the Theosophical and Arya Samaj movements in as much as both contributed much to the resurgence of our ethical and patriotic sentiments. As a philosphy, with a rational basis and justification and a systemof discipline, he thought that “Vaishnava systems have much in them to commend our respect, and claim our allegiance .”

Out of profound regard for Vaishnavism. he prefaced his book The Soul of India with the words : “In presenting Shree Krishna as the Soul of India, I may be accused of sectarian pre- possession. But Shree Krishna is presented here not as a sec- tarian ideal, but as the Principle and Personality in and through whom, as in the past so also in the present and even in the future, the great Indian Synthesis was, is being, and will be worked.” He sought to rationalise and make clear this emotional warmth later on. Indian Society must have a distinc- tiveness and a historic evolution of its own on the basis of some eternal ideal. Having this eternal ideal of Inia in mind, he called Shree Krishna the soul of India . That this Krishna symbolises the multiplicity of our human relations of love and affection and service was sought to be established by Pal in. fuller detail in his posthumous publication ‘Bengal Vaishna- vism’. Krishna may be a superman, but not a supernatural being. In fact, the “Vaishnavic conception of heaven, which is called Brindabana, is the logic of the evolution of this world of Nature, man and society. In Brindabana all Nature stands in its perfected beauty. In Brindabana, humanity stands in all the perfections of ts life and relations, the perfections towards which individual human and social groups have been striving from eternity to eternity .”

**3. Philosophy and Science of Religion**

The truth of spiritual values can, in fact, be properly under- stood by means of a Philosophy and Science of Religion. But there is the danger of importing spurious eements in religion

under the guise of science. Pal himself saw in England, how a cult of ‘Christian Science', introduced by Rider Haggard, Sir Walter Besant and a host of others, actually preached mesmer-

ism, clairvoyance, palmistry and necromancy.

Ridiculing such efforts, Pal attempted to examine the issue in a lengthy article “Science and Relion.'’ Science in its widest sense means sys- tematic knowledge. Theology also means the systematised know- ledge of God. As such, as a Science of God, Theology natur- ally includes a consideration of the sources from which our know- ledge of God is derived. “The two sources of our knowledge of God are Man and Nature; Psychology and Physics, as dealing with these, must form an essential part of our investigation into truths about God.” There must, then, be a Science of Religion, which should include Philosophy as well, in order to have for its background the ultimate generalisation of all human know- ledge and experience. “This combination of Science and Philo- sophy is necessary in a right method of investigation of the re- ligious phenomena, for the very simple reason that religion itself is both a Science and Philosophy.”

**4.Self-help and Self-reliance : Swadeshi and Boycott**

Within a week of the publication of Bande Mataram Pal wrote an article in it named ‘New Manchester on the Hugh' which, in fact, was a warning to the representatives of the British

trade and commerce in India that the time was coming when the boycott, would be applied in addition to imported British goods, to all British capitalist enterprises in the country. The new spirit demanded new methods of agitation — the old order must change yielding place to the new. “Our method”. Pal fur- ther declared, “is passive resistance, which means an organised

determination to refuse to render any voluntary and honorary service to the government.” This method was to foster an absolute mental aloofness from the foreign government— for

which purpose two things were to be done. “First, the creation in the public mind, of a strong sense of aversion to all official in our own industrial, commercial, educational, and social life,

as will find to the people almost everything that they now go to the government for.” The second aspect meant a concerted drive to increase our own indigenous production. “Thus Swa-

deshi or the encouragement of indigenous products by buying these in preterence to foreign products even at a sacrifice, be- came an organic counter part of this new boycott campaign.”

5. **Self-Government or Swaraj**

These politico-psychological difficulties had a bearing on the selection of the President of the Congress session in Calcutta in 1906. Grave misgiving prevailed over the question whether Tilak

or Dadabhai Naoraji should be the President. It was not un- expected of Pal to like see Tilak presiding over the sessions for it was Tilak with whom he had identity of views and who in subsequent days discovered in Pal a kindred soul. But he never objected to Dadabhai Naoroji being selected for the presidentship, for healways held Naoroji in the highest esteem. To say that Pal even threatened Dadabhai “with unpleasant consequences in case he accepted the presidentship,” is a height of absurdity. For, Pal was never used to adopt undemocratic devices to com- bat his political opponents. Secondly, he did not have any per-

sonal acquaintance with Tilak till die middle of 1906, though the two were thinking similarly on political methods for years.

The position of Dadabhai in the episode is thus recorded by Pal

himself : “Dadabhai, though in full intellectual sympathy with the propaganda of the New party, was rather anxious about what the authorities might do to tight this openly defont policy.

About the middle of the year he wrote to me to say that while he fully agreed with our views, he felt it would be wise to keep on the old cover of what we called mendicancy, because if we

went in for a propaganda of pure and powerful self-help and self-reliance and condemned the older methods of prayers and petitions, he was afraid that the Government might find some ex- cuse or other to put it down by force. Knowing his private opinions we had no reason to fear any open opposition from Dadabhai.” The Times, London, which missed no occasion to use its venomous pen against Pal in those days, also records in its issue of November 13, 1906, that : “Pal was not opposed to Mr. Naoroji’s election to the presidency.”

**6. Pal and his Compatriots**

The herculean tours throughout the length and breadth of the country and the hectic political activities that Pal undertook during 1906-1908 to carry his message to the people have almost

become a part of legend. Equally common knowledge has be- come the powe of his oratory which was sweeping before the multitude absorbing for the elite and cautiously logical during learned talks.

He extolled mythological stories, eulogized his- torical events and characters and commended ritualistic celebra- tions to wake up the mass-mind and to give momentum to the movement. All this, in the other direction, inevitably provided some stimulation for the hate-campaign against the aliens, and provided not inconsiderable impetus to anarchist activities. This outward and ephemeral aspect of the political climate, naturally gave a deceptive apearance to the movement and men like Charles Elliot, the ten Lt. Governor of Bengal, getting unnerved, thought of the whole movement as “it is all Bipin Pal and blood and thunder.” Eliiot’s remark, however, evoked a sharp re- proach from no less a man than Rabindranath Tagore. Writing in 1908, Tagore observed : “He (Elliot) has suggested that the press should be crushed, that Surendranath and Bipin Pal should be apprehended. Is not this utterance itself a reason at least to make one’s blood boil when one thinks that such a man, who could unabashedly suggest such steps to quell a country, had once been our Governor?” During those days Surendranath and Pal fought shoulder to shoulder for a certain period on the partition issue. Except in this limited sphere, they were at poles asunder ideologically. Surendranath could not subscribe to the political doctrine held by Pal and it is reported that on one occasion he as even “inveighing against extravagances of Bepin Pal” in presence of Viceroy Minto, while Minto himself was contemplating Pal’s deportation.

But, as The Daily News, London, wrote : “The power and significance of the popular awakening in India being so little un- derstood, it is not at all surprising that in England, as in Anglo- India, the oddest misconceptions should exist in regard to the character, the work, and the aims of the men who have led or are leading the movement . . . Mr Banerjee has many co-adjutors in Bengal — and a few rivals. In his way an equally typical em- bodiment of current Bengali sentiment is Babu Bepin Chandra Pal, the ‘Extremist’ orator ... In his present character he was brought out by the new Swaraj movement that is, the demand for Home Rule, pure and simple; and nothing is more amusing to his ac- quaintances than the terror exercised by his name over the ‘Times’ and other English papers, to which he appears as a de- agogue of incalculable resources and the centre of a malignant conspiracy against the British dominion. In actual fact. Bipin Babu was at Oxford, with a scholarship admitting him to Man- chester New College. He has travelled and lectured in America, and since his return to India has mingled political agitation with the editing of newspapers and the calmer occupation of a Theistic preacher.”

It is this aspect of Pal, the thinker, a mingled pro- duct of various disciplines, which is particularly relevant in weighing his contribution to the movement, the contribu- tion that he made in collaboration with his compatfiots with whom he had a great, though not exclusive, identity of views. Annie Besant, giving an outline of the genesis of the collec- tive efforts, writes : ‘‘Aurobindo Ghosh began through arti- cles to the Bombay Weekly India Prakash (1893) . . .to suggest ... the way out of the bind alley into which the Congress had got. Bepin Chandra Pal through his tongue and pen preached

the ideal that Great Britain had no right to expect any loyalty from India beyond bare obedience to law — throwing out a challenge to the then leaders of the Congress in the columns of his weekly New India.

7. **Patriotic Grimness and Sociological Approach** The charge of sedition against Pal arose out of the fact that a force believing in physical violence and revolution came into the picture taking full advantage of. the very movement which he had been spearheading. According to this school the “nation- alist moveent is politically revolutionary because in so far as the masses of the population are concerned, nationalism is the expression of the objective urge ... for social progress.” Hans Kohn, while placing Pal in the forefront of India’s awakening and Indian nationalism, erred in finding no difference between the revolutionaries and nationalists and thus designated Pal as one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in India

**8. Confluence of Antithesis and Synthesis**

A mighty force of national consciousness was indeed created by the movement that was ripe to contend Western hegemony. But the rivalry was basically a moral one, a confrontation bet-

ween two civilisations — the Indian land the Western. The conflict was inevitable for the creation and development of a healthy patrio- tic sentiment in the comunity. It was a clash between ‘self’ and ‘not self.’ ‘‘India could never be conscious of her self if she had not been thrown openly into this conflict with the foreigner; and the strength of the national consciousness that it will quicken, will be determined by the strength and keenness of this conflictThe idea thus propounded by Pal, steeped in an idealistic and philosophical serenity, had, however, an air of unreality. A subjugated nation carrying on a political movement to shake off the foreign yoke, cannot be expected to be catholic enough to merge themselves, even at any distant stage, with those people who ruled over them with an air of might and supremacy. From the view point of practical politics, therefore, Pal was somewhat

**His contribution**

He started the weekly 'Paridarshak' when he was just 22 years old.

He had a multi-faceted personality that included being a leader, teacher, journalist, orator, writer and librarian. He emphasised on the use of Indian goods and believed that the boycott of foreign goods would help in eradicating poverty and unemployment.

He did not believe in mild form of protests like Non-Cooperation with the government

He popularised the **concept of swadeshi and swaraj** through his writings and speaking.

He was among the triumvirate of Lal Bal Pal, which consisted of Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal.After 1920, he remained aloof from national politics but continued to contribute to Bengali journals Leader of the Nationalist movement,

He studied and taught at the Church Mission Society College (now the St Paul's Cathedral Mission College), an affiliated college of the University of Calcutta

Bipin Chandra Pal  was an [Indian nationalist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_nationalist), writer, orator, social reformer and [Indian independence movement activist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_independence_movement). He was one third of the [Lal Bal Pal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lal_Bal_Pal) triumvirate. Pal was one of the main architects of the [Swadeshi movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swadeshi_movement). He stood against the [partition of Bengal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partition_of_Bengal_(1905)) by the colonial British government.

 [Aurobindo Ghosh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aurobindo_Ghosh) and Pal were recognised as the chief exponents of a new national movement revolving around the ideals of [Purna Swaraj](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Purna_Swaraj), [Swadeshi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swadeshi), boycott and national education.

His programme consisted of

* Swadeshi,
* Boycott and
* National Education.

He preached and encouraged the use of Swadeshi and the boycott of foreign goods to eradicate poverty and unemployment. He wanted to remove social evils from the form and arouse the feelings of nationalism through national criticism. He had no faith in mild protests in the form of non-cooperation with the British colonialists. On that one issue, the assertive nationalist leader had nothing common with [Mahatma Gandhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi).

During the last six years of his life, he parted company with the Congress and led a secluded life. Sri Aurobindo referred to him as one of mightiest prophets of nationalism.

As a journalist, Pal worked for Bengal Public Opinion, [The Tribune](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Tribune_(Chandigarh)) and New India, where he propagated his brand of nationalism.He wrote several articles warning India of the changes happening in China and other geopolitical situations. In one of his writings, describing where the future danger for India will come from, Pal wrote under the title "Our Real Danger".

He passed away on, when he was 73. May 20, 1932 in Kolkata

**\**

**4.2 Lala Lajpat Rai**

* Accilator of partiatism
* Swaraj is icon
* Demanded separate state for Muslims

“Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it,” this slogan coined by Bal Gangadhar Tilak ignited the spark of patriotism amongst countless Indians during the freedom struggle

Lajpat Rai was a heavyweight veteran leader of the Indian Nationalist Movement, and independence movement led by the Indian National Congress, Hindu reform movements and Arya Samaj, who inspired young men of his generation and kindled latent spirit of patriotism in their hearts with journalistic writings and lead-

He was a prominent member of the famous 'Lal Bal Pal' firebrand trio during the independence movement. His fierce brand of patriotism and potent vocalism against the British rule earned him the title of 'Punjab Kesari' or the Lion of the Punjab.

**Lala Lajpat Rai** was a multi-faceted personality and led a life of ceaseless activity dedicated to a self-less service to the nation.. He was also associated with activities of [Punjab National Bank](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punjab_National_Bank) and Lakshmi Insurance Company in their early stages in 1894.

**His political thought**

1) **Patriotism**

After joining the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) and taking part in political agitation in Punjab, Lala Lajpat Rai was deported to Mandalay, Burma (now Myanmar), without trial in May 1907. In November, however, he was allowed to return when the viceroy, Lord Minto, decided that there was insufficient evidence to hold him for subversion. Lajpat Rai's supporters attempted to secure his election to the presidency of the party session at Surat in December 1907, but he did not succeed.

Graduates of the National College, which he founded inside the Bradlaugh Hall at Lahore as an alternative to British institutions, included [Bhagat Singh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagat_Singh).[[11]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lala_Lajpat_Rai#cite_note-11) He was elected President of the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) in the Calcutta Special Session of 1920.[[12]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lala_Lajpat_Rai#cite_note-12) In 1921, he founded [Servants of the People Society](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Servants_of_the_People_Society), a non-profit welfare organisation, in Lahore, which shifted its base to Delhi after partition, and has branches in many parts of India.[[13]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lala_Lajpat_Rai#cite_note-13)

**Demand for separate state for Muslims**

He controversially demanded "a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and Hindu State India" in [The Tribune](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Tribune_(Chandigarh)) on 14 December 1923.

**Protests against Simon Commission**

Headed by [Sir John Simon](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Simon,_1st_Viscount_Simon) in 1928, the British government set up the [Commission](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simon_Commission), , to report on the political situation in India. The Indian political parties boycotted the Commission, because it did not include a single Indian in its membership, and it met with country-wide protests. When the Commission visited Lahore on 30 October 1928, Lajpat Rai led non-violent march in protest against it. The protest was "Simon go back". The superintendent of police, James A. Scott, ordered the police to [lathi charge](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lathi_charge) the protesters and personally assaulted Rai. Despite being extremely injured, Rai subsequently addressed the crowd and said, "I declare that the blows struck at me today will be the last nails in the coffin of British rule in India"- the great patriot may his fame live long .

**Movements and institutes founded by Lala Lajpat RaiLajpat**

**Model leader for the youngster**

Young men, such as [Chandrasekhar Azad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chandrasekhar_Azad) and [Bhagat Singh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagat_Singh), were driven to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of their Motherland following Rai's example.

In late 19th and early 20th century Lala Lajpat Rai himself was founder of many organisations, including Arya Gazaette are Lahore, Hisar congress, Hisar Arya Samaj, Hisar Bar Council, national DAV managing Committee. Lala Lajpat Rai was also head of the "Lakshmi Insurance Company," and commissioned the [Lakshmi Building](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lakshmi_Building) in [Karachi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karachi), which still bears a plaque in remembrance of him. Lakhsmi Insurance Company was merged with Life Insurance Corporation of India when en masse nationalisation of Life Insurance business happened during 1956.

As his mother died of TB in 1927, Lajpat Rai established a trust in her mother's memory to build and run a tuberculosis hospital for women, reportedly at the location where his mother, Gulab Devi. Now the Gulab Devi Memorial hospital is one of the biggest hospital of present Pakistan which services over 2000 patients at a time as its patients.

**Travel to America**

A banquet given in honour of Lala Lajpat Rai by the California Chapter of the Hindustan Association of America at Hotel Shattuck in [Berkeley](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berkeley,_California) on 12 February 1916.

Lajpat Rai travelled to the US in 1907, and then returned during World War I. He toured [Sikh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikh) communities along the [US](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/US) West Coast; visited [Tuskegee University](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tuskegee_University) in Alabama; and met with workers in the [Philippines](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines). His travelogue, The [United States of America](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_of_America) (1916), details these travels and features extensive quotations from leading African American intellectuals, including [W.E.B. Du Bois](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/W.E.B._Du_Bois) and [Fredrick Douglass](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fredrick_Douglass). While in America he had founded the Indian Home Rule League in New York and a monthly journal Young India and Hindustan Information Services Association. He had petitioned the Foreign affairs committee of Senate of American Parliament giving a vivid picture of maladministration of British Raj in India, the aspirations of the people of India for freedom amongst many other points strongly seeking the moral support of the international community for the attainment of independence of India. The 32-page petition which was prepared overnight was discussed in the U.S. Senate during October 1917.  The book also argues for the notion of "color-caste," suggesting sociological similarities between race in the US and caste in India. During World War I, Lajpat Rai lived in the United States, but he returned to India in 1919 and in the following year led the special session of the Congress Party that launched the non-co-operation movement. He was imprisoned from 1921 to 1923 and elected to the legislative assembly on his release

Born in an educated Aggarwal family of Punjab, he studied in Rewari and later in Lahore, capital of undivided Punjab. He was drawn into one of the most creative movements of revitalization of 19th century India, Arya Samaj,  founded and led by Swami Dayanand Saraswati. Later on, he set up a Dayanand Anglo-Vedic  school in Lahore.

 Lajpat Rai belonged to that period of our history, when people like  Aurobindo, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal had come to see the basic faults in the “Moderate” politics - what they called “political mendicancy” and the inadequacies of gradual constitutional progress. As venerable, R.C. Mazumdar, the doyen of Indian historians explains, “The ideals of new nationalism preached by its high priests like Tilak, Arabinda and Lajpat Rai assumed concrete shape, which may be regarded as the precursor of the Civil Disobedience Movement of Mahatma Gandhi”.  He realized that “the British people were indifferent to Indian affairs and the British press was not willing to champion Indian aspirations” as some Moderates believed.

