Indian Political Thoughts
Question

• Que. Why there is a debate with respect to the existence of Indian political thought, do you think Indian political thoughts exist, if yes what are the salient features of Indian thinking?
• In western world there is little recognition of Indian political thinking.

• The common impression is that Indians lack political thinking.

• George Tanham categorically reject that Indians have “political Culture”.

George Tanham

George K. Tanham joined the American RAND Corporation in 1955 and held several positions before retiring in 1987, including leading Project AIR FORCE from 1970 to 1975. He also served on the RAND Board of Trustees and was an advisory trustee at the time of his death. Wikipedia

Born: 23 February 1922, Tenafly, New Jersey, United States

Died: 2003, Washington, D.C., United States

Education: Princeton University, Stanford University

People also search for: Douglas S. Blaufarb, Stephen Hosmer, Marcy Agmon, Bhumibol Adulyadej
• It is believed that India is a place to look for spiritual knowledge and not political knowledge.

• Reason -
  • According to Western Scholars there are no text which can be called as Purely Political Text.
• According to them even when we accept Kautilya Arthashastra, it is more a text on Statecraft rather than political philosophy.

• However, it is wrong to suggest that Indian lack political thinking.
• We can give reference to Edward said view of “Orientalism”.

• The lack of recognition of Indina thinking show the Ethno Centric attitude of the West.
Max Muller who is regarded as one of the greatest Indo Logist has accepted that no where in the world human mind has dealt with various questions of life with such a depth as they have been dealt in India.
India has been the source of enlightenment for the world.
Professor VR Mehta suggested that the failure to acknowledge Indian political thinking is because of the difference in perspective of East and West.
• In Western world people look things in dichotomous manner.

• For example west have separated individual and Society, nature and culture, politics and ethics.
• On the other hand Indian look in continuity.

• In India there is no separation is between individual and Society, nature and culture, Dharma and Danda (Politics).
• Moris Jones has acknowledged that neglect of Indian thinking would result into the impoverishment of the West.
1. No separation in Dharma and Danda
2. Communitarian Approach
3. Pluralistic Tradition
4. Cosmopolitan Worldview
5. Non-Critical
SALIENT FEATURES OF INDIAN POLITICAL THINKING

6. Pessimistic
7. Regressive view of History rather than Progressive
Que. Discuss major political traditions in ancient India also give comparative analysis of the tradition?. 
Bhikhu Parekh classified ancient Indian tradition into Two Categories

1. Hindu Tradition
2. Buddhist Tradition
According to Bhikhu Parekh, in India “we see continuity rather than change”. Hence there is not a big difference in Hindu political tradition and Buddhist.
Buddhism can be considered as a Rebel child of Hinduism.
Though Buddhism challenges Brahmanic way of life specifically caste system. Yet Buddhism shares many beliefs with Brahminism. For Example, Karma Theory of Rebirth.
Bhikhu Parekh categorizes Hindu tradition into two categories

1. Dharmashastra
2. Danda Sahasra
Even *Dharma Shastra* and then the *Danda Shastra* differ only in terms of degree rather than in terms of kind.

- *Dharmashastra* are considered as book on laws (governing Hindu code of conduct),
- *Danda shastra* deal with politics and Statecraft.
- In ancient Indian politics used to be called as *Dand-neeti* or *Rajneeti*.
• In India we do not see clear separation between Dharma and Danda

• In Danda Shastra, there is a discussion of Dharma along with Danda and similarly in Dharma Shastra there is a discussion of Dharma and danda.

• The only difference is of the focus.
• In the Dharma Shastra, discussion on Dharma is Core and discussion of Danda is peripheral.

• Similarly in the Danda Shastra, discussion on the Danda is core and Dharma is peripheral.
Q. Discuss the salient ideas given in Manu smriti.
INTRODUCTION (MANUSMRITI)

• Manu smriti is a highly contested and controversial text.

• One of the greatest admirer of Manu smriti was Dr S Radhakrishnan where as one of the major critique of Manusmriti was Ambedkar who suggested to put Dynamite on Vedas and Manusmriti.
Manusmriti

Dr S Radhakrishnan

Ambedkar
INTRODUCTION (MANUSMRITI)

• Manu smriti was also criticized by feminist scholar because of subordinate status given to women.

• According to Manu women should not be given freedom, but should be live under constant surveillance of Men.
Manusmriti is considered as Vedic text. Vedic text are categorized into two types.

1. Shrutis
2. Smritis
• Shruti are also known as Veda, Vedas are not human creation. It contains very revealed knowledge.

• Smritis are based on Vedas. One of the most well-known Smriti is Manu smriti.

• Manu smriti is recognized by Britishers as basis for Hindu personal laws.
WHO IS MANU?

- Manu is known as manasputra of Brahma (the creator of universe).
WHY MANU WAS CREATED?

• There was 'arajakta' on the earth, matsyayana was preveiling, hence people requested Brahma to bring them out of anarchy.

• Brahma created Manu.
WHY MANU WAS CREATED?