As early as 1897, he had founded the Hindu Relief Movement to provide help to the famine -stricken people and thus preventing them falling into the clutches of the missionaries.

In the two articles he wrote for the Kayastha Samachar (1901), he called for technical education and industrial   self-help. In the wake of the Swadeshi movement (anti-partition of Bengal. 1905-8), when “the idea of a national education caught the imagination of the whole of  India”, it was Lajpat Rai and Bal Gangadhar Tilak,  who “propagated the idea”. He went to set up the National College in Lahore, where Bhagat Singh studied.  When the agitation against an increased irrigation rates and   higher land-revenue began in Punjab, it was led by the Indian Patriots Association led by Ajit Singh (uncle of Bhagat Singh) and Lajpat Rai would often address their meetings.

As one contemporary British report pointed out, “The head and centre of the entire movement is Lala Lajpat Rai, a Khatri pleader--- he is a revolutionary and a political enthusiast who is inspired by the most intense hatred of the British government”.

For his growing involvement in the freedom movement, he was given the toughest prison sentences in far away Mandalay (now Myanmar) in 1907 without trial. He also led the protest against the horrendous massacre of Jalianwalla Bagh.

He visited USA and Japan where he kept in touch with the Indian revolutionaries. In England, he also became a member of the British Labour party.

In recognition of his outstanding role in the freedom movement, he was elected President of the Indian National Congress at the Calcutta session (1920).

As he took much interest in the condition of the working class people, he was also elected as the President of the All India Trade Union Congress.

Lajpat Rai called for “highest devotion and the greatest sacrifice from us” and “our first want, then, is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion, and to aspire to live or die for it”.

He has been seen as “a champion of moral courage than of physical courage” and was aware of the basic problems of the society

**4.3 Aurobindo Ghose**

* *Yogi*
* *Philosopher*
* *Nationalist- bomb blaster*

Aurobindo Ghose was born in [Calcutta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calcutta) (now Kolkata), [Bengal Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengal_Presidency), India on 15 August 1872 in a [Bengali Kayastha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bengali_Kayastha) family that was associated with the village of [Konnagar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konnagar) in the [Hoogly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hooghly_district) district.

He was an Indian philosopher, [yogi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yogi), [guru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guru), poet, and [nationalist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_nationalism).

 He joined the [Indian movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_independence_movement) for independence from [British rule](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Raj), for a while was one of its influential leaders and then became a spiritual reformer, introducing his visions on human progress and [spiritual evolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spiritual_evolution).

Aurobindo attended the 1906 [Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) meeting headed by [Dadabhai Naoroji](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dadabhai_Naoroji) and participated as a councillor in forming the fourfold objectives of

* "Swaraj,
* Swadesh,
* Boycott and
* national education".

In 1907 at the Surat session of Congress where moderates and extremists had a major showdown, he led along with extremists along with [Bal Gangadhar Tilak](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bal_Gangadhar_Tilak). The Congress split after this session. In 1907–1908 Aurobindo travelled extensively to [Pune](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pune), Bombay and Baroda to firm up support for the nationalist cause, giving speeches and meeting with groups. He was arrested again in May 1908 in connection with the [Alipore Bomb Case](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alipore_Bomb_Case). He was acquitted in the ensuing trial, following the murder of chief prosecution witness Naren Gosain within jail premises which subsequently led to the case against him collapsing. Aurobindo was subsequently released after a year of isolated incarceration.

**Conversion from politics to spirituality**

In 1910 Aurobindo withdrew himself from all political activities and went into hiding at [Chandannagar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chandannagar) in the house of [Motilal Roy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Motilal_Roy), while the British were trying to prosecute him for sedition on the basis of a signed article titled 'To My Countrymen', published in Karmayogin. As Aurobindo disappeared from view, the warrant was held back and the prosecution postponed. Aurobindo manoeuvred the police into open action and a warrant was issued on 4 April 1910, but the warrant could not be executed because on that date he had reached Pondicherry, then a [French colony](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/French_colony). The warrant against Aurobindo was withdrawn**.**

Sri Aurobindo died on 5 December 1950. Around 60,000 people attended to see his body resting peacefully. Indian Prime Minister [Jawaharlal Nehru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jawaharlal_Nehru), and the President [Rajendra Prasad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rajendra_Prasad) praised him for his contribution to Yogic philosophy and the independence movement. National and international newspapers commemorated his death.

**Philosophy and spiritual vision**

Sri Aurobindo's concept of the Integral Yoga system is described in his books, The Synthesis of Yoga and The Life Divine.  The Life Divine is a compilation of essays published serially in Arya.

Sri Aurobindo argues that divine [Brahman](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brahman) manifests as empirical reality through [Lila](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C4%ABl%C4%81), or divine play. Instead of positing that the world we experience is an illusion ([māyā](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maya_(illusion))), Aurobindo argues that world can evolve and become a new world with new species, far above the human species just as human species have evolved after the animal species. As such he argued that the end goal of spiritual practice could not merely be a liberation from the world into Samadhi but would also be that of a descent of the Divine into the world in order to transform it into a Divine existence. Thus, this constituted the purpose of Integral Yoga. Regarding the involution of consciousness in matter, he wrote that: "This descent, this sacrifice of the Purusha, the Divine Soul submitting itself to Force and Matter so that it may inform and illuminate them is the seed of redemption of this world of Inconscience and Ignorance."

Sri Aurobindo believed that [Darwinism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Darwinism) merely describes a phenomenon of the evolution of matter into life, but does not explain the reason behind it, while he finds life to be already present in matter, because all of existence is a manifestation of Brahman. He argues that nature (which he interpreted as divine) has evolved life out of matter and the mind out of life. All of existence, he argues, is attempting to manifest to the level of the supermind – that evolution [had a purpose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teleology). He stated that he found the task of understanding the [nature of reality](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metaphysics) arduous and difficult to justify by immediate tangible results.

**Supermind**

At the centre of Aurobindo's metaphysical system is the supermind, an intermediary power between the unmanifested Brahman and the manifested world. Aurobindo claims that the supermind is not completely alien to us and can be realized within ourselves as it is always present within mind since the latter is in reality identical with the former and contains it as a potentiality within itself. Aurobindo does not portray supermind as an original invention of his own but believes it can be found in the Vedas and that the Vedic Gods represent powers of the supermin.  In The Integral Yoga he declares that "By the supermind is meant the full Truth-Consciousness of the Divine Nature in which there can be no place for the principle of division and ignorance; it is always a full light and knowledge superior to all mental substance or mental movement." Supermind is a bridge between Sachchidananda and the lower manifestation and it is only through the supramental that mind, life and body can be spiritually transformed as opposed to through Sachchidananda The descent of supermind will mean the creation of a supramental race

**Affinity with Western philosophy**

In his writings, talks and letters Sri Aurobindo has referred to several European philosophers with whose basic concepts he was familiar, commenting on their ideas and discussing the question of affinity to his own line of thought. Thus he wrote a long essay on the Greek philosopher [Heraclitus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heraclitus)[[61]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Aurobindo#cite_note-65) and mentioned especially [Plato](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plato), [Plotinus](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plotinus), [Nietzsche](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nietzsche) and [Bergson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bergson) as thinkers in whom he was interested because of their more intuitive approach. On the other hand, he felt little attraction for the philosophy of [Kant](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kant) or [Hegel](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hegel). Several studies  have shown a remarkable closeness to the evolutionary thought of [Teilhard de Chardin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teilhard_de_Chardin), whom he did not know, whereas the latter came to know of Sri Aurobindo at a late stage. After reading some chapters of The Life Divine, he is reported to have said that Sri Aurobindo's vision of evolution was basically the same as his own, though stated for Asian readers. Several scholars have discovered significant similarities in the thought of Sri Aurobindo and Hegel. Steve Odin has discussed this subject comprehensively in a comparative study. Odin writes that Sri Aurobindo "has appropriated Hegel’s notion of an Absolute Spirit and employed it to radically restructure the architectonic framework of the ancient Hindu Vedanta system in contemporary terms."[[68]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Aurobindo#cite_note-72) In his analysis Odin arrives at the conclusion that "both philosophers similarly envision world creation as the progressive self-manifestation and evolutionary ascent of a universal consciousness in its journey toward Self-realization." He points out that in contrast to the deterministic and continuous dialectal unfolding of Absolute Reason by the mechanism of thesis-antithesis-synthesis or affirmation-negation-integration, "Sri Aurobindo argues for a creative, emergent mode of evolution." In his résumé Odin states that Sri Aurobindo has overcome the ahistorical world-vision of traditional Hinduism and presented a concept which allows for a genuine advance and novelty.

**Importance of the Upanishads**

Although Sri Aurobindo was familiar with the most important lines of thought in Western philosophy, he did not acknowledge their influence on his own writings.  He wrote that his philosophy "was formed first by the study of the [Upanishads](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upanishads) and the Gita… They were the basis of my first practice of Yoga." With the help of his readings he tried to move on to actual experience, "and it was on this experience that later on I founded my philosophy, not on ideas themselves.”

He assumes that the seers of the Upanishads had basically the same approach and gives some details of his vision of the past in a long passage in The Renaissance of India. "The Upanishads have been the acknowledged source of numerous profound philosophies and religions," he writes. Even [Buddhism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhism) with all its developments was only a "restatement" from a new standpoint and with fresh terms. And, furthermore the ideas of the Upanishads "can be rediscovered in much of the thought of [Pythagoras](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pythagoras) and Plato and form the profoundest part of [Neo-platonism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neo-platonism) and [Gnosticism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gnosticism)..." Finally, the larger part of German metaphysics "is little more in substance than an intellectual development of great realities more spiritually seen in this ancient teaching." When once he was asked by a disciple whether Plato got some of his ideas from Indian books, he responded that though something of the philosophy of India got through "by means of Pythagoras and others", he assumed that Plato got most of his ideas from intuition.

Sri Aurobindo's indebtedness to the Indian tradition also becomes obvious through his placing a large number of quotations from the [Rig Veda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rig_Veda), the [Upanishads](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upanishads) and the [Bhagavadgita](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagavadgita) at the beginning of the chapters in The Life Divine, showing the connection of his own thought to [Veda](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Veda) and [Vedanta](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vedanta).

The Isha Upanishad is considered to be one of the most important and more accessible writings of Sri Aurobindo. Before he published his final translation and analysis, he wrote ten incomplete commentaries. In a key passage he points out that the Brahman or Absolute is both the Stable and the Moving. "We must see it in eternal and immutable Spirit and in all the changing manifestations of universe and relativity." Sri Aurobindo's biographer K.R.S. Iyengar quotes R.S. Mugali as stating that Sri Aurobindo might have obtained in this Upanishad the thought-seed which later grew into The Life Divine.

**Synthesis and Integration**

[Sisir Kumar Maitra](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sisir_Kumar_Maitra), who was a leading exponent of Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy, has referred to the issue of external influences and written that Sri Aurobindo does not mention names, but "as one reads his books one cannot fail to notice how thorough is his grasp of the great Western philosophers of the present age..." Although he is Indian one should not "underrate the influence of Western thought upon him. This influence is there, very clearly visible, but Sri Aurobindo... has not allowed himself to be dominated by it. He has made full use of Western thought, but he has made use of it for the purpose of building up his own system..." Thus Maitra, like Steve Odin, sees Sri Aurobindo not only in the tradition and context of Indian, but also Western philosophy and assumes he may have adopted some elements from the latter for his synthesis.

R. Puligandla supports this viewpoint in his book Fundamentals of Indian Philosophy. He describes Sri Aurobindo's philosophy as "an original synthesis of the Indian and Western traditions." "He integrates in a unique fashion the great social, political and scientific achievements of the modern West with the ancient and profound spiritual insights of [Hinduism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism). The vision that powers the life divine of Aurobindo is none other than the Upanishadic vision of the unity of all existence." Puligandla believes that the Western influence also becomes evident through Sri Aurobindo's critical position vis-à-vis [Shankara](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adi_Shankara) and his assumption that the latter teaches through his Mayavada or Illusionism that the world is unreal and illusory. Puligandla objects, "nowhere does Shankara say that the world is unreal and illusory. Quite the contrary, through the concept of sublation he teaches that the world is neither real nor unreal. That this is indeed his teaching is further borne out by his distinction between lower and higher truths." Therefore, Puligandla concludes that "Aurobindo’s characterization of Shankara’s Vedanta as a world-negating philosophy is unfounded." He believes that Sri Aurobindo in his endeavour to synthesize Hindu and Western modes of thought has wrongly identified Shankara's Mayavada with the subjective idealism of [George Berkeley](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Berkeley), "which undoubtedly stands in sharp contrast to the realism of the Western philosophical tradition in general." Nonetheless, Puligandla believes that Sri Aurobindo was "a great philosopher-mystic" with a significant vision of man and the world.

Sri Aurobindo's critique of Shankara is supported by U. C. Dubey in his paper titled Integralism: The Distinctive Feature of Sri Aurobindo’s Philosophy. He starts by summarizing what he considers to be Sri Aurobindo's most important contributions to philosophy and mentions at first his integral view of Reality. "The creative force or 'cit-śakti' is regarded by him as one with the Absolute. Thus there is no opposition between the Absolute and its creative force in his system." Next Dubey refers to Sri Aurobindo's conception of the [supermind](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supermind_(Integral_yoga)) as the mediatory principle between the Absolute and the finite world and quotes S.K. Maitra stating that this conception "is the pivot round which the whole of Sri Aurobindo’s philosophy moves."

Dubey proceeds to analyse the approach of the Shankarites and believes that they follow an inadequate kind of logic that does not do justice to the challenge of tackling the problem of the Absolute, which cannot be known by finite reason. With the help of the finite reason, he says, "we are bound to determine the nature of reality as one or many, being or becoming. But Sri Aurobindo’s Integral Advaitism reconciles all apparently different aspects of Existence in an all-embracing unity of the Absolute." Next, Dubey explains that for Sri Aurobindo there is a higher reason, the "logic of the infinite" in which his integralism is rooted, and expounds this concept by presenting some quotations from The Life Divine. In concluding he notes critically "that Sri Aurobindo does not explain sufficiently the nature of the logic of the infinite." Nevertheless, "the way he proposes this logic is undoubtedly his unique contribution in the field of Absolutism."

**4.4 GANDHIJI**

* *Maha Athma*
* *Multifaced contributer*
* *Founder of ahimsa, sarvothaya and brotherhood*

Mohandas Karachand Gandhi, popularly Known as Mahatma Gandhi continues to provoke interest even after more than 70 years after his assassination in 1948.

He wrote extensively in Indian opinion, young India, and Harijan, the leading newspapers of the era where he commented on the issues of contemporary relevance. Writing for the ordinary people he usually employed metaphors to teach Indians about their abilities and also their strong traditions. This was one of the ways in which he involved Indians in non violent struggles against British imperialism, untouchability and communal discord. Contribution to Indian Nationalism The contribution of Gandhi to Indian national movement was unparalleled. He made the Indian National Congress a people’s congress and the national movement a mass movement. He made people fearless and bold and taught them the non violent methods for fighting against the evils of caste system and injustice.

**Gandhian principles are multidimensional**

Gandhi’s social and political thought is multidimensional. His political ideology was a radical departure from the past he was neither constitutional loyalist of the Moderates nor extremism of the revolutionary terrorists. In his articulation of Indian nationalism he sought to incorporate the emerging constituencies of nationalist politics that remained peripheral in the bygone era. Gandhi was perhaps the only effective nationalist leader who truly attempted to transcend the class conflicts by devising a method which for the first time, brought about the national aggregation of an all India character.

**Movement for social reforms**

His social and political ideas were the outcome of his serious engagement with issues reflective of India’s peculiar socio-economic circumstances. Gandhi simultaneously launched movements not only against the British rule but also against the atrocious social structures, customs, norms and values, justified in the name of Indian’s age-old traditions.

**Unique religious man**

Gandhian thought is neither purely political nor absolutely social, but a complex mix of the two. Gandhian philosophy was a profound engagement with modernity and its pitfalls. Against the evils of industrialisation, materialism and selfish pursuits, Gandhiji suggested swaraj, swadeshi, trusteeship and a minimal state vested only with co-coordinative powers. He was a deeply a religious man. This perspective shaped his politics his economic ideas and his view of society. However, the religious approach that he imbibed was markedly different from other religious man.

**Self relalisation was the goal**

He accepts the inner oneness of all existence in the cosmic spirit, and saw all living beings as representatives of the eternal divine reality. Gandhiji believed that man’s ultimate goal in life was self- realisation. Self realisation, according to him, meant seeing God face to face, i.e., realising the absolute truth or, knowing oneself. He believed that it could not be achieved unless man identified himself with the whole of mankind. This necessarily involved participation in politics.

According to Gandhi, man’s ultimate aim is the realisation of God and all his activities social political religious have to be guided by the ultimate aim of the vision of God. It is only through the means of self-purification that self-realisation can be attained.

The fasts, prayers and works of service that he undertook were all directed towards such an end. In his autobiography, Gandhiji says that self-realisation required self-purification as its ethical foundation.

Men’s moral life flows from such a search into this own self and express itself in outward activity of fellowship and concern to others. This ethical outlook is backbone of Gandiji’s political philosophy even as his ethics has for its foundation in his metaphysical principles. To him the moral discipline of the individual is the most important means of social construction.

**Five folded Moral principles**

Gandiji invoked the five-fold moral principles:

1. Truth,
2. Non- violence,
3. Non-stealing,
4. Non possession and
5. Celibacy.

The observance of these moral principles would purify man and enable him to strive after self-realisation.

**TECHNIQUES OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE:**

**SATYAGRAHA AND NON-VIOLENCE**

The Satyagraha and Non-violence or ahimsa are the basic principles of Gandhian techniques . Most authors on Gandhi seem to conflate the two. What is rather relatively less known is the fact that during the period between his South African experiment and the agitation against the Rowlatt Act, it was Satyagraha that held the key to his entire campaign. Only in the aftermath of the 1919 anti- Rowlatt Satyagraha, was non-violence included as integral to Gandhi’s Satyagraha campaign. There is no doubt that ahimsa always remained a significant influence in the conceptualisation of satyagraha, but it was not projected as crucial a component as it later became. As a technique or method,

The micro experiments of Satyagraha in Champaran, Kheda and Ahmadabad where ahimsa was constitutive of Gandhian model of antiimperialism, therefore, became decisive in Gandhi’s social and political thought.

**Non – violence**

He discovered the principle of non-violence from the pages of history and his greatness lies in the fact that he made it on the basis of his life and adopted to serve the needs of time. He transformed it into social and political technique. He regards it as the supreme concept for the reformation of politics. According to Gandhiji, Non-violence or Ahimsa is the heart of all religions.

Non- violence is truth itself; it’s very soul, and its fruit. Truth and non-violence are two sides of a smooth unstamped metallic disc and are so intervened that it is very difficult to separate them. Gandhiji put more emphasis on truth than non –violence because he believed that truth existed beyond and unconditioned by space and time, but non –violence existed only on the part of all finite beings.

For Gandhi, ahimsa or Non-violence meant both passive and active love, refraining from casing harm and destruction to living beings as well as positively promoting their well being. Ahimsa was complementary to Gandhi's model of conflict resolution that was certainly the most original and creative model of social change and political action even under most adverse circumstances. This was a theory of politics that gradually became the dominant ideology of a national political movement in which Gandhi reigned supreme.

**Ideal state**

Gandhian concept of ideal state or society was a non-violent and stateless society. He repudiated state on ethical, historical and economic grounds. A man is moral when he acts freely and voluntarily. According to Gandhi, the state represents violence in a concentrated and organized form.

He admitted that his ideal state or society would have representative institutions and government. His ideal society would be a state les society consisting of self-sufficing, self-regulating and self –governing village communities joined together in a voluntary federation, the maintenance of federation involved the necessity of government.

Thus his ideal state is predominantly a non-violent state, and not a non-violent and stateless society as it is generally thought. He was only opposed to the oppressive authority and to the theory of absolute sovereignty of the state, but not to the ideal state itself. Gandhian conception of ideal state was a non-violent democratic state where social life would remain self-regulated. In a democratic state everyone is his own ruler. According to Gandhiji, democracy lies not in the number of persons who vote, but in the sense to what extent masses imbibe the spirit of non-violence, and society service.

In an ideal democratic state, the powers are to be decentralised and equality is to prevail in every sphere of life. Every individual is to be given fullest freedom to devote himself to social service according to his capacity. The structure of the state that is to emerge as a result of non-violent revolution is to be a compromise between the ideal non-violent society and the facts of human nature.

He remarked thus: ‘A nation that runs it affairs smoothly and effectively without much state interference is truly democratic. When such condition is absent the form of government is democratic in name.’ Gandhiji considered the state as an organisation of violence and force. Being an apostle of non-violence he was repelled by the coercive character of the state. He postulated that in the ideal state there will be the sovereignty of the moral authority of the people, and the state as a structure of violence would be extinct. But he was not for immediate ending of the state power. The increasing perfection of the state should be the immediate goal although the ultimate aim is philosophical and moral anarchism.

**Views on state**

According to Gandhi, the state represents violence in a concentrated and organised form. Gandhi’s critique of the modern state emanated from its coercive aspect and its anti-human thrust. At a basic level, the mode of operation of the modern state constituted an infringement with his concept of non-violence. As early as 1931, Gandhi wrote in Young India,

‘To me political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened Anarchy. In such a state everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal state, therefore, there is no political power because there is no state. But the ideal is never fully realised in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that government is best which governs the least. One of the key elements in his critique was the concept of autonomy, which was made up of two distinct ideas.

**Trusteeship**

The theory of trusteeship is Gandhiji’s novel contribution in the sphere of political philosophy. The main thrust is on treating resources as a public trust with man being the trustee, so that the riches of nature and society are equitably used. The theory was intended to combine the advantages of both capitalism and communism, and to socialise property without nationalising it. According to Gandhi, all material property was a social trust. The owner was not required to take more than what was needed for a moderately comfortable life. The other members of society who were associated with the property were jointly responsible with the owner for its management and were to provide welfare schemes for all. The owner and the rest of the people were to regard themselves as trustees of the property.

**The main principles of trusteeship are as follows.**

1. Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order or society into an egalitarian;

2. It does not recognise any right of private ownership of property except in so far as it may be permitted by society for its own welfare.

3. It does not exclude legislative regulation of the ownership and use of wealth.

4. Under state-regulated Trusteeship an individual will not be free to hold or use wealth for selfish satisfaction or in disregard of the interest of society.

5. Just as it is proposed to fix a decent minimum living wage, even so a limit should be fixed for the maximum income that would be allowed to any person in society.

6. Under the Gandhian economic order the character of production will be determined by social necessity and not by personal whim or greed.

**Decentralisation**

Self rule is the main priniciple of Gandhiji for independent India a polity Democracy can function smoothly and according to the concept of swaraj only if it is decentralised. According to him, ‘centralisation as a system is inconsistent with non- violent structure of society.’ He wanted the centre of power to move from cities to villages. While conceptualising the decentralised system of rule, Gandhi advanced this theory of oceanic . he says: “In this structure composed of innumerable villages, there will be ever-widening never ascending circles.

**Oceanic circle theory**

Each village following the oceanic circle theory would be autonomous yet independent. As Gandhiji argued “My idea of village swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own vital wants and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Gandhiji strongly believed that decentralisation of power was a key concept in his theory of democracy. However, he laid down certain conditions for the realisation of true democracy in India. He regarded it wholly wrong and undemocratic for individuals to take the law into their hands.

**Views on socialism**

Gandhiji was critical of the path both capitalist and socialist economy. Because the institution of capitalism was a negation of ahimsa. He championed the revolutionary doctrine of equal distribution .There should be no accumulation and no useless possession. He also accepted the theory of spiritual socialism and said that swaraj could not be complete unless the lowest and humblest sections got ‘ all the ordinary amenities of life that a rich man enjoys’.

**Equqlith with ure hearted**

In the Gandhian conception of socialism the prince and the peasant, the poor and the rich, the employer and employee were to be treated equally. But this socialism was not to be attained by conquest of political power by an organised party. It was of the utmost importance that socialists should be truthful, non-violent and pure-hearted. They could affect a genuine transformation .

**Spiritual socialism**

His emphasis in the Gandhian doctrine of socialism and politics is always on individual purification. The spiritual socialism which Gandhiji wanted was to begin with the moral regeneration of the individual. But this does not mean that Gandhiji was unmindful of changes in the political economic and social structure. His career offers the momentous example of a lone individual challenging the union of South Africa and the empire of Great Britain. While he looked at socialism positively, he felt that it was deeply enmeshed in violence. He wrote in his Harijan thus: socialism was not born with the discovery of the misuse of capital by capitalists.

**Sarvodaya**

The entire responsibility of reconstruction in social, economic and political aspects must start with the individual himself; without the individual’s consistent and constant attempt for reorientation no amount of effort will bring the socialistic order. The Gandhian idea of sarvodaya is the apex of Gandhian socialism. Gandhian doctrine of Sarvodaya does not mean that majority alone is enough , the growth and upliftment of everyone is vitally necessary. In this respect, Gandhian socialism thinks of society as an organic whole where differences do not exist.

**Organic unity**

As per the concept of organic unity, all individuals have equal importance and the collective rise of everyone is a fundamental contribution to socialistic theory and practice. It opens a new approach in socialistic thought. The previous socialist thinkers had the belief that without a sizeable majority no social change can be effective. Gandhian socialism puts enormous emphasis on the capacity of the individual. Gandhiji was not only a great individualist and a practical idealist but he was also a first-rate egalitarian and a socialist. He firmly believed that he ideal of non-violence could be achieved only if the gulf dividing the rich and the poor was made small.

His idea of economic equality was that everyone would have a proper house, suffiecient food, and adequate dresses .He also said that the cruel inequality that obtained today would be removed by purely non-violent means. To achieve this goal, Gandhiji did not suggest any wholesale confiscation of property of the landlords and capitalists. Like Christian socialists he wanted to achieve his goal of economic equality by changing their mentality through love and persuasion.

Gandhi expanded his non-violent non-co-operation platform to include the [swadeshi policy](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swadeshi_movement) – the boycott of foreign-made goods, especially British goods. Linked to this was his advocacy that [khadi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khadi) (homespun cloth) be worn by all Indians instead of British-made textiles. Gandhi exhorted Indian men and women, rich or poor, to spend time each day spinning khadi in support of the independence movement.

**Non-coperation**

In addition to boycotting British products, Gandhi urged the people to boycott British institutions and law courts, to resign from government employment, and to forsake [British titles and honours](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_honours_system). Gandhi thus began his journey aimed at crippling the British India government economically, politically and administratively.

Gandhiji was of the strong opinion that that British rule was established in India with the co-operation of Indians and had survived only because of this co-operation. If Indians refused to co-operate, British rule would collapse and swaraj would come.

**Salt Satyagraha (Salt March)**

After his early release from prison for political crimes in 1924, over the second half of the 1920s, Gandhi continued to pursue swaraj. He pushed through a resolution at the Calcutta Congress in December 1928 calling on the British government to grant India [dominion](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dominion) status or face a new campaign of non-co-operation with complete independence for the country as its goal.[[126]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi#cite_note-FOOTNOTEGandhi1990172-126) After his support for the World War I with Indian combat troops, and the failure of Khilafat movement in preserving the rule of Caliph in Turkey, followed by a collapse in Muslim support for his leadership, some such as [Subhas Chandra Bose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhas_Chandra_Bose) and [Bhagat Singh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhagat_Singh) questioned his values and non-violent approach.While many Hindu leaders championed a demand for immediate independence, Gandhi revised his own call to a one-year wait, instead of two.

This was highlighted by the famous Salt March to Dandi from 12 March to 6 April, where, together with 78 volunteers, he marched 388 kilometres (241 mi) from Ahmedabad to Dandi, Gujarat to make salt himself, with the declared intention of breaking the salt laws. The march took 25 days to cover 240 miles with Gandhi speaking to often huge crowds along the way. Thousands of Indians joined him in Dandi. On 5 May he was interned under a regulation dating from 1827 in anticipation of a protest that he had planned. The protest at Dharasana salt works on 21 May went ahead without its leader, Gandhi. A horrified American journalist, [Webb Miller](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Webb_Miller_(journalist)), described the British response thus:

In complete silence the Gandhi men drew up and halted a hundred yards from the stockade. A picked column advanced from the crowd, waded the ditches and approached the barbed wire stockade... at a word of command, scores of native policemen rushed upon the advancing marchers and rained blows on their heads with their steel-shot lathis Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off blows. They went down like ninepins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whack of the clubs on unprotected skulls... Those struck down fell sprawling, unconscious or writhing with fractured skulls or broken shoulders.

**Round Table Conferences**

During the discussions between Gandhi and the British government over 1931–32 at the [Round Table Conferences](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Round_Table_Conferences_(India)), Gandhi, now aged about 62, sought constitutional reforms as a preparation to the end of colonial British rule, and begin the self-rule by Indians. The British side sought reforms that would keep Indian subcontinent as a colony. The British negotiators proposed constitutional reforms on a British Dominion model that established separate electorates based on religious and social divisions.

The British questioned the Congress party and Gandhi's authority to speak for all of India.They invited Indian religious leaders, such as Muslims and Sikhs, to press their demands along religious lines, as well as [B. R. Ambedkar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar) as the representative leader of the untouchables.Gandhi vehemently opposed a constitution that enshrined rights or representations based on communal divisions, because he feared that it would not bring people together but divide them, perpetuate their status and divert the attention from India's struggle to end the colonial rule.

The Second Round Table conference was the only time he left India between 1914 and his death in 1948. He declined the government's offer of accommodation in an expensive [West End](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_End_of_London) hotel, preferring to stay in the [East End](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_End_of_London), to live among working-class people, as he did in India.[]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi#cite_note-147) He based himself in a small [cell-bedroom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monastic_cell) at [Kingsley Hall](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingsley_Hall) for the [three-month duration of his stay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingsley_Hall#Gandhi) and was enthusiastically received by East Enders. During this time he renewed his links with the British vegetarian movement.

After Gandhi returned from the Second Round Table conference, he started a new satyagraha. He was arrested and imprisoned at the [Yerwada Jail](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yerwada_Jail), Pune. While he was in prison, the British government enacted a new law that granted untouchables a separate electorate. It came to be known as the [Communal Award](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communal_Award) In protest, Gandhi started a fast-unto-death, while he was held in prison. The resulting public outcry forced the government, in to replace the Communal Award with a compromise [Poona Pact](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poona_Pact).

**No support to World War II**

Gandhi opposed providing any help to the British war effort and he campaigned against any Indian participation in the World War II. Gandhi's campaign did not enjoy the support of Indian masses and many Indian leaders such as Sardar Patel and Rajendra Prasad. His campaign was a failure. Over 2.5 million Indians ignored Gandhi, volunteered and joined the British military to fight on various fronts of the allied forces.

**Quit India movement**

Gandhi opposition to the Indian participation in the [World War II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II) was motivated by his belief that India could not be party to a war ostensibly being fought for democratic freedom while that freedom was denied to India itself.He also condemned Nazism and Fascism, a view which won endorsement of other Indian leaders. As the war progressed, Gandhi intensified his demand for independence, calling for the British to Quit India in a 1942 speech in Mumbai. This was Gandhi's and the Congress Party's most definitive revolt aimed at securing the British exit from India. The British government responded quickly to the Quit India speech, and within hours after Gandhi's speech arrested Gandhi and all the members of the Congress Working Committee. His countrymen retaliated the arrests by damaging or burning down hundreds of government owned railway stations, police stations, and cutting down telegraph wires.

In 1942, urged his people to completely stop co-operating with the imperial government. In this effort, he urged that they neither kill nor injure British people, but be willing to suffer and die if violence is initiated by the British officials.He clarified that the movement would not be stopped because of any individual acts of violence, saying that the "ordered anarchy" of "the present system of administration" was "worse than real anarchy."He urged Indians to Karo ya maro ("Do or die") in the cause of their rights and freedoms.

While the leaders of Congress languished in jail, the other parties supported the war and gained organizational strength. Underground publications flailed at the ruthless suppression of Congress, but it had little control over events.At the end of the war, the British gave clear indications that power would be transferred to Indian hands. At this point Gandhi called off the struggle, and around 100,000 political prisoners were released, including the Congress's leadership.

**On wars and nonviolence**

Gandhi participated in the South African war against the Boers, on the British side in 1899. Both the Dutch settlers called Boers and the imperial British at that time discriminated against the coloured races they considered as inferior, and Gandhi later wrote about his conflicted beliefs during the Boer war. He stated that "when the war was declared, my personal sympathies were all with the Boers, but my loyalty to the British rule drove me to participation with the British in that war". According to Gandhi, he felt that since he was demanding his rights as a British citizen, it was also his duty to serve the British forces in the defence of the British Empire.

**Truth and Satyagraha**

Gandhi dedicated his life to discovering and pursuing truth, or [Satya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satya), and called his movement as satyagraha, which means "appeal to, insistence on, or reliance on the Truth".The first formulation of the satyagraha as a political movement and principle occurred in 1920, which he tabled as "Resolution on Non-cooperation" in September that year before a session of the Indian Congress. It was the satyagraha formulation and step, states Dennis Dalton, that deeply resonated with beliefs and culture of his people, embedded him into the popular consciousness, transforming him quickly into Mahatma.

"God is truth. The way to truth lies through [ahimsa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahimsa) (nonviolence)" – [Sabarmati](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sabarmati_Ashram), 13 March 1927

Gandhi based Satyagraha on the Vedantic ideal of self-realization, ahimsa (nonviolence), vegetarianism, and universal love.

**On inter-religious relations;** Buddhists, Jains and Sikhs

Gandhi believed that Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism were traditions of Hinduism, with shared history, rites and ideas. He considered Buddhism to be a reform movement and the Buddha to be a Hindu.[ He stated he knew Jainism much more, and he credited Jains to have profoundly influenced him. Sikhism, to Gandhi, was an integral part of Hinduism, in the form of another reform movement. Sikh and Buddhist leaders disagreed with Gandhi, a disagreement Gandhi respected as a difference of opinion.

**Hindu nationalism and revivalism;** Some scholars state Gandhi supported a religiously diverse India, while others state that the Muslim leaders who championed the partition and creation of a separate Muslim Pakistan considered Gandhi to be Hindu nationalist or revivalist.For example, in his letters to Mohammad Iqbal, Jinnah accused Gandhi to be favouring a Hindu rule and revivalism, that Gandhi led Indian National Congress was a fascist party.

According to Gandhi, religion is not about what a man believes, it is about how a man lives, how he relates to other people, his conduct towards others, and one's relationship to one's conception of god.It is not important to convert or to join any religion, but it is important to improve one's way of life and conduct by absorbing ideas from any source and any religion, believed Gandhi.

**4. 5. Nethaji Subhash Chandra Bose**

* ***“****Give your blood, I will give you freedom”*
* *Nethaji is a militant nationalist”*
* *Unparrellal patriat*

On 23 August 2007, [Japanese Prime Minister](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Japanese_Prime_Minister), [Shinzō Abe](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Shinz%C5%8D_Abe) visited the Subhas Chandra Bose [memorial hall](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Netaji_Bhawan) in [Kolkata](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Kolkata). Abe said to Bose's family "The Japanese are deeply moved by Bose's strong will to have led the [Indian independence movement](https://www.wikiwand.com/en/Indian_independence_movement) from British rule. Netaji is a much respected name in Japan."