- Manu is the first King or law giver.
- Manu has told what is Dharma.
- Dharma has ended anarchy and established order.
Que. Write short note on Indian concept of Dharma?
CONCEPT OF DHARMA

- There is no exact translation available in any of the European language with respect to Sanskrit word Dharma, it should not be confused with English word religion.
CONCEPT OF DHARMA

- According to Rig Veda “Prithvi Dharmam Dhritam”.
- Dharma is which hold the life on the earth.
WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF WE DO NOT FOLLOW Dharma?

- It will lead to Arajakta.
- It will lead to Pralay or end of the life on the earth.
SOURCES OF DHARMA?

- **Rta(Riti)** - Rta is cosmic law or the law of Universe.

- Hence Dharma has to be understood in harmony with the law of nature.

- Thus Rta is law governing universe or nature, Dharma is law governing human society.
MANUSMRITI

- Talks about the role of the King.
- The role of the King is to maintain Dharma and that's why King has Danda
- if the dharma is not maintained it will lead to the end of life on the earth.
PURUSHARTHA
Four Purushrtha

- Dharma
- Artha
- Kama
- Moksha
Purushartha - Chief Aims of Human Life

- Dharma
- Artha
- Kama
- Moksha
• PurushArtha means “4 goals of life”.
• Unlike Buddhism which overlooks the material and physical aspect of life,
• Hinduism takes a balanced view of life Hinduism talks about the four goals- Dharma, Artha, Kama Moksha.
CONCEPT OF ASHRAM

- Manusmriti as well as other Indian text mention four Ashrams
- Brahmacharya, Grihasthya, Vanpratsha, Sanyasa.
Manu smriti as well as order Indian text mention four Ashram

- Brahmacharya
- Grihasthya
- Vanprastha
- Sannyasa
VARNAS

- Manusmriti discuss 4 Varna, it takes the reference of purushArtha of Rigveda.

- According to Manu the most important function of the King is to ensure that different Varna observe their Varna Dharma.

- King is to punish those who do not observe their varna Dharma because it will lead to anarchy.
Varna System

"When they divided Purusa, how many ways did they apportion him? What was his mouth? What were his arms? What were his thighs, his feet declared to be? His mouth was the Brahmin, his arms were the Rajanaya [Kshatriya caste], his thighs the Vaishya; from his feet the Shudra was born."

--Rig Veda concerning the origin of the members of the Caste System
Hindu Text Mentions 16 Essential Rituals called as Sanskar.
Sanskar

I Sanskar

16 Sanskar

Garbhadan

Anteyshti
MANUSMRITI ON STATE

- Origin of State (Quasi contractual theory)
- It is called Quasi contractual because the contract is between people and God.
- people requested Brahma and Brahma created the State.
- Objective of State is to uphold Dharms.
Chapter 7 of Manusmriti deals with the State and Institution of Kingship

1. People requested for God, God created King.
Chapter 7 of Manusmriti deals with the State and Institution of Kingship

2. King has divine personality.

Why 8 Gods have given a part of their personality to the King (Indra, Varun, Yam, Kuber, Agni, Chandra, Surya, Wayu.
Chapter 7 of Manusmriti deals with the State and Institution of Kingship

3. King has a divine personality but King does not have divine Rights.

Unlike west where King had absolute powers, in ancient India even King was under the Dharma.
• Chapter 7 of Manusmriti deals with the State and Institution of Kingship

• King was not the source of Dharma, he was under Dharma.

• Manu smriti talks about hereditary monarchy.
• King has to be from the Kshatriya varna.
Duties of the King

1. King should have knowledge of Vedas.
Duties of the King

2 King should respect Brahmins.
3. King should get up early in the morning.
Duties of the King

4. King should not sleep during daytime.
Duties of the King

5. King should not indulge too much in hunting, gambling, drinking, dancing.
Duties of the King

6. King should also not indulge much with women
7. King should worship Brahmins daily.
Duties of the King

8. King should construct public utilities.
Duties of the King

9. King should take care of orphans and destitutes.
10. The objective of the King is to achieve Yogkshem means helping people to achieve purushArtha.

King has to do both Rakshan and Palan
Duties of the King

11. King who does not perform his duty goes to hell.
• Manusmriti also discuss the system of punishment - there was no concept of equality before law.

• Punishment was inversely proportional to the varna.

• Lower is the varna higher is the punishment.
Manu smriti also deals with principles of taxation.

King shall receive

A. 1/6 of produce of the fertile land.
B. 1/8 th of produce of less fertile land.
C. 1/12 th of produce of least fertile land.
- King shall also receive 1/6th share in the other commodities like milk, honey, meat, butter and other commodities.
KAUTILYA'S ARTHASHASTRA

- Kautilya Arthashastra was first discovered by Pandit Shamashastri.
- The first English Publication appeared in 1909.
- Book contains 15 parts and 6000 Sutras.
CORE SUBJECT OF ARTHASHASTRA

- Statecraft - Kautilya has given detailed view on running internal administration as well as on foreign policy.