**The following words are inscribed on a brass shield in front of the chair.**

*"Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose in order to free India from the shackles of British imperialism organized the Azad Hind Government from outside the country on October 21, 1943. Netaji set up the Provisional Government of Independent India (Azad Hind) and transferred its headquarter at Rangoon on January 7, 1944. On the 5th April, 1944, the "Azad Hind Bank" was inaugurated at Rangoon. It was on this occasion that Netaji used this chair for the first time. Later the chair was kept at the residence of Netaji at 51, University Avenue, Rangoon, where the office of the Azad Hind Government was also housed. Afterwards, at the time of leaving Burma, the Britishers handed over the chair to the family of Mr. A.T. Ahuja, the well known business man of Rangoon. The chair was officially handed over to the Government of India in January 1979. It was brought to Calcutta on the 17th July, 1980. It has now been ceremonially installed at the Red Fort on July 7, 1981*

Subhas Chandra Bose (23 January 1897 – 18 August 1945) was an Indian nationalist whose defiant patriotism made him a hero in India, but whose attempt during World War II to rid India of British rule with the help of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan left a troubled legacy. The honorific Netaji (Hindustani: "Respected Leader"), first applied in early 1942 to Bose in Germany by the Indian soldiers of the Indische Legion and by the German and Indian officials in the Special Bureau for India in Berlin, was later used throughout India.Bose had been a leader of the younger, radical, wing of the Indian National Congress in the late 1920s and 1930s, rising to become Congress President in 1938 and 1939.

**Political thaouth of Subash**

**Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose** 's **political** views were in support of complete freedom for India at the earliest, whereas most of the Congress Committee wanted it in phases, through a Dominion status. ... **Bose** was accused of collaborating with the Axis, after he fled to Germany in 1941 and offered Hitler an alliance.

Chittaranjan Das is known as the **Political Guru** of Subhash Chandra Bose

He was a person, who just wanted independence of India at any cost. He loved his motherland.. It can proven from the below mentioned Fact:

1. He Studied under British System of Education and exceled in it but never served british.. He Joined the Indian National Congress
2. He left congress and formed Forward Block expecting help from Stalins USSR against the British. (expecting Socialism will support him against the Capitalism)
3. He joined Hitler and Japan when he didnot receive help from USSR.

He was just a passionate lover of mother india.. He has no political affiliation.. He just wanted to see India and People of India breath free..

**Political views**

Bose's earlier correspondence (prior to 1939) also reflects his deep disapproval of the [racist](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Racism) practices of, and annulment of democratic institutions in Nazi Germany.He also, however, expressed admiration for the authoritarian methods (though not the racial ideologies) which he saw in Italy and Germany during the 1930s, and thought they could be used in building an independent India. He described Hitler's nationalism as inspired by "selfish and racial arrogance." He was, comments Pelinka and Schell, no racist.

**Democracy is tha suitable option**

Bose had clearly expressed his belief that [democracy](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Democracy) was the best option for India. The pro-Bose thinkers believe that his authoritarian control of the Azad Hind was based on political pragmatism and a post-colonial recovery doctrine rather than any anti-democratic belief. However, during the war (and possibly as early as the 1930s) Bose seems to have decided that no democratic system could be adequate to overcome India's poverty and social inequalities, and he wrote that an authoritarian state, similar to that of [Soviet Russia](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Soviet_Union) (which he had also seen and admired) would be needed for the process of national re-building.Accordingly some suggest that Bose's alliance with the Axis during the war was based on more than just pragmatism, and that Bose was a militant nationalist, though not a Nazi, nor a [Fascist](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Fascist), for he supported empowerment of women, secularism and other democratic ideas; alternatively, others consider he might have been using populist methods of mobilization common to many post-colonial leaders. Pelinka and Schell comment that Bose was free of "nationalist and [racist](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Racism) prejudices" and wrote that Hitler's nationalism was "inspired by selfish and racial arrogance."

**Legacy**

Bose's role in India's independence movement has been overshadowed by memory of the peaceful protests of Gandhi and of the political achievement of [Jawaharlal Nehru](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Jawaharlal_Nehru). His political views and the alliances he made with [Nazi](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Third_Reich) and other militarist regimes at war with Britain remain controversial, with some accusing him of Fascist sympathies, while others in India have been more sympathetic towards the realpolitik that guided his social and political choices. Whether his strategy hastened Britain's departure from India is debatable, since by the end of World War II they were ready to "quit India" anyone. All types of resistance to continued British rule, violent and non-violent, however, served to pull the [moral](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Morality) rug from under colonial rule. The argument that Indians wanted British oversight and tutelage and appreciated their guidance became difficult to sustain.

He was one among many men and women who resorted to arms in the anti-colonial struggles of the twentieth century. The desire for [freedom](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Freedom) is strong among people and self-determination is a recognized political right. The colonial powers did not hesitate to use violence to suppress independence movement. The British in India, even in response to non-violent protest, arrested and imprisoned people, which represents a type of violence. Rightly or wrongly, Bose and many others have turned to war to claim their freedom, so strong is the human desire to live in states that control their own destiny. He was far from being a selfish man or a man who spent his life trying to personal ambitions. Rather, he spent his life striving to free his nation from colonial rule.

**Description:**

Subhas Chandra Bose, as an outstanding leader of the Indian National Movement became a legendary figure to be almost worshipped as a great hero and a charismatic leader. A study of his biography unfolds before us his unflagging zeal, as an empiricist, in gaining a theoretical foundation for a plan of action, in his own personal life and in Indian freedom movement and in this respect he was influenced by his own parents, Beni Madhab Das, Headmaster, Revenshaw Collegiate School, teachings of Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and Aurobindo Ghosh, C.R. Das, Lenin, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, De Valera, Joseph Mezzini, Count Cavour, Garibaldi, and the impact of freedom movements in other countries such as American War of Independence, Italian struggle for liberation and unification, liberation struggle in Czechoslovakia and Irish struggle for freedom. In this background his social, economic and political concepts were empirically formulated for an objective observance and ramification with the sole objective of emancipation of Mother India from the British rule of exploitation and oppression and reconstruction of Free India.

Subhas Chandra Bose is popularly known as '*Netaji*'. In the year of 1902, when he was only 5 year old, he got admission in Cuttack Protestant School and then he started his educational career. In the year of 1909 he got admission in Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack. In 1913, he started his higher secondary educational academic career in Presidency College, Calcutta. On 21stOctober 1943, Netaji formed the Indian National Army (I.N.A). *Netaji Subhas Chandra Bos*e is remembered for his Salutation and slogan of 'Jai Hind'. The famous words of Subash Chandra Bose "Give me blood, I will give you freedom" encouraged the freedom fighters. The famous book “The Indian Struggle” was written by him. Scientific propaganda was prescribed by him on the above lines to combat communalism. Shah Nawaz Khan said that, for Subhas there were no religious or provincial differences. Hindu, Muslim and Sikh soldiers in the Indian National Army were made to realise that they were sons of the same motherland. That most of ardent supporters and admirers of Netaji were found to be Muslims. Another close associate of Netaji, S.A. Ayar said that, communal harmony of a high order prevailed among the ranks. Accordingly some suggest that Bose's alliance with the Axis power during the world war was based on more than just pragmatism, and that Bose was a militant nationalist, though not a Nazi, nor a Fascis. Netaji supported empowerment of women, secularism and other democratic ideas.

**Political views of Subhas Chandra Bose;**

**Complete freedom**

[Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netaji_Subhas_Chandra_Bose)**'s political views** were in support of complete freedom for [India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India) at the earliest, whereas most of the Congress Committee wanted it in phases, through a Dominion status. Even though Bose and [Mohandas K. Gandhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohandas_K._Gandhi) had differing ideologies, the latter called Bose the "Patriot of Patriots"in 1942. Bose admired Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and called him Bapu,recognising his importance as a symbol of Indian nationalism and giving him political expediency as told by Bose to Rash Behari Bose; called him "The Father of Our Nation" in a radio broadcast from Rangoon in 1944, in which he stated, "I am convinced that if we do desire freedom we must be prepared to wade through blood", a statement somewhat at odds with Gandhi's philosophy of non-violence. Thus, although they shared the goal of an independent India, by 1939 the two had become divided over the strategy to achieve Indian Independence, and to some degree the form which the post-Independence state should take: Gandhi was hostile to [industrialisation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrialisation), while Bose saw it as the only route to making India strong and self-sufficient. [Jawaharlal Nehru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jawaharlal_Nehru) disagreed with Gandhi on this point as well, though not over the tactics of protest.

Bose was accused of collaborating with the Axis, after he fled to Germany in 1941 and offered Hitler an alliance. He criticized the [British](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom) during World War II, saying that while Britain was fighting for the freedom of the European nations under [Nazi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nazism) control, it would not grant independence to its own colonies, including India. In 1937 he published an article attacking Japanese imperialism in the Far East, although he betrayed some admiration for other aspects of the Japanese regime.

Bose's tenure as Congress Party President (1938–39) did not reflect any particular anti-democratic or authoritarian attributes. [Nirad C. Chaudhuri](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nirad_C._Chaudhuri), Anton Pelinka and Leonard Gordon have remarked that Bose's skills were best illustrated at the negotiating table, rather than on the battlefield.

At the Tripura Congress session of 1939, he demanded giving the British Government a six-month deadline for granting independence and of launching a mass civil disobedience movement if it failed to do so. He believed that "... the country was internally more ripe for a revolution than ever before and that the coming international crisis would give India an opportunity for achieving her emancipation, which is rare in human history.

Bose's judgment in allying with the Japanese has been questioned, as many argue that he would have been unable to ensure an independent India had he ridden to power on Japanese bayonets, and was in danger of becoming a [puppet ruler](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puppet_ruler) similar to the fate that befell [Puyi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Puyi), the last Chinese Emperor of [Manchuria](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manchuria). In 1943 [Rash Behari Bose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rash_Behari_Bose) had urged this on him during his last visit to Subhas Bose in Singapore, pointing out that the Japanese had claimed right of conquest in Manchuria and would do so in India, while Quit India had shown that this would not be accepted by the Indian Nation.

Nevertheless, given the [Indian National Army](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Army)'s (INA) overwhelming dependence on Japanese military support, he would have been in a weak position. Bose also seems to have ignored the [appalling treatment](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_war_crimes) meted out by the Japanese to the Asian inhabitants of the lands they conquered as part of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity sphere, which included the forcible recruitment of labour from the overseas Indian population to build projects such as the [Burma Railway](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burma_Railway), and massacres of Malayan Chinese in Singapore where he spent most of the war.[

Bose has been branded as a fascist in some quarters. Others believe that Bose had clearly expressed his belief that democracy was the best option for India.

Had either of the alliances he forged during the war resulted in Indian independence in the manner he envisaged, it would have been at the cost of an Allied defeat in the Second World War, a price that some Indians would argue is too high: Gandhi himself, in the immediate aftermath of the war, said that Bose had been "foolish in imagining, that by allying himself with the Japanese and the Germans, who were not only aggressive Powers, but also dangerous Powers, he could get Indian freedom".The alternative of non-violent protest within India espoused by Gandhi and the rest of Congress ultimately led to British withdrawal, albeit at the expense of the partition of the country along communal lines. Even before 1939, Congress had secured [political concessions](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Concession_(politics)) from the British in the form of elected provincial assemblies, and an agreement that the British taxpayer would [foot the bill](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foot_the_bill) for Indian re-armament. Although it was rejected by Congress at the time, the 1942 [Cripps mission](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cripps_mission)'s offer of full independence after the war could be considered the point at which the British departure became inevitable.[ Britain's weakness after the war, and domestic political pressure on the Labour Government also made British withdrawal more likely. Publicly at least, Bose never believed that this would happen unless they were driven out by force: as late as 1944, three years prior to independence, he announced that "I am honestly convinced that the British Government will never recognise India's demand for independence."

[Nirad Chaudhuri](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nirad_Chaudhuri) considered it a backhanded tribute to Bose that the Congress tricolour and the Muslim League green flag flew together for the last time during the [mutiny of the Indian navy in Bombay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Royal_Indian_Navy_Mutiny) unleashed in 1946 partly at anger within the Navy at the trial of INA officers by the British.

Judith Brown argues that the Mutiny of the Indian Navy was a minor factor in the British decision to leave compared to domestic political pressure, American hostility to any continuation of the *Raj*, and the breakdown of almost all networks of support and collaboration brought about by thirty years of Congress agitation. By 1946 over 50% of the members of the Indian Civil Service were Indians, and even Churchill recognised that the offer of independence made by the Cripps Mission in 1942 could not now be withdrawn.In this interpretation concerns over the loyalty of the military were only one factor among many amid the general breakdown in authority: nor, it could be argued, did all this necessarily stem from the activities of Bose and the INA. The prospect of communalism infecting the armed forces worried the British just as much.[

Bose wanted freedom for India at the earliest opportunity, and to some extent, he didn't care who he had to approach for assistance. He people of India to join him in his fight against the British Raj. Spoken in Hindi, Bose's words are highly evocative. Bose was considered a patriot even by some of his rivals in the Congress. Gandhi himself wrote that Bose's "... patriotism is second to none", and he was moved to proclaim after Bose's death that he was a "prince among patriots"—a reference, in particular, to Bose's achievement in integrating women and men from all the regions and religions of India in the Indian National Army.

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## Major Questions

1. What are role of bibin Chandara Pal in Indian politics?
2. Elaborate the politica thought of lala lajapat Roy
3. Write about the political contribution of Arabindo
4. Gandhi’s political principles are relevant till today : Justify
5. Write the how Netaji differed from ganhian principles

**CHAPTER V**

**Polituical Thinkers II**

* **M N Roy**
* **Mohammed Ali Jinnah**
* **Jawarharlal Neru**
* **Ambetkar**
* **Periyar**

**5.1 M N ROY (1886-1954)**

* *Radical humanist*
* *Terrerist of Bengal*
* *Conducted sociological study in contemporary India*

Manvendra Nath Roy, (M.N. Roy) was born on 1886 in [West Bengal](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bengal), near [Calcutta (Kolkata)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kolkata). He influenced by the writings of Swami Vivekananda, Bakim Chandra, Daynanda Saraswthi, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and V.D Savarker.

He  was an Indian revolutionary, radical activist and political theorist, as well as a noted philosopher in the 20th century.

In 1910 Roy was sentenced to imprisonment in connection with Howrah conspiracy case. Roy had the unique distinction of working with Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. He began his political life as a militant nationalist and ended a radical humanist. M.N Roy paved through at least three phases in his career.

In the first phase, he was a national revolutionary, smuggling arms for the terrorists of Bengal. In the second phase, Roy was a Marxist engaged in active communist movement first in Mexico and then in Russia, China and India.

In the final phase, Roy emerged as a radical humanist, completing his journey from Nationalism to communism and from communism to Radical Humanism. In 1922, M.N Roy made a sociological study of contemporary India in his ‘India in Transition in which differed from the proposed solutions of the problems of India in transition. Towards the end of 1922, he has published India’s problem and His solutions.

**Campaign against Gandhism**

In this work he criticized the medievalism and conservatism of the Gandhi an social theology. In addition to these books, he has written several books and published several articles in reputed journals. By 1936 Roy has further intensified his campaign against Gandhism. He condemned Gandhism as a reactionary social philosophy teaching the impracticable concept of social harmony.

In 1937, he founded his weekly Independent India which was later renamed Radical Humanist in 1949. He regarded the Gandhian concept of Non- violence as subtitle intellectual device for concealing the capitalist exploitation of the country

**Critique of Marxism**

According to Roy, the materialism of Marxism is dogmatic and un scientific. Roy is critical of the empirical account of knowledge that Marxism provides thus neglecting the creative role of the human beings. Roy believes that the dialectical materialism of Marx is materialist only in nature. According to Roy, the Marxian interpretation if history is defective because it allows slender role to mental activity in the social process.

Roy also criticizes the Marxian economic interpretation of history. Roy also criticises Marxian theory of class struggle. According to Roy, Marx’s theory of class struggle has subordinated individual consciousness.

He was also critical of Marx giving too much importance to the working class. Roy believes that polarization of capitalist society into the exploiting and the working class never takes place. Again, Roy did not regard surplus value as a peculiar feature of capitalism. He believes that the creation of surplus value and accumulation of capital were also in a socialist society

**Radical humanism**

In the later years Roy became an exponent of New Humanism. Humanist elements of thought can be traced to several schools and epochs of western philosophy .There were humanist tends in Protagoras, Erasman, Buchanau and Herder. Roy felt that the advance of science was a factor for the liberation of man’s creative energies. Science had enhanced the creatively of man and emancipated him from the dominated of superstitions and fears. Though Roy influenced by the scientific materialism of Hobbes, Ethics of Spinoza and secular politics of Locke, he reconciled all these to propound a rational idea of freedom with the concept of necessarily.

**Radical Humanist**

The central purpose of Roy’s Radical Humanism is to co ordinate the philosophy of nature with social philosophy and ethics in a monistic system. It is for this reason that Roy claims it a humanist as well as materialist, naturalist as well as rationalist, creativist as well as determinist Roywas theory of New Humanism revolves around Man. Man is the product of physical universes. It is the man who creates society, state and other institutions and values for his own welfare.

As a Radical Humanist, his philosophical approach in individualistic. The individual should not be subordinated either to a clan or to a nation. According to Roy, man has two basic traits one reason the other, the urge for freedom. The reason in man echoes the harmony of the universe .He states that every human behavior is rational, though it may appear as irrational. Man tries to find out the laws of nature in order to realize his freedom. This urge for freedom leads him to a search for knowledge. While rationality provides dynamisms to amen, the urge for freedom gives him direction. The interaction of reason and freedom leads to the expression of co operative spirit as manifested in social relationship.

According to Roy, humanity is passing through a period of crisis. The fundamental problem is to ensure individual freedom against the encroachment of the state. Roy is aware of the coercive power of the state. He defines state as the political organization of society. The functions of state are the welfare of people. According to him, the state must exist and discharge its limited functions along with other equally important and autonomous social organizations. Thus, Roy reduces the functions of the state to the minimum. He pleaded for decentralization where maximum possible autonomy should be granted to the local units.

**Banning political party system**

Roy distinguishes his new humanism from the French and German schools of Humanism of the 19th century. New Humanism is based on the researches of physical science, sociology, philosophy and other branches of knowledge. Its philosophical foundation is provided by materialism and its methodology is mechanistic. It professes confidence in the creative power of man. Man derives his sovereignty from his creative achievement in the understanding and partial conquest of nature. New Humanism, according to Roy, claims to reassert the sovereignty of man by emphasizing that history is the record of man’s activities and state or society has no power to impose absolute power of man. New Humanism is based on a mechanistic cosmology and materialistic metaphysics. Man derives rationality from nature through biological evolution. Thus Roy claims that humanism is a philosophy based on a synthesis of the achievement of modern knowledge. Roy was in favour of abolition of party system in India. He advocates humanist politics.

This will lead to purification and rationalization of politics. According to Roy” party politics has given rise to power politics”. He lawents about the evils of party politics that exist where innocent and ignorant people are exploited in the elections.

New Humanism is pledged to the idea of a commonwealth and fraternity of freeman. He advocated a world federation. In his well known work, Reason, Romanticism and Revolution, Roy wrote thus: New Humanism is cosmopolitan. A cosmopolitan common wealth of spiritually free men would not be limited by the boundaries of national states- capitalist, fascist, socialist, communist or any other kind which will gradually disappear under the impact of the twentieth century renaissance of Man’ Roy makes a distinction between cosmopolitanism and internationalism.

He pleads for a spiritual community or a cosmopolitan humanism. Internationalism postulates the existence of separate nation states. Roy believes that true world government can be built only the decentralization of nation states.

**Founder of the**[Mexican Communist Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_Communist_Party)

Roy was a founder of the [Mexican Communist Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mexican_Communist_Party) and the Communist Party of India. Following the rise of [Joseph Stalin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Stalin), Roy left the mainline communist movement to pursue an independent radical politics. In 1940 Roy was instrumental in the formation of the [Radical Democratic Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_Democratic_Party_(India)), an organisation in which he played a leading role for much of the decade of the 1940s.

In the aftermath of [World War II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II) Roy moved away from [Marxism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxism) to espouse the philosophy of [radical humanism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_humanism), attempting to chart a third course between [liberalism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism) and [communism](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism).

Commissioned by Lenin to prepare the East – especially India – for revolution, Roy founded military and political schools in [Tashkent](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tashkent). In October 1920, as he formed the Communist Party of India, he contacted his erstwhile revolutionary colleagues who, at this juncture, were hesitating between Radicalism ([Jugantar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jugantar)) and [Mohandas K. Gandhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohandas_K._Gandhi)'s novel programme. Close to the Jugantar in spirit and action, [C. R. Das](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/C._R._Das) inspired Roy's confidence. From Moscow, Roy published his major reflections, India in Transition, almost simultaneously translated into other languages. In 1922 Roy's own journal, the Vanguard, which was the organ of the emigre Communist Party of India, was first published. These were followed by The Future of Indian Politics (1926) and Revolution and Counter-revolution in China (1930), while he had been tossing between Germany and France.

Leading a [Comintern](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Comintern) delegation appointed by [Joseph Stalin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Stalin) to develop agrarian revolution in China, Roy reached [Canton](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guangzhou) in February 1927. Despite fulfilling his mission with skill,[[citation needed](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)] a disagreement with the [CCP](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Communist_Party) leaders and Borodin led to a fiasco. Roy returned to Moscow where factions supporting [Leon Trotsky](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leon_Trotsky) and [Grigory Zinoviev](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grigory_Zinoviev) were busy fighting with Stalin's.

Stalin refused to meet Roy and give him a hearing at the plenum in February 1928. Denied a decent treatment for an infected ear, Roy escaped with [Nikolai Bukharin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolai_Bukharin)'s help, sparing himself Stalin's anger. Shortly after [Trotsky's deportation](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leon_Trotsky#Defeat_and_exile_(1927%E2%80%931928)), on 22 May 1928, Roy received the permission to go abroad for medical treatment on board a [Berlin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Berlin)-bound plane of the Russo-German Airline [Deruluft](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deruluft). In December 1929, the [Inprecor](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inprecor) announced Roy's expulsion from the Comintern, almost simultaneously with [Bukharin's fall from grace](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikolai_Bukharin#Fall_from_power).

**Imprisonment;**

Roy returned to India for the first time in December 1930. Upon reaching [Bombay](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombay), Roy met leaders like [Jawaharlal Nehru](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jawaharlal_Nehru) and [Subhas Bose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhas_Bose), the former of whom recalled that despite significant political differences, "I was attracted to him by his remarkable intellectual capacity."

Roy's political activity in India proved to be brief, on 21 July 1931 he was arrested in Bombay on an [arrest warrant](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arrest_warrant) issued in 1924.Roy was taken to Kanpur to face charges under Section 121-A of the [Indian Penal Code](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Penal_Code), "conspiring to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty in India."

No trial was held in open court; rather, the proceedings were conducted inside the jail in which Roy was held. Roy was allowed neither [trial by jury](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trial_by_jury) nor defense witnesses, nor was he allowed to make a defense statement. Proceedings were conducted from November 1931 until 9 January 1932, at which time Roy was sentenced to 12 years of rigorous imprisonment.

Roy was taken immediately under armed guard to [Bareilly Central Jail](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bareilly_Central_Jail) for completion of his sentence managing, however, he was able to smuggle out the defence statement which he was not allowed to present in court.This disallowed declaration was published in full by Roy's supporters in India as My Defence, and in abridged form in New York as I Accuse.

Roy was unapologetic for his advocacy of the use of armed struggle against British colonialism, in his own defence declaring

The oppressed people and exploited classes are not obliged to respect the moral philosophy of the ruling power.... A despotic power is always overthrown by force. The force employed in this process is not criminal. On the contrary, precisely the guns carried by the army of the British government in India are instruments of crime. They become instruments of virtue when they are turned against the imperialist state.

Roy filed an appeal in his case to the [Allahabad High Court](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allahabad_High_Court), but this was dismissed on 2 May 1933 – although Roy's sentence was at the same time reduced from 12 years to 6 by the court.[[32]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._N._Roy#cite_note-SW4-32) Roy ultimately served 5 years and 4 months of this term, sitting in five different jails.[[32]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._N._Roy#cite_note-SW4-32) Dismal prison conditions took a severe toll on Roy's health, and he suffered lasting damage to his heart, kidneys, lungs, and digestive tract as a result of his time behind bars.[[34]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._N._Roy#cite_note-SW11-34) Roy also lost several teeth, was frequently feverish, and suffered constant pain from a chronically infected inner ear.

Despite his imprisonment, Roy still managed to contribute to the Indian independence movement. A steady stream of letters and articles were smuggled out of jail. He also wrote a 3000-page draft manuscript provisionally titled The Philosophical Consequence of Modern Science. His followers, including A. A. Alwe, formed the [Bombay Provincial Working Class Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bombay_Provincial_Working_Class_Party) in 1933 to continue his work while he was imprisoned.

Released in November 1936 in broken health, Roy went to Allahabad for recovery, invited by Nehru. Defying the Comintern order to boycott the [Indian National Congress](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress), Roy urged Indian Communists to join this Party to radicalise it. Nehru, in his presidential address at [Faizpur](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faizpur) session in December 1936, greeted the presence of Roy, as ...one who, though young, is an old and well-tried soldier in India's fight for freedom. Comrade M.N. Roy has just come to us after a long and most distressing period in prison, but though shaken up in body, he comes with a fresh mind and heart, eager to take part in that old struggle that knows no end till it ends in success.

From the podium Roy in his speech recommended the capture of power by [Constituent Assembly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constituent_Assembly). Unable to collaborate with Gandhi, however, Roy was to stick to his own conviction. In April 1937, his weekly Independent India appeared and was welcomed by progressive leaders like Bose and Nehru, unlike Gandhi, and the staunch Communists who accused Roy of deviation.

**Radical humanist**

In marrying Ellen Gottschalk, his second wife, "Roy found not only a loving wife but also an intelligent helper and close collaborator." They settled in [Dehra Dun](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dehra_Dun). Roy proposed an alternative leadership, seized the crisis following [Bose's re-election as the Congress President](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhas_Bose#National_politics), in 1938: in [Pune](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pune), in June, he formed his League of Radical Congressmen. Disillusioned with both bourgeois democracy and communism, he devoted the last years of his life to the formulation of an alternative philosophy which he called Radical Humanism and of which he wrote a detailed exposition in [Reason, Romanticism and Revolution](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reason,_Romanticism_and_Revolution).

In his monumental biography, In Freedom's Quest, [Sibnarayan Ray](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sibnarayan_Ray) writes:

If Nehru had his problems, so had Roy. From early life his sharp intellect was matched by a strong will and extra-ordinary self-confidence. It would seem that in his long political career there were only two persons and a half who, in his estimate, qualified to be his mentors. The first was Jatin Mukherji (or [Bagha Jatin](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bagha_Jatin)) from his revolutionary nationalist period; the second was Lenin. The half was Josef Stalin....

With the declaration of [World War II](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_II), Roy (in a position close to that of [Sri Aurobindo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Aurobindo)) condemned the rising totalitarian regimes in Germany and Italy, instead supporting England and France in the fight against fascism. He severed connections with the [Congress Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Congress) and created the [Radical Democratic Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_Democratic_Party_(India)) in 1940. Gandhi proceeded to foment [Quit India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quit_India) in August 1942. In response The British imprisoned without trial almost the entire Indian National Congress leadership within hours. Roy's line was clearly different from that of the mainstream of the independence movement. According to Roy, a victory for Germany and the Axis powers would have resulted in the end of democracy worldwide and India would never be independent. In his view India could win her independence only in a free world. [Subhas Chandra Bose](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subhas_Bose#Escape_from_British_India_to_Germany_&_Japan) took the pro-active stance that [The enemy of my enemy is my friend](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_enemy_of_my_enemy_is_my_friend); escaping house-arrest and India he formed the [Azad Hind](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azad_Hind) Provisional Indian Government in Exile and allied with the Japanese brought the [Indian National Army](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_National_Army) to India's doorstep.

Sensing India's independence to be a post-war reality following the defeat of the Axis powers and the weakening of British imperialism, Roy wrote a series of articles in Independent India on the economic and political structures of new India, even presenting a concrete ten-year plan, and drafting a Constitution of Free India (1944).

Roy in his philosophy devised means to ensure human freedom and progress. Remembering Bagha Jatin who "personified the best of mankind", Roy worked "for the ideal of establishing a social order in which the best in man could be manifest." In 1947, he elaborated his theses into a manifesto, New Humanism, expected to be as important as the [Communist Manifesto](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist_Manifesto) by [Marx](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marx) a century earlier.

**5.2 MOHAMMED ALI JINNH (1876-1948)**

* *Lawer at his 18-*
* *the founding father of Pakistan*

**Muhammad Ali Jinnah** was born on 25 December 1876 and died on 11 September 1948 in Karachi, Pakistan. He took a degree in Law and practiced in India and the UK. He started his political career by joining the All India Congress and later joined the All India Muslim League. However, the level of recognition and stature that he gained is by virtue of his leadership of the All India Muslim League

**Mohammad Ali Jinnah** travelled long distances in his political career finally to become the founding father of Pakistan. He was born on 25th December 1876 in the family of a relatively prosperous business family of Jinnabhai in Karachi. After his initial education in Karachi and Bombay, Jinnah went to England to study law which he completed at the age of 18. At the age of 20 he returned to India to join the Bar first in Karachi and later in Bombay and soon established himself among the legal fraternity of the city.

He has won great fame as a subtle lawyer and had acquired a great practice in the legal profession. Jinanh became a part of the Congress led politics by joining the Indian National Congress in 1906. In 1906, he worked as private secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji. Gopalakrishna Gokhale had high hopes from Jinnah as an ambassador of Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah had the greatest respect and admiration for Gokhale and in a speech in Bombay in May 1915, he said that Gokhale was “a great political rishi, a master of the finance of India and the great champion of education and sanitation”.

He was a nationalist in the earlier days. He had won great applause when he defended Lokmanya Tilak in the sedition case of 1916. In 1910 Jinnah was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Muslim electorate of Bombay and in 1916, also he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council by the same electorate.

**The important points include**:

a) Federalism with residuary power in the provinces,

b) A uniform measure of autonomy for all provinces;

c) Adequate and effective representation of minorities in legislature

d) Not less than one-third Muslim representation in the central legislature ie, separate electorates to continue.

f) Full religious liberty for all communities etc.

In order to get the final approval of the Nehru Report, an All Parties Conference was convened in Calcutta in December 1928. In this meeting Jinnah made a fervent plea with members present there that for the sake of unity among various religious groups and communities particularly the Hindus and Muslim.

**Political Thought of JINNA**

In these early years of his **political** career, **Jinnah** advocated Hindu–Muslim unity, helping to shape the 1916 Lucknow Pact between the Congress and the All-India Muslim League, in which **Jinnah** had also become prominent.

**He became the first Governor General of Pakistan** and officially earned the title of Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader) through the resolution of the first constituent assembly of Pakistan ([Afzal, 1967](https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/IJPL-07-2014-0007/full/html#b1)),

**Four Stages of Jinnah’s Political Philosophy**

Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah For many decades now, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah’s vision of Pakistan has been a point of contention, yet also a great source of inspiration. A careful examination of his long distinguished public service, spanning some 44 years (1904-48), can aid in defining how he perceived the future of Pakistan.

The Quaid’s political philosophy evolved in four distinct yet continuous stages. In the first stage of his public life (1904-20), his political credo was influenced by three main factors:

19th century British liberalism, first encountered during his legal studies in England from 1892 to 1896; the metropolitan flavour and mercantile milieu of Mumbai where he worked as a successful and respected member of the legal community; his close professional and personal contact with the Parsis, who taught him how a small religious group could - with the help of an entrepreneurial spirit, hard work and social cohesion - defeat racial prejudice and communal discrimination.

These three formative experiences led the Quaid to join the Indian National Congress. Modelled after European liberal parties, the Congress was at that time planning to take India on the difficult road to self-government through constitutional means. The Quaid’s evident human and professional qualities made him an ideal candidate for a leadership role in the Congress. He became its spokesman for its representation on the reform of the India Council in May 1914. During those days, he advocated gradual progress, evolutionary democratic politics and, not to forget, strict constitutionalism. When the Congress began to move away from these liberal principles in 1920 and favoured revolution and extra-constitutional methods, the Quaid left the party without ever looking back.

Since 1897, he had also been active in Anjuman-i-Islam, Muslim Mumbai's most eminent political-religious body. In 1906, he did not support the notion for separate electorates, but before long he had changed his mind when he perceived that the demand for separate electorates had "the mandate of the community". In 1910, he became an elected member to the Imperial Council on a reserved Muslim seat. From that time on, the Quaid was in touch with Nadva, Aligarh and the All India Muslim League (AIML), and, he was selected by the League to advance a bill on `Waqf alal Aulad', a problem of profound importance to Muslims since the time of Syed Ahmad Khan. Though not yet a formal member of the League, the Quaid was nevertheless instrumental in committing it to the principles of self-government and Hindu-Muslim unity for the following three years, thus aligning the AIML with the Congress in terms of their now mutual objectives.

The Quaid joined the League as an official member in October 1913 and was nominated as its President in 1916. He used his uncontested position of strength to further collaboration between the Congress and the League. Their goal was to find common solutions to problems confronting the country. A result of his hard work was the Congress-League Lucknow Pact of 1916, which put at least a temporary end to the controversial electorate issue and laid the foundation for an entente cordiale between Hindus and Muslims. Another promising development was that the Congress and League, for seven years (1915-21), held their annual sessions at the same time and at the same place. As can be clearly deduced from the preceding actions of the Quaid, he was a firm believer in a united Indian nationhood which would permit Hindus and Muslims alike to share power. He was convinced that only Hindu-Muslim cooperation could achieve the goal of a free and powerful India. He was also persuaded that the Muslims had to concentrate their forces in a reinvigorated Muslim League. However, during 1920-1937, in the second stage of his political life, the Quaid became more and more concerned with the continued growth of Hindu extremism and separatism.

The period after 1937, the beginning of the third stage, marked a significant shift in the Quaid’s strategy for the independence of the Indian subcontinent. Muslims now identified him with the concept of their need for reinforcing their sense of community with a sense of power. Increasingly he was seen as the symbol of a Muslim national consensus, which also furnishes an explanation of why and how he had turned into their Quaid-i-Azam and even before the launching of the Pakistan demand in March 1940.

However, despite his changed political discourse and platform, the Quaid still believed in democracy, but not in a westminster-style parliament, which in his eyes led to a permanent Hindu majority and a permanent Muslim minority.

He believed that in general terms minorities means a combination of things. It may be that a minority has a different religion from the other citizens of a country. Their language may be different, their race may be different, their culture may be different, and the combination of all these various elements - religion, culture, race, language, arts, music and so forth - makes the minority a separate entity in the state, and that separate entity as an entity wants safeguards.

Based on this assessment and definition of the minority status, the Quaid called Muslims a nation and emphasized their religious, cultural and linguistic differences. He called upon them "to live or to die as a nation". He even named the flag of the League "the flag of Islam", stating that it was not possible to "separate the Muslim League from Islam". The Quaid , who had a very low opinion of mass politics, now felt that he had to embrace this concept. He who had reprimanded Gandhi for bringing religion into the arena of daily politics was no longer opposed to using Islamic terms and principles in his own political discourse. He appealed now to the Muslim masses with words they knew from the Holy Quran. Before he had defined himself first as an Indian, now he stressed with great insistence his Muslim identity. Above all, he no longer aimed at Hindu-Muslim unity, but he preferred to work for a vigorous Muslim consensus.

**1. Jinnah**: **Hindu – Muslim Unity**

Like other Muslim Schools, Jinnah was also keen to work for the well being of the Muslims. However, his concern for the Muslims was not meant to be at the cost of the Hindu – Muslim unity.

It is important to note that till the elections of 1937 he believed that both the communities must join hands to remain strong in order to overcome the difficulties placed on the Indians by the British Government.

In any case, for quite sometimes, pan - Islamic upsurge had already generated anti-colonial sentiments among the Muslims. Keeping all these developments in mind, Gandhiji decided to go along with the Muslims and agreed to lead the movement. In the context of all these developments the Indian National Congress, despite its initial reluctance finally decided to extend support to Gandhiji; this was the movement with which Jinnah did not agree at all and resigned from the Congress in 1920 not to come back to it ever again

**2. Two Nation Theory**

In its opposition to the Congress, the Muslim League crossed limits and finally came around to the idea of describing the Muslims of India not as a religious community or a minority in a Hindu- majority country but a distinct nation.

Thus according to the League’s formulation, India was home to not one but two nations which led the demand that India be partitioned so that there could be separate home land to the Muslim as well. This understanding was put to crystallization in the annual session of the Muslim League held in here on 23rd March, 1940.

The Resolution adopted therewas popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution or Two nation theory. In this resolution it was said that the Muslims of India on account of religious, cultural and historical distinctiveness in contrast with the Hindus, constituted a nation into themselves. In an article contributed to the Time: What is the political future of India. The declared aim of the British Government is that India should enjoy Dominion Status in accordance with the statute of West Minister in the shortest practicable time.

In order that this end should be brought about, the British government, very naturally, would like to see in India the form of democratic institutions it knows best and thinks best, under which the Government of the country is entrusted to one or other political party in accordance with the turn of the elections. Since then, the Muslim League, under Jinnah, did not look back and never consider any settlement which was not conceding Pakistan. In 1944, in course of Gandhi-Jinnah talks Jinnah vigorously and fanatically stuck to the concept that Muslim are a nation. He wrote in one of his letters to Mahatma Gandhi on September 15, 1944.

‘We maintain and hold that Muslims and Hindu are two major nations by any definition or test as a nation. We are a nation of hundred million, and what is more, we are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture….. In short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life .By all canons of International law we are a nation.’ He was absolutely uncompromising and he insisted that partition was the sole solution to Hindu- Muslim differences. His views were not subscribed to by several Muslim organisations like Jamia-e- Ulema,

The Jinna , in an interview to the representative of London News Chronicle on October4, 1944: ‘There is only one practical realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences’. This is to divide India into two sovereign parts, of Pakistan and Hindustan, by the recognition of the whole of the North –West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sindh, Punjab, Bengal and Assam as sovereign Muslim territories, as they now stand and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in Hindustan……….

The fact is the Hindu want some kind of agreement which will give them some form of control. They will not reconcile themselves to our complete independence. Jinnah had been inspired by the career of Mustafa Kamal but while Kamal was a modernist, Jinnah pinned his faith in theocracy and Islamic democracy. There was opposition to Jinnah’s formulations of Muslim constituting a nation from within the Muslims, apart from the Congress and others.

**Two nation theory’**

Within one month of passing of the ‘Two nation theory’ various Muslim political formations from different parts of the country came to form a coalition called Azad Muslim Conference. In April 1940 a huge convention was organised in Delhi where ‘Two Nation theory’ was challenged, It was argued that while Muslims were a distinct religious community with their cultural world view, they did not constitute a nation as claimed by Jinnah and the Muslim League. In several places the Muslim League had to face electoral challenge from the constituent of this Azad Muslim Conference.

It argued that Muslims were not a nation but a religious community and it was an integral part of the single territorial nationhood along with the rest of the people of India.

The Muslim population, which had received a new impetus from the educational impact of the Aligarh movement and the Pan –Islamist affiliations of Mohammed Ali and Shaukat Ali rallied devotedly round Muhammad Ali Jinnah in its crusade for the theoretic and communal demand for Pakistan.

**3. A Homeland for the Muslims**The dismissive attitude of the Congress Party towards the Muslim League and the treatment of the Muslims by the Congress provincial ministries alienated the Muslim elite and the Muslim League from the notion of federalism for the future of India; they began to explore the option of a separate homeland for the Muslims to secure their identity, rights and interests.  
It was after Jinnah's return from England in 1934 and especially after 1937, when he initiated the re-organization of the Muslim League, he started using Islamic idiom and references in his political discourse. He viewed Islamic teachings and principles as relevant to national identity formation and their political mobilization.  
  
Jinnah's statements in the post-1938 period began to describe the Muslims of British India as a nation. In 1939-40 onwards he talked of a separate homeland comprising the Muslim majority provinces like the Punjab, NWFP, Sindh, Balochistan in the northwest and Bengal in the east. While invoking Islamic teachings and principles, culture, civilization and historical experience to articulate Muslim national identity and a homeland for them as a district nation, Jinnah never suggested a religious Islamic State as advocated by Islamic political parties. His interview with Beverley Nichols in December 1943 included an interesting question-answer exchange:  
Beverly Nichols: "When you say the Muslims are a nation, are you thinking in terms of religion?"  
Jinnah: "Partly, but by no means exclusively. You must remember that Islam is not merely a religious doctrine but a realistic and practical Code of Conduct. I am thinking in terms of life, of everything important in life. I am thinking in terms of our history, our heroes, our art, our architecture, our music, our laws, our jurisprudence .... In all these things our outlook is not only fundamentally different but often radically antagonistic to the Hindus."  
There was a strong territorial basis to the demand for a separate Pakistani state. The four Muslim majority provinces in northwest were territorially linked which made it possible for the Muslim League to demand a separate homeland. Had there been no concentration of Muslim population in these provinces, demand for separate homeland would not have materialized. Therefore, it is important to protect Pakistan's territorial identity against the pressures built by those who do not recognize Pakistan's primacy as a nation-state or do not respect its territorial boundaries.

Pakistan is a territorial state based on the homeland concept for the Muslims of South Asia. However, it was never conceived as a homeland for all Muslims of British India. Given the fact that a section of Muslim political elite opposed the establishment of Pakistan, it was recognized that the Muslims would continue to live in India who were advised by Jinnah to be loyal to the Indian state.

**4. Non-Muslims in Pakistan.**

The Lahore Resolution (March 1940) that formally proposed a separate homeland for the Muslims of British India, carried a clear stipulation for the protection of the religion, culture and rights of non-Muslims. The subsequent resolutions of the Muslim League repeated this assurance. The most categorical commitment of equal citizenship for all irrespective of religion and that the state would not engage in a religion-based preference while dealing with its citizens was given in Jinnah's first address to the new constituent assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947. Non-Muslims were given representation in the first federal cabinet of Pakistan.  
  
Majority objectives of the Muslim political struggle in British India was to protect and advance Muslim cultural and civilizational identity, their interests and rights. They changed the methods and strategies over time to achieve this goal that remained constant in 1857-1947. The decision in 1940 to seek a separate homeland was the result of their political experience that the Congress Party would not provide any specific constitutional guarantees and safeguards for Muslim identity, rights and interests in one federal India. The Muslims were alienated from the federal model by 1939-40 and demanded a separate and independent homeland of Pakistan.

After articulating the notion of Muslim nation in British India and the need of a separate homeland for them, Jinnah and the Muslim League engaged in popular mobilization for the demand for establishing Pakistan. By 1946, the demand for Pakistan had become the most favoured slogan at the common person level. Had the Muslim League not showed its electoral support in the 1946 elections, its demand for Pakistan would not have become credible.

The founders of Pakistan conceived it as a modern, democratic, constitutional state with an emphasis on the rule of law and equal citizenship for all. However, they did not altogether reject the role of teachings and principles of Islam and Muslim historical experience as a source of inspiration for the society and the people of Pakistan, who predominantly Muslim. Other qualities of Pakistan included socio-cultural and religious pluralism and no tolerance for religious extremism and terrorism.

**5.3 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (1889-1964)**

* *Maker of modern India*
* *Nehru was both a philosopher as well as a practical political leader*

Politically baptised by Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru was not blind follower of his leader, but redefined the nationalist ideology as and when he deemed it fit. In the aftermath of India’s independence he strove to guide India towards a socialist pattern of society following a path based on his interpretation of socialism.

Nehru emerged from the war years as a leader whose political views were considered radical. ... He became involved with aggressive nationalists leaders who were demanding Home Rule for Indians. The influence of the moderates on Congress politics began to wane after Gokhale died in 1915.

**The Political Ideas**

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was a veteran political leader. His participation in the freedom struggle in India brought him closer to other great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Subhash Chandra Bose, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad etc. He gained political ideas concerning this land and became the First Prime Minister of India. His political ideas are as follows.

**Complete independence**

He acquired a deeper appreciation of Indian history and philosophy and enriched the basis for subsequent thought and action. Jawaharlal Nehru began his political activities by his association with the Home Rule Leagues established by Tilak and Mrs Annie Besant. His main contribution in the late twenties was that he stood for the ideal of complete independence for India.

Nehru became the president of the Indian National Congress with Gandhi’s blessings at Lahore and the historic independence resolution was passed on the midnight of December 13, 1929. He was the president of the Congress again in 1936, 1937 and 1946. In 1946, he formed the Interim government of India till his death on May 27, 1964. He was an author of reputation and his ‘Glimpses of World History’, ‘Autography’ and the ‘Discovery of India’ are notable contributions to the realm of learning in Indian history and Indian political thought .

**His views on secularism**

Nehru had no attraction for any religion. According to him, behind every religion lay a method of approach which was wholly unscientific. But he recognises that religion provides some kind of satisfaction to the inner needs of human nature and give a set of moral and ethical values of life in general. Nehru was not a religious man, nor would he ever spend time, as a routine, for morning and evening worshipping.

As Nehru had scientific temper, it was natural that he would be a secularist. Jawaharlal Nehru was an agnostic and not emotionally involved in religious disputations.

He wrote thus,: Religion as I saw it practised, and accepted even by thinking minds, whether it was Hinduism or Islam or Buddhism or Christianity, did not attract me. It seemed to be closely associated with superstitious practices and dogmatic beliefs and behind it lay a method of approach to life’s problems which was certainly not that of science.

There was an element of magic about it ….. a reliance on the super natural”. Nehru’s understanding of secularism was a product of personal attitudes and historical circumstances. Secularism is basically the separation of religion from politics. Politics is associated with public activities. Religion is an individual or personal affair, giving every one the right to practise one’s own religion. Referring to the concept of secularism, Nehru says ‘Some people think that it means something opposed to religion. That obviously is not correct.

**State religion**

What it means is that it is a state which honours all faiths equally and gives them equal opportunities; that as a state, it does not allow itself to be attached to one faith or religion, which then becomes the state religion”. Nehru did not take religion in a narrow sense; religion does not teach hatred and intolerance; all religions speak the truth ; that is the essence of each religion.

**Religion for moral and ethical values**

He believes that the religious basis of politics does not help social progress. At the same time, Nehru had respect for Gandhi’s view on the role of religion in politics. He was of the view that Gandhi had a moral view of politics. For Gandhi religion can teach that politicians to be moral and ethical; it has a role in society for teaching moral values and maintaining an ethical order. But at the same time he opposed the formation of political parties on communal or religious grounds. This will create hatred between different religions and hatred breeds violence and intolerance among people. Without social harmony, no social progress is possible.

**Humanistic perspective**

He disapproved both the Hindu communalism as well as the Muslim communalism. His loyalty to secularism has been a great relief to the minorities in India. He was a secularist in the sense that he transcended parochial consideration and looked from a broad humanistic perspective.

‘Nehru’s understanding of secularism has been strengthened due to his liberal cultural upbringing. The concept of secularism as perceived and defined by Nehru constitutes the bedrock of Indian nationalism, which was subsequently in corporated into the Indian constitution. Nehru’s understanding of secularism is primarily rooted in his emphasis on political and social equality. His exposition of secularism emphasises the following dimensions.

1. The State does not either encourage or discourage religion. It means freedom of religion and conscience, including freedom for those who have no religion.

2. It conveys the idea of social and political equality;

3. Nehru promoted secularism through social transformation and development. It means eradicating inequality and backwardness.

Despite his liberal approach towards religion, it is not easy to declare Nehru irreligious; he was, not opposed to religion. He frankly recognised that religion supplied a deeper craving of human beings’. His major concern was that the state should not intervene in religious matters. It is beyond dispute that Nehru was sincere in his advocacy of secularism as a political and cultural value.

Due to his secular approach he succeeded in solving intra party and interstate politics. Nehru view on Socialism Nehru's socialism always remained 'humanism in action' by which the creative energy of man seeks liberation from the forces of insecurity of tomorrow and are utilized for creative purposes.

**Three thoughts sog seculatism**

He tried throughout his life to associate the entire Indian people in the great enterprise of a socialist India. He laid the firm foundations but left the word "Socialism to acquire further connotation and denotation with the passage of time... he ensured that there would be no going back on socialism." Nehru's socialism was in fact enriched by three different streams of thought viz Fabianism, Gandhism and Marxism. From Marx he inherited inevitability of socialism and its scientific approach; from Gandhism purity of means and ethical aspect and from Fabianism he derived reformism, constitutionalism and gradualism. Nehru's socialism synthesises various trends of thought at the level of the ideal.

Nehru's international outlook is evident from his pursuing the foreign policy on these lines. Nehru represented the best traits of an Indian which were tolerance, sagacity and love for peace. Nehru was an internationalist in his outlook.

He developed his international outlook by keeping himself interested in the international problems. He always cherished to have a world free of wars and nuclear threats, a world of oneness, of growth and development to better the lot of masses or humanity. Speaking in Constituent Assembly on December 4, 1947 he said, "We have proclaimed during this past year that we will not attach ourselves to any particular group. This has nothing to do with neutrality or passivity or anything else. Nehru favoured the polarisation of power and an increase in the number of non-aligned countries resulting in the isolation of super powers.

In such an atmosphere of international relations, Nehru believed that there could be a possibility of replacement of mutual fear, suspicion, hostility and cold war by mutual good will, tolerance and peaceful coexistence. Nehru's policy of non-alignment was not a negative policy.

**Non- alighnment**

Nehru's doctrine of non-alignment was also positive and dynamic in its nature. In positive term it charted out an independent foreign policy posture for" the nation which object to lining up for war purposes, to military blocs, to military alliances and the like and wanted to work in the pursuit of peace". India would try her best to have friendly relations with the countries of both the blocs and would extend all co-operation for ensuring peace among the family of the nations of the world.

It will also be helpful for new independent countries of Asia and Africa. Thus according to Nehru the policy of non-alignment on the part of a big state like India was conducive to her own ultimate national interests as well as to the interests of peace in the world.

Nehru believed that Economic Exploitation and economic backwardness also undermine the cause of peace and non-alignment policy was an absolute necessity for newly emerging and underdeveloped countries .

Political instability could become a hurdle in the way of world peace.. The maintenance of universal peace was an economic as well as political necessity for these countries.

**Vision on Development**

Nehru imparted a socialistic vision to the Indian development. Nehru adopted Marxism in the 1930s as a tool for understanding society, social development and the national movement itself He used Marxism to understand Indian social development even after 1947. It was diluted over the years. He did not see nationalism as inherently a ‘bourgeoisie’ ideology, though he saw the national movement being dominated at the time by the middle classes. He felt, in the colonial and post-colonial situation that nationalism could be and had to be, articulated and integrated with socialist ideology.

Nehru kept his commitment to nationalism, national unity and national independence after 1947. He safeguarded the political independence won in 1947, and he laid the foundations of a democratic and civilian polity, and also carried forward the process of the making of the Indian nation.

Nehru was interested in building a just and democratic society and in consolidating India into a nation and set out to build the structure of an independent and self-reliant economy, and made an all out effort to break out of colonial under development and to ensure self-sustaining and self-generating growth, both in agriculture and industry.

**Industrialization**

Nehru emphasized on rapid industrialization, planning, public sector and development of heavy industry, science and technology and technical modernization, the training of a large technical and scientific cadre and atomic energy, and saw them as necessary in the effort to achieve independent economic development.

He believed that an independent economy and self-reliance would strengthen the psy­chological basis of national independence and thereby increase the self-confidence and self-respect of the people.

**Independent economy**

There is hardly any doubt that Nehru was successful in laying the foundations of an independent economy, otherwise known as mixed economy, through a capitalist economy. Elections, civil liberties and freedom to organize and grass root democracy through institutions such as Panchayat Raj would enable the people to mobilize them­selves to exert pressure from below, compelling the political party in power either to make the necessary changes or get swept away.

Nehru was fascinated by the Soviet Union’s Five-Year-Plans and tried implementing the same in India. He wanted India to have the best combination of socialism and capitalism and tried to implement ‘Democratic Socialism’. He wanted the state to be a principal entrepreneur and all its citizens its equal shareholders.

He strengthened the democratic pillars of the nation by creating proper wealth distribution systems at all levels. Critics often confuse Nehru’s economic policies with those of his daughter, Indira Gandhi, who was seen more as left-oriented. Nehru’s economics of state intervention and investment were conceived at a time when the transfers of capital and technology that were important to India were not easily forthcoming from the developed world.

Economic equality means nationalization of means of production, economic rights and participation in decision-making along with the management, granting of economic rights in all spheres, ceiling of property, progressive legislation on property rights, de-concentration of wealth, and state intervention to the extent of securing economic equality.

Soviet Union was the only major power to allow India to develop independent capabilities in many spheres of heavy industry, engineering and cutting edge technologies. India’s combination of internal political freedom, economic and political independence throughout its existence can be favorably compared with many client states of the United States and the Soviet Union.

Nehru pursued a foreign policy of non-alignment and became a founder and leader of the Non-aligned Movement. As prime minister, he pursued India’s claim to Kashmir in the face of Pakistani opposition, resulting in the First Kashmir War (1947). Military defeat at the hands of the People’s Republic of China in the Sino-Indian War (1962) brought strong criticism of military unpreparedness and Nehru’s policy of friendship with India’s mighty neighbour.

During the Cold War period, on 27 November 1946, Prime Minister Nehru appealed to the United States and the Soviet Union to end nuclear testing and to start nuclear disarmament, stating that such an action would ‘save human­ity from the ultimate disaster’. His charisma extended to the world stage where under his leadership, India was often able to be ‘punching above its weight’.

Democracy was, in his conception, linked to the unity of the country. Democracy would also guarantee that the process of nation-building would be accomplished through social justice and equity. People would use the democratic system to generate political progress to achieve its social objectives.

For him, political equality implies universal adult suffrage, organization of a strong democratic polity, political parties, legislatures with a true representative character, public opinion, freedom of the press, electoral reforms, political rights, constitutional safeguards, constitutional methods, faith in constitutional process, legitimization of the constitutional system and lastly secularism.

Nehru helped to create a country with enduring civic institutions, a strong and socially responsive judiciary, a committed civilian oversight of the army and overall egalitarianism.

For him, social equality aims for the removal of social discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, gender and natural incapacities. It means equal opportunities to lead a happy life in the social sphere. It also includes elimination of poverty, social stigma and inhuman activities; extension of voting rights to the underprivileged, equal participation without gender inequality, in the political process and receiving equal benefits as the members of a society.

India is one of the few ex-colonial countries, which made the structural transition from a colonial to an independent economy. The anti-zamindari land reforms were implemented in a manner that the agrarian structure was transformed, but the rural poor were left high and dry, leaving behind a legacy of economic inequality, social oppression and violence in rural India. The second stage of land reforms represented by the land ceiling legislation was not successfully implemented in India.

Moreover, the other weaknesses in the agrarian sector were the failure to prevent large scale ejection of tenants at will in both zamindari and ryothwari areas and the absence of any ameliorative radical measures so far as the agricultural laborers, who constituted nearly 40 per cent of the rural population, were concerned.

Nehru’s policies are credited with setting up India’s infrastructure for scientific education, nuclear programme, space programme, the extensive Indian Railways network, and the pharmaceutical industry. It is to his credit that he did not abuse his power and constantly attempted to deepen the democratic nature and institutions of the newly independent times.

However, in his later years, nationalists have criticized him, both past and present, for not sufficiently confronting Pakistan and China in their differences with India. India’s defeat in the war with China seemed to bear out his critics, and dimmed his public stature, affecting his great personality. Critical commentators of the present day often criticize Nehru, when the transfers of capital are unhindered, easily channeled by the recipient nations, and even encouraged for their high returns in the emerging markets.

**Arresred and jailed**

His nationalist spirit was awakened and despite the objection of Motilal, he was determined to take active part in the agitation against the British Government. But he was disinterested with the Khilafat Movement as it was a religious issue for him. When the non-cooperation movement was launched in December 1920, he participated in it and was arrested for his active role in the Satyagraha.

Thereafter, jail going became a regular feature from him. He spend more than nine years in British jail at different intervals. The sudden suspension of the movement after the Chauri-Chaura incident made him annoyed. He wrote to Gandhi that this incident was a byproduct of provocation from the side of the government. In such a mass struggle, violence here and there would be inevitable and non-violence should not be used as an end in itself. However, his revolutionary zeal was reconciled with the Gandhian method of movement. In 1923, he was appointed as the General Secretary of the Congress.

**An international figure**

As the official delegate of the Indian National Congress in 1927, he participated in the Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels. Nehru utilized this opportunity to impress upon other countries about India’s non-violent struggle against the imperial British Government. He emerged as an international figure and was elected as a member of the executive committee of the League to fight against imperialism. He was influenced by communist ideology while visiting Soviet Russia in 1927.

Since not a single Indian was included in the Simon Commission, the Congress party rejected to co-operate with it. Nehru participated in the ‘hartals’ in protest of the Commission. Along with Subhas Chandra Bose, and Srinivas Iyenger, Nehru put forward the demand that complete independence should be the goal of Congress Party as opposed to the idea of Dominion status. By that time, Dominion status had become the aim of the All Parties Committee organised under the president ship of Motilal Nehru.

Nehru participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement at Allahabad and was imprisoned till January 1931. Though Congress boycotted the First Round Table Conference, yet Gandhiji agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference as per the understanding of Gandhi-Irwin.

With the failure of the Cripps Mission, Gandhiji urged for the right of self-determination to India. While Gandhi was wanting immediate withdrawal of the British Government and adopted a stern attitude to pressurize for it, there was also difference of opinion among the Indian leaders. Though Nehru initially was reluctant to go for a Movement, Gandhiji was determined to start “Satyagraha”. But since the British Government was adamant, Nehru changed his mind. The Quit India Resolution was moved by him and on 8th August 1942, at the Bombay session of the Congress it was adopted. He was arrested and imprisoned for three years.

After the war when Nehru was released, he became a leading figure of the Congress in various negotiations with the British Government. Being invited by Lord Wavell to form the government, he headed the first Indian (interim) Government of India. In the same year elections to the Constituent Assembly was also held. Lord Mountbatten was deputed as the Viceroy of India and completed the transfer of power. Despite the opposition of Gandhi, Nehru etc. India was partitioned under the “two nation” theory of Jinnah. Nehru continued to be the Prime Minister of independent India till his death on 27th May, 1964.

The role of Nehru in the political life of India was unique. He was not only a stalwart of Indian freedom struggle, but also the maker of modern India. He had laid the foundation of democracy, secularism, planning and socialism. He provided India a distinct place of importance in the international sphere with his policy of non-alignment and “Panchasheela”. His life was devoted for the cause of the motherland both in the pre and post independent era.

**No religious dogma:** Nehru was pragmatic in his outlook. There was no place of religious dogma in his concept of polities. He never liked the idea of spiritualization of politics.

To him “Religion, as I saw is practiced and accepted even by thinking minds, whether it was Hinduism, Islam or Buddhism or Christianity did not attract me. It seemed to be closely associated with superstitious practices and dogmatic beliefs, and behind it lay a method of approach to life’s problems which was certainly not that of science. There was an element of magic about it, and uncritical credulousness, a reliance on the supernatural.”

So, Nehru discarded the role of religion in politics.

**Faith in democracy:** Nehru had great faith in democracy. He liked democracy of the western model. He had faith in Parliament, Judiciary, press, public opinion which are distinct milestones of democracy. He opined that political democracy without economy democracy is meaningless. If it fails to eradicate poverty, hunger and ignorance of people, it is meaningless. He accepted democracy as not simply a political doctrine but also a way of life.

**Faith in socialism:** Nehru told “I must frankly confess that I am a socialist and a Republican”. As a socialist, he never resorted to the Marxian concept of class struggle or communist policy of ‘Ruthless Suppression. He aimed at solving class conflicts by peaceful methods. To him, socialism was “a growing dynamic conception, as something which is not rigid, as something which must fit in with the changing conditions of human life and activity in every country.” However, the vigor of Nehru as a dynamic socialist faded away when he became the Prime Minister of India after the country’s independence.

**Opposition to war:** Out and out, Nehru was a lover of peace. He vehemently opposed war and opined that it can never bring an end to a problem arising anywhere in the world. He considered war as a potent threat to peace. It will bring devastation in the world. So, in any sense and every sense, war is to be opposed tooth and nail.

**Opposed to colonialism**: As champion of world peace, Nehru wanted to oppose colonialism. He wanted freedom for every nation. British, colonial hegemony over India was hated by Nehru from the core of his heart. Suppression to people’s freedom and liberty is a heinous crime. “Nehru wanted to dispense with colonialism because it invades the liberty and freedom of people.

**Against communalism, separatism, isolationism etc**: Nehru was against communalism, separatism and also isolationism. It was only because these tendencies put a check to healthy democratic growth of a nation. On the other hand, these tendencies put a’ check to healthy democratic growth of a nation. On the other hand, these principles bring chaos and confusion inside a state and society. So, he advocated curbing communalism, separatism and isolationism in any form and every form.

**National development in all fronts:** Nehru wanted an all-round national development in all fronts -in politics, economy, science and technology, human resources, industrialization etc. The country should be developed. This will generate a new spirit among the people in arousing them from moral degradation. This will change the destiny of India and help her in her emergence.

**Territorial integrity, the prime outlook:** Nehru was very particular regarding the territorial integrity of India. Under no circumstances it is to be violated. The prime concern of the government is to pay attention to the safety of the people and the territorial integrity of a land. If anybody, internal or external, violates it, the government should come to action in preserving the integrity of the land.

The political outlook of Nehru was very much pragmatic and dashing in nature. He aimed at the all-round development of the country. Against heavy odds he advised the people and government to maintain the territorial integrity of the motherland. This shows how Nehru was a staunch nationalist.

**5.4 AMBEDKAR’S POLITICAL IDEAS**

* *Head of the committee framed constitution*
* *Supporter of uniform civil code*
* *Fought against caste discrimination*

B. R. Ambedkar (14 April 1891 – 6 December 1956), popularly known as Babasaheb Ambedkar, was an Indian [jurist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurist), [economist](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economist), [politician](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Politician) and [social reformer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_Reformer) who inspired the [Dalit Buddhist movement](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit_Buddhist_movement) and campaigned against social [discrimination](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discrimination) towards the [untouchables](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Untouchability) ([Dalits](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit)), while also supporting the rights of women and [labour](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labour_movement). He was independent India's first [law and justice minister](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ministry_of_Law_and_Justice_(India)), the architect of the [Constitution of India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_India), and a [founding father](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Founding_father) of the [Republic of India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_India). In [India](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India) and elsewhere, he was often called [Babasaheb](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babasaheb), meaning "respected father" in [Marathi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marathi_language) and [Hindi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindi_language)

**Views on social democracy**

As a liberal thinker, Ambedkar was a hardcore in the value of constitutional democracy having irrevocable elements of social and economic democracies, in additions to political democracy.

Indeed the notion of social democracy situated in the framework of the constitutional democracy appeared dearer to him than political democracy, presumably because of the fact that it was the thing he found for thought out his life. According to him, social democracy means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity which are not to be treated as separate items in trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy.

Liberty cannot be divorced from equality; equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. The complex web of democracy, thus, for Ambedkar was expected to consist of not only the sterile inputs mainly political in nature but also the dynamic elements of social and economic democracies with the balance weighing heavily in the favour of social democracy. Though as a framework of life, Ambedkar emphasized the social component of democracy as a system of government, he explicitly expressed himself in favour of British parliamentary model of democracy.

Taking it as the system of providing a ample scope for reconciliation of the individual good and the social good, he was keen on imbibing the basic liberal values which underpin the functioning of parliamentary democracy. On the basis of his extensive study and knowledge of the evolution of human society and social institutions, Ambedkar was convinced that democracy was the only form of government which ensured liberty and equality in the society.

**Real salvation**

The bureaucratic form of government in India should be replaced by a government which will be the government of the people by the people and for the people.’ Speaking on behalf of the depressed classes and denial of political rights to them, he said thus: “No share of political power can come, to us so long as the British government remains as it is. It is only in a Sawaraj constitution that we stand any chance of getting political power in our own hands without which we cannot bring salvation to our people”.

Ambedkar holds the view that democracy is more than a government. It is a form of the organization of society. There are two essential conditions which characterize democratically constituted society;

1. Absence of stratifications of society into classes;

2. A social habit on the part of the individual and groups which are ready for continuous readjustment or recognition of reciprocity of interests.

According to Ambedkar, even a democratic government would not be able to do anything if Indian society remained divided into classes and subclasses as each individual in such society would place class interest above everything and there would be no justice and fair play in the functioning of the government. Democratic government requires democratic attitude of mind and proper socialization.

Ambedkar was a protagonist of the idea of social justice as an inalienable part of the constitutional democratic framework in India. Ambedkar’s notion of social justice was based on the concept of social democracy. Social democracy means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life.

**Social justice**

Social justice refers to a distinct aspect of the socio economic and political system of the country through which concerted and coordinated measures are initiated aimed at eliminating the disadvantaged position of the depressed classes in society A unique point of the notion of social justice as propagated by Ambedkar was his insistence on providing statutory basis to such measures so that they become the policy compulsion of the government.

**Hinduism, caste and untouchability**

The basic issue lying at the core of the Gandhi Ambedkar intellectual acrimony appears to be the fundamental differences between the perspective of the two leaders regarding the probable solution to the problems of untochability and the other vices of caste system. Both Gandhi and Ambedkar stood for equality, justice and freedom to all, regardless of caste, creed or sense. Yet one find serious differences on how such a social order could be achieved. Gandhi’s views about caste or varna system were quite different from those of Ambedkar.

**Differed from Gandhi**

Interpreting Hinduism Gandhiji said, “Caste has nothing to do with religion. It is a custom whose origin I do not know and do not need to know for the satisfaction of my spiritual hunger . There is nothing in the law of varna to warrant a belief in untochability”. ‘Dr. Ambedkar, totally disagreed with Gandhian notion of caste system. He maintained that caste system completely ruined the Hindu society. Reorganization of Hindu society on the basis of varna system was not possible because it was likely to degenerate into a caste system without proper legal control. Moreover, reorganization of Hindus on the basis of four varnas could prove harmful on it would have degrading effect on the mass by denying them opportunity to acquire knowledge.

**Against castism**

During the 1920’s and early 1930’s, when the problem of untouchability was being sought to be resolved through the political empowerment of the untouchables, Gandhi evolved and persisted with a socio- humanist approach to the problem. Through his writings in Young India, he forcefully decried the practice of untouchability and asserted that no occupation attributes a social status to the people. Thus, his approach to the problem of untouchability rested on its eradication through self- enlightenment of the people which was in sharp contrast to the Ambedkar’s approach of waging struggles for the same.

Interestingly, even by 1940s, when Gandhi seemed willing to accept intermarriage as a means of eradicating the vices of caste system, he did not support the eradication of caste as a social unit which brought him in conflict with Ambedkar whose historical call for the annihilation of caste had presumably become one of cherished goals of his life. Sympathetic to the plight of the untouchables, Gandhi took a variety of measures. Hence, he declared that the untouchables are not inferior and they should be regarded as ‘Harijans’ or ‘Gods people’. In September 1932, under the patronage and supervision of Gandhi, an All India Anti-Untouchability League was formed which was later on renamed as Harijan Sevak Sangh. However, Dr Ambedkar did not appreciate the move. While Gandhiji wanted Hindu society to put an end to untouchability and revert to the origin system of four Varnas, Ambedkar had serious differences with Gandhiji on this matters In protest against Anti-Untouchability League, Ambedkar formed a parallel organization known as the Samata Saink Dal.

**Differences on separate electorate;** Ambedkar had differences with Gandhiji on the question of separate electorate and reservation of seats for the depressed classes. Ambedkar openly argued that as there was no link between the Hindus and the depressed classes, they must be regarded as a distinct and independent community. For Ambedkar, political rights preceded cultural reform. To this end, he fought against Gandhi who felt that since untouchables were a part of the Hindu community, there was no need for separate electorates or reserved seats. Ambedkar insisted that the depressed classes be given a separate electorate and reservation of seats in central and provincial assemblies. In the second session of the Round Table conference, Ambedkar stressed that power should be shared by all communities in their respective proportion. To quote Ambedkar. “We are demanding equal rights which are the common possession of the entire humanity, but due to inhibitions created by the shastras we have been denied these human rights”. Thus he shared views with other minorities like Muslims, Christians etc., for securing political rights for depressed classes.

**Communal award and poona pact**.; Gandhi was highly critical of Ambedkar for entering into a pact with minorities. Gandhiji resented the recognition given to the untouchables as a separate political entity through the Communal Award of 1932, giving representation of minorities and untouchables in the provincial legislatures. Separate electorate, according to Gandhi, would make it a permanent feature giving rise to serious problem of human relationship.

As a protest to the communal Award Gandhiji declared his fast unto death. Leaders of Congress persuaded Ambedkar to help save the life of Gandhiji. Reservation of seats in the provincial and central assembly was agreed for 10 years. A pact was signed between the Congress party and Ambedkar representing depressed classes in September 1932, known as Poona pact. It nullified the earliest communal Award and was later on incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935.

**Assessment;** A survey of the thought and actions of Ambedkar reflects the solitary purpose of his life: the emancipation of untouchables in Indian society. Taking inspiration and lessons from his own life, Ambedkar remained an untiring crusader for the cause of untouchables during a life spanning over six decades.

Hence he can be designated as the social prophet of the untouchables’. Dr. Jatav has rightly described Ambedkar as a ‘social humanist’. After careful study of the history of human relations among Hindus in Indian society, he sincerely felt that it required serious and concerted efforts for reforms. There is no doubt that he was a patriot and would not be opposed to national integration.

**Opposition to untouchability**

As Ambedkar was educated by the Princely State of Baroda, he was bound to serve it. He was appointed Military Secretary to the Gaikwad but had to quit in a short time. He described the incident in his autobiography, [waiting for a Visa](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waiting_for_a_Visa). Thereafter, he tried to find ways to make a living for his growing family. He worked as a private tutor, as an accountant, and established an investment consulting business, but it failed when his clients learned that he was an untouchable. In 1918, he became Professor of Political Economy in the [Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sydenham_College) in Mumbai. Although he was successful with the students, other professors objected to his sharing a drinking-water jug with them.

Ambedkar had been invited to testify before the [Southborough Committee](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southborough_Committee), which was preparing the [Government of India Act 1919](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government_of_India_Act_1919). At this hearing, Ambedkar argued for creating separate [electorates](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Electoral_district) and [reservations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reservation_in_India) for untouchables and other religious communities. In 1920, he began the publication of the weekly Mooknayak (Leader of the Silent) in Mumbai with the help of [Shahu of Kolhapur](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shahu_of_Kolhapur) i.e. Shahu IV (1874–1922).

Ambedkar went on to work as a legal professional. In 1926, he successfully defended three non-Brahmin leaders who had accused the Brahmin community of ruining India and were then subsequently sued for libel. [Dhananjay Keer](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhananjay_Keer) notes that "The victory was resounding, both socially and individually, for the clients and the Doctor."

While practising law in the Bombay High Court, he tried to promote education to untouchables and uplift them. His first organised attempt was his establishment of the central institution [Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bahishkrit_Hitakarini_Sabha), intended to promote education and socio-economic improvement, as well as the welfare of "[outcastes](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit)", at the time referred to as depressed classes. For the defence of Dalit rights, he started five periodicals – Mooknayak (the leader of the dumb, 1920), Bahishkrit Bharat (Ostracized India, 1924), Samta (Equality, 1928), Janata (The People, 1930), and Prabuddha Bharat (Enlightened India, 1956).

He was appointed to the Bombay Presidency Committee to work with the all-European [Simon Commission](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Simon_Commission) in 1925. This commission had sparked great protests across India, and while its report was ignored by most Indians, Ambedkar himself wrote a separate set of recommendations for the future Constitution of India.

By 1927, Ambedkar had decided to launch active movements against [untouchability](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Untouchability). He began with public movements and marches to open up public drinking water resources. He also began a struggle for the right to enter Hindu temples. He led a [Satyagraha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahad_Satyagraha) in [Mahad](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahad) to fight for the right of the untouchable community to draw water from the main water tank of the town.[[36]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar#cite_note-36) In a conference in late 1927, Ambedkar publicly condemned the classic Hindu text, the [Manusmriti](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manusmriti) (Laws of Manu), for ideologically justifying caste discrimination and "untouchability", and he ceremonially burned copies of the ancient text. On 25 December 1927, he led thousands of followers to burn copies of Manusmrti. Thus annually 25 December is celebrated as Manusmriti Dahan Din (Manusmriti Burning Day) by [Ambedkarites](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit_Buddhist_movement) and [Dalits](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit).

In 1930, Ambedkar launched Kalaram Temple movement after three months of preparation. About 15,000 volunteers assembled at [Kalaram Temple](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kalaram_Temple) satygraha making one of the greatest processions of [Nashik](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nashik). The procession was headed by a military band, a batch of scouts, women and men walked in discipline, order and determination to see the god for the first time. When they reached to gate, the gates were closed by Brahmin authorities.

**Poona Pact;** M. R. Jayakar, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Ambedkar at Yerwada jail, in Poona, on 24 September 1932, the day the Poona Pact was signed

In 1932, British announced the formation of a separate electorate for "Depressed Classes" in the [Communal Award](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communal_Award). [Gandhi](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhi) fiercely opposed a separate electorate for untouchables, saying he feared that such an arrangement would divide the Hindu community. Gandhi protested by fasting while imprisoned in the [Yerwada Central Jail](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yerwada_Central_Jail) of [Poona](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poona). Following the fast, Congress politicians and activists such as [Madan Mohan Malaviya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madan_Mohan_Malaviya) and [Palwankar Baloo](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palwankar_Baloo) organised joint meetings with Ambedkar and his supporters at Yerwada. On 25 September 1932, the agreement known as [Poona Pact](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poona_Pact) was signed between Ambedkar (on behalf of the depressed classes among Hindus) and [Madan Mohan Malaviya](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madan_Mohan_Malaviya) (on behalf of the other Hindus). The agreement gave reserved seats for the depressed classes in the Provisional legislatures, within the general electorate. Due to the pact, the depressed class received 148 seats in the legislature, instead of the 71 as allocated in the [Communal Award](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communal_Award) earlier proposed by British Prime Minister [Ramsay MacDonald](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramsay_MacDonald). The text uses the term "Depressed Classes" to denote Untouchables among Hindus who were later called Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under India Act 1935, and the later Indian Constitution of 1950. In the Poona Pact, a unified electorate was in principle formed, but primary and secondary elections allowed Untouchables in practice to choose their own candidates.

**Opposition to Article 370;** Members of the [Bharatiya Janata Party](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bharatiya_Janata_Party) state that Ambedkar opposed [Article 370](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Article_370_of_the_Constitution_of_India) of the Constitution of India, which granted special status to the State of [Jammu and Kashmir](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jammu_and_Kashmir), and it was included in the constitution against his wishes.[[86]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar#cite_note-Sehgal-86)[[87]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar#cite_note-87)[[88]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar#cite_note-88)[[note 1]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar#cite_note-89) Ambedkarite scholar Pratik Tembhurne points out that this attribution emerged for the first time in a [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashtriya_Swayamsevak_Sangh) publication Tarun Bharat in 1991, four decades after Ambedkar's death. Its veracity is not confirmed. According to Dhananjay Veer's biography, when asked in a press conference whether Article 370 helped solve the problem of Kashmir, he responded that it was unfair on the part of Kashmir to expect India to provide military and other necessary services but to not merge with it.

**Support for uniform civil code;** I personally do not understand why religion should be given this vast, expansive jurisdiction, so as to cover the whole of life and to prevent the legislature from encroaching upon that field. After all, what are we having this liberty for? We are having this liberty in order to reform our social system, which is so full of inequities, discriminations and other things, which conflict with our fundamental rights. During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, Ambedkar demonstrated his will to reform Indian society by recommending the adoption of a [Uniform Civil Code](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uniform_Civil_Code). Ambedkar resigned from the cabinet in 1951, when parliament stalled his draft of the [Hindu Code Bill](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu_Code_Bills), which sought to enshrine gender equality in the laws of inheritance and marriage.

**Economic planning;** Ambedkar was the first Indian to pursue a doctorate in economics abroad. He argued that industrialisation and agricultural growth could enhance the Indian economy. He stressed investment in agriculture as the primary industry of India. According to [Sharad Pawar](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharad_Pawar), Ambedkar's vision helped the government to achieve its food security goal Ambedkar advocated national economic and social development, stressing education, public hygiene, community health, residential facilities as the basic amenities.

 He calculated the loss of development caused by British rule. Ambedkar was trained as an economist, and was a professional economist until 1921, when he became a political leader. He wrote three scholarly books on economics: Administration and Finance of the East India Company, The Evolution of Provincial Finance in British India, and The Problem of the Rupee: Its Origin and Its Solution

**5.5 Political thought of Periyar**

* *British rule is better than self rule*
* *Founder of Dravida Kazhagam*
* *Self respecat movement*

Periyar was one of the first to fight against caste discrimination and stand for women's rights.

**Who was Periyar?** Erode Venkata Ramasamy Periyar was born in 1879 in what was then called the Madras Presidency to a Kannada businessman and later joined his father's business. He joined the Congress party in 1919 but left it after he found it to be dominated by Brahmins. Much later, he started his own Dravidar Kazhagam party, which is considered the inspiration of all political parties launched later on the plank of Tamil pride.

**What was his politics?** Periyar's thought, philosophy and action revolved around his opposition to Brahminism. He said Brahmins had dominated all other castes through their religious principles and practices. He propounded rationalism and criticised the Hindu religion as superstitious.

He asked people to be rational in their life choices. He argued that women needed to be independent, not mere child-bearers, and insisted that they be allowed a equal share in employment. The Self Respect Movement he led promoted weddings without rituals, and sanctioned property as well as divorce rights for women. He appealed to people to give up the caste suffix in their names, and to not mention caste. He instituted inter-dining with food cooked by Dalits in public conferences in the 1930s.

Over the years, Periyar has transcended the political divide as well as the faultlines of religion and caste, and come to be revered as Thanthai Periyar, the father figure of modern Tamil Nadu.

During the 1920s and 30s, Periyar combined social and political reform, and challenged the conservatism of the Congress and the mainstream national movement in the Tamil region. He reconstructed the Tamil identity as an egalitarian ideal that was originally unpolluted by the caste system, and counterposed it against the Indian identity championed by the Congress. He argued that caste was imported to the Tamil region by Aryan Brahmins, who spoke Sanskrit and came from Northern India. In the 1930s, when the Congress ministry imposed Hindi, he drew a parallel with the Aryanisation process, and claimed it was an attack on Tamil identity and self-respect. Under him, the Dravidian Movement became a struggle against caste and an assertion of Tamil national identity.

In the 1940s, Periyar **launched Dravidar Kazhagam**, which espoused an independent Dravida Nadu comprising Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, and Kannada speakers. The Dravidian linguistic family was the foundation on which he based his idea of a Dravida national identity. These ideas had a seminal influence on the shaping of the political identity and culture of the Tamil speaking areas of Madras Presidency, and continue to resonate in present-day Tamil Nadu. Periyar died in 1973 at the age of 94.

**Egalitarian social measures** He started the self-respect movement aimed at removing social injustice and inequality. He enforced marriages to be performed without priests and religious rites. He also propagated need for birth control and rallied for support to abolish Devadasi system, child marriage.  
**Anti-Brahmanism;** [Tamil](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_people) Brahmins ([Iyers](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iyer) and [Iyengars](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iyengar)) were frequently held responsible by followers of Periyar for direct or indirect oppression of lower-[caste](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_caste_system) people and resulted in attacks on Brahmins, which, among other causes, started a wave of mass-migration of the Brahmin population. Periyar, in regard to a DK member's attempt to assassinate [Rajagopalachari](https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/C._Rajagopalachari), "expressed his abhorrence of violence as a means of settling political differences". But many suggest that the values of the non-Brahmin movement were explicitly anti-Brahmin.

**Against Brahmin oppression;** However, he believed in the ideas of Tamil saint Thiruvalluvar and hence held faith in the idea of a single, formless God. He found conversion to Islam and Christianity as a way for the lower castes to escape Brahmin oppression as he thought both these religions created better societies than Hinduism. Periyar was also against Mahatma Gandhi because he saw Gandhi not totally rejecting Brahminical ideas and practices.  
  
**Periyar's movements;** Periyar came to be known widely as a leader of the lower castes after he led a movement in 1924 that demanded entry of Dalits in temples in Kerala. He is known the most for his Self-respect Movement that aimed at generating pride in lower castes. His campaign against imposition of Hindi in Tamil Nadu is the origin of all anti-Hindi movements later in south India. He found Hindi a tool of Brahminical domination of Tamils.  
  
His most controversial movement was protests against Hindu idols. The movement involved breaking or burning of idols of Hindu gods or garlanding them with shoes.  
  
**Periyar** founded the self-respect movement. He argued that untouchables were the true upholders of an original Tamil and Dravidian culture which had been subjugated by Brahman's. He felt that all religious authorities saw **social** divisions and in equality as God given.

A person, who has devoted his whole life to a particular cause, should have three special qualities in order to be successful in his work. Those qualities are

1. Absolute courage,
2. Self-sacrifice and
3. A clear plan of action.

To a large extend Periyar posses all  these three qualities.

Oppression is a known phenomenon. It existed, is existing and will continue to exist. In any society, we find that some are occupying the first steps of the ladder and some are pushed to the last and the least.This is an existential situation of our country.

**Vaikom Satyagraha (1924–1925)**

In Kerala and the rest of India, low-caste Hindus were denied entry into templesand to walk on the roads that led to the temples also. (Kerala state was formed in 1956; earlier it was broadly divided into Malabar (North Kerala), Cochin and Travancore kingdoms).

In the Kakinada meet of the Congress Party in 1923, decided to promote movements against untouchability. Accordingly,a committee was formed comprising people of different castes to fight untouchability in the region. The committee was chaired by K Kelappan; the rest of the members were T K Madhavan, Velayudha Menon, Kurur Neelakantan Namboodiripad and T R Krishnaswami Iyer. The movement started on 30 March 1924. There was a board outside the Vaikom Mahadeva Temple which prohibited entry of avarnas (lower castes).

The Satyagrahis moved to enter the temple in batches of three. They were resisted and arrested by the police. Gandhiji, Chatampi Swamikal and Sree Narayana Guru lend their support to the movement. The movement gained all-India prominence and support came from far and wide.

On advice from Gandhiji, the movement was withdrawn temporarily in April 1924. After the talks with caste-Hindus failed, the leaders resumed the movement. Leaders T K Madhavan and K P Kesava Menon were arrested. E V Ramaswamy (Periyar) came from Tamil Nadu to give his support. He was arrested. On 1 October 1924, a group of savarnas (forward castes) marched in a procession and submitted a petition to the Regent Maharani Sethulakshmi Bai of Travancore with about 25000 signatures for temple entry to everyone. Gandhiji also met with the Regent Maharani. This procession of savarnas was led by Mannath Padmanabhan Nair. Starting with about 500 people at Vaikom, the number increased to about 5000 when the procession reached Thiruvananthapuram in November 1924.

In February 1924, they decided to launch a ‘Keralaparyatanam’ to gain temple entry and also the right to use public roads for every Hindu irrespective of caste or creed. In Vaikom, a small town in Kerala state, then [Travancore](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Travancore), there were strict laws of [untouchability](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Untouchability) in and around the temple area. *Dalits*, also known as [Harijans](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harijans) were not allowed into the close streets around and leading to the temple, let alone inside it.

Anti-caste feelings were growing and in 1924 Vaikom was chosen as a suitable place for an organised [*Satyagraha*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satyagraha)*.* Under his guidance a movement had already begun with the aim of giving all castes the right to enter the temples. Thus, agitations and demonstrations took place. On 14 April, Periyar and his wife Nagamma arrived in Vaikom. They were immediately arrested and imprisoned for participation. In spite of Gandhi's objection to non-Keralites and non-Hindus taking part, Periyar and his followers continued to give support to the movement until it was withdrawn. He received the title *Vaikom Veeran*, given by his followers who participated in the [Satyagraha](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Satyagraha).

**Self-Respect Movement**

The Self-Respect Movement is a South Asian movement with the aim of achieving a society where backward castes have equal human rights, and encouraging backward castes to have self-respect in the context of a caste-based society that considered them to be a lower end of the hierarchy. It was founded in 1925 by S. Ramanathan who invited E. V. Ramasamy (also called as Periyar by his devoted followers) to head the movement in Tamil Nadu, India against Brahminism. The movement was extremely influential not just in Tamil Nadu, but also overseas in countries with large Tamil populations, such as Malaysia and Singapore.

A number of political parties in Tamil Nadu, such as Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) and All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) owe their origins to the Self-respect movement,the latter a 1972 breakaway from the DMK. Both parties are populist with a generally social democratic orientation.

**Opposition to Hindi;** In 1937, when [Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chakravarthi_Rajagopalachari) became the [Chief Minister](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chief_Minister) of [Madras Presidency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madras_Presidency), he introduced Hindi as a compulsory language of study in schools, thereby igniting a series of anti-Hindi agitations. [Tamil nationalists](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_nationalism), the Justice Party under Sir [A. T. Panneerselvam](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/A._T._Panneerselvam), and E.V. Ramasamy organised [anti-Hindi protests](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Hindi_agitations) in 1938 which ended with numerous arrests by the Rajaji government.

During the same year, the slogan "Tamil Nadu for Tamilians" was first raised by E.V. Ramasamy in protest against the introduction of Hindi in schools. He explained that the introduction of Hindi was a dangerous mechanism used by the Aryans to infiltrate Dravidian culture.[[43]](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Periyar_E._V._Ramasamy#cite_note-Saraswathi-*-43) He reasoned that the adoption of Hindi would make Tamils subordinate to the Hindi speaking [North Indians](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Indians). E.V. Ramasamy explained that Hindi would not only halt the progress of Tamil people, but would also completely destroy their culture and nullify the progressive ideas that had been successfully inculcated through Tamil in the recent decades.

Cutting across party lines, [South Indian](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_India) politicians rallied together in their opposition to Hindi. There were recurrent [anti-Hindi agitations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Hindi_agitations) in 1948, 1952 and 1965.

**Dravidar Kazhagam (1944–onwards)**

At a rally in 1944, Periyar, in his capacity as the leader of the Justice Party, declared that the party would henceforth be known as the [*Dravidar Kazhagam*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dravidar_Kazhagam), or "Dravidian Association". However, a few who disagreed with Periyar started a splinter group, claiming to be the original Justice Party. This party was led by veteran Justice Party leader [P. T. Rajan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/P._T._Rajan) and survived until 1957.

The *Dravidar Kazhagam* came to be well known among the urban communities and students. Villages were influenced by its message. Hindi, and ceremonies that had become associated with Brahmanical priesthood, were identified as alien symbols that should be eliminated from Tamil culture. Brahmins, who were regarded as the guardians of such symbols, came under verbal attack. From 1949 onwards, the *Dravidar Kazhagam* intensified social reformist work and put forward the fact that superstitions were the cause for the degeneration of Dravidians. The *Dravidar Kazhagam* vehemently fought for the abolition of untouchability amongst the [*Dalits*](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit). It also focused its attention on the [liberation of women](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_rights), [women's education](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Female_education), willing marriage, widow marriage, [orphanages](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orphanage) and mercy homes.

**Principles and legacy;** Periyar spent over fifty years giving speeches, propagating the realisation that everyone is an equal citizen and the differences on the basis of caste and creed were man-made to keep the innocent and ignorant as underdogs in the society.

**Reasoning and rational are the tool for development .**

Although Periyar's speeches were targeted towards the illiterate and more mundane masses, scores of educated people were also swayed. Periyar viewed reasoning as a special tool. According to him, all were blessed with this tool, but very few used it. Thus Periyar used reasoning with respect to subjects of social interest in his presentations to his audiences. Communal differences in [Tamil society](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_people) were considered by many to be deep-rooted features until Periyar came to the scene.

The bedrock of E.V. Ramasamy’s principles and the movements that he started was rationalism. He thought that an insignificant [minority](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Minority_group) in society was [exploiting](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exploitation_of_labour) the [majority](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majority) and trying to keep it in a subordinate position forever.

He wanted the exploited to sit up and think about their position, and use their reason to realise that they were being exploited by a handful of people. If they started thinking, they would realise that they were human beings like the rest, that birth did not and should not endow superiority over others and that they must awaken themselves and do everything possible to improve their own lot.

Likewise, E.V. Ramasamy explained that wisdom lies in thinking and that the spear-head of thinking is rationalism. On [caste](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caste_system_in_India), he stated that no other living being harms or degrades its own class. But man, said to be a [rational](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rationality) living being, does these evils.

The differences,

hatred,

enmity,

degradation,

poverty, and

wickedness, now prevalent in the society are due to lack of wisdom and rationalism and not due to God or the cruelty of time.

E.V. Ramasamy had written in his books and magazines dozens of times of various occasions that the British rule is better than self-rule

**Agaisnt capitalism**

E.V. Ramasamy also blamed the capitalists for their control of machineries, creating difficulties for the workers. According to his philosophy, rationalism, which has to lead the way for peaceful life to all, had resulted in causing poverty and worries to the people because of dominating forces. He stated that there is no use of simply acquiring titles or amassing wealth if one has no self-respect or [scientific knowledge](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific_knowledge).

An example he gave was the West sending messages to the planets, while the [Tamil society](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_people) in India were sending rice and cereals to their dead forefathers through the Brahmins.

In a message to the Brahmin community, Periyar stated, "in the name of god, religion, and sastras you have duped us. We were the ruling people. Stop this life of cheating us from this year. Give room for rationalism and humanism".He added that "any opposition not based on rationalism, science, or experience will one day or another, reveal the fraud, selfishness, lies and conspiracies".

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## Major Questions

1. What are role of M.N Roy in Indian politics?
2. Write about the political participation of Jinna
3. Elaborate the politica principles of Jawaharlal Nehru
4. Pronciles of Ambetkar are towards social justice : Debate
5. Periyar is an unique leader : Elaborate

**The end**

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