- Arthashastra is regarded primarily as the book on geopolitics (interstate relations).
MEANING OF ARTHASHASTRA

• Artha means money.
• According to Kautilya, material well being is Supreme, spiritual good (dharma and sensual pleasure (kaam)) all depend on material well being.
• In ancient times land was the main source of material well being. hence land was the main source of conflict.
MEANING OF ARTHASHASTRA

- As per Hindu text the objective of King is to achieve yogakshema.
- Hence, it becomes duty of the King to expand land.
- Thus Arthashastra is a treatise on the art of acquiring land.
MEANING OF ARTHASHASTRA

- Hence Arthashastra primarily deals with war and strategies.
- Arthashastra is also known as book on political economy as it deals with the economic policies of the State.
SALIENT IDEAS (ARTHASHASTRA)

- There is a continuity in Arthashastra and Dharma Shastra with respect to origin of State,
- duties of King, system of Administration.

- However focus of Arthashastra was on Statecraft.
- the prominent ideas discussed in Arthashastra are shown in below-
Prominent Ideas in Discuss in Arthashastra are

1. Foreign policy
2. The issue of corruption
3. The Institution of espionage (Spius)
1. Foreign Policy
   - A. Duty of King
   - B. Nature of Inter State Relation
   - C. Saptanga Theory
   - D. Mandal Siddhant
   - E. Four fold Policy
   - F. Six fold Policy
Views on Foreign Policy

1) According to Kautilya, war is Kshatriya Dharma.
Views on Foreign Policy

2) After coronation King has to go on expedition or Digvijay. He talks about Chakravarti Samrat.
Views on Foreign Policy

It means King has to have expansionist foreign policy. Here address King as *Vijigishu*, one who Aspires for victory.
1. The relation between State are the relation of War where the strength of Lion prevails
2. Kautilya discusses various rituals like ashwamedh Yagya, rajasuya Yagya after victory, you are declared as maharajadhiraja.
MANDAL SIDDHANTA

- Is a principal strategy meant for Vijigishu, Kautilya mentions 12 Mandals.
- Each Mandal represent 7 elements of sovereignty.
- Thus King has to take into consideration 84 elements of power.
SAPTANGA THEORY

- In Saptanga Theory, Kautilya has discussed 7 Elements Constituting State.
- These seven elements can be called as the 7 Determinants of power.
- We can call it as organic view of the State.
7 Elements Constituting State.

1. King
2. Amatya
3. Durga
4. Janapada
7 Elements Constituting State.

5. Bala
6. Kosha
7. Mitra
1. KING

- King is nabhi, the centre
- King symbolises leadership.
According to Kautilya, if King is smart and other elements of sovereignty are weak, the smart king will convert the weak elements into the elements of the strength.
1. KING

- On the other hand if King is weak and other elements are strong, even then State will remain weak.

- Like Manu, he also suggest that King should consider the well being of his people at Supreme.

- in the words of Kautilya, "in the happiness of the subject lies the happiness of the King, in their welfare his own welfare"
1. KING

- Thus Kautilya's King acquires power not for himself but for the well being of the subject.

- Though King is nabhi, but King must understand the importance of other elements.

- In the words of Kautilya "single wheel cannot turn the Chariot".
1. KING

- Hence King should give adequate importance to the other elements also.
2. AMATYA

- Are senior ministers.
- Amatya belong to Brahmin Varna.
- Amatya should have knowledge of Vedas

- Amatya should be man of integrity, Kautilya advises King to keep on testing the integrity of amatya from time to time, he suggest to use spies to test integrity.
Kautilya suggests to use women spy in disguise of friend of Queen. She can tell Amatya that girl is in love with Amatya, if Amatya will come to the palace, queen will help him and Amatya can easily kill the King.
He also suggests that a king should have at least three Amatya, because two can easily combine and conspire against Kin.
2. AMATYA

- He has given special reference to the Ambassador.

- Ambassadors position is next to the King, he is a symbol of king outside the territory of the State.

- He should be trustworthy, knowledgeable and handsome.
3. DURGA

- Durga is the symbol of State’s offensive and defensive powers
- Mauryans were known for construction of various types of forts like Hill Fort, sand Fort, water forts.
4. JANPADA

- Janapada is the place where ordinary citizen live.
- New Jana pada is the source of wealth and economic activities
- King has to take care of Jana pada.
- He even suggest to use spies in janapad to be aware of public opinion.
5. BALA-

- Represent Military.
- He recommended the Military of Kshatriya.

- Other varnas can also be included only under some exceptional circumstances.
- He prescribed hereditary system of recruitment.
6. KOSH (TREASURY)

• King should have enough wealth in treasury so that king is able to deal any sort of calamalities.
7. MITRA

- The importance of Mitra is symbolic.
- everyone wants to be friend of powerful.
- more number of Mitra means King is regarded as powerful.
Kautilya described 12 Mandalas or Chakras.
12 Mandals or Chakras

1. Vijigishu
2. Ari (enemy) - Neighbour
3. Mitra - (Ari's Neighbour)
4. Arimitra
5. Mitra Mitra
12 Mandals or Chakras

- 6. Ari Mitra Mitra
- 7. Parshvanigraha (Who Attacks from Back)
  - Enemy
- 8. Akranda (Friend in the Back)
- 9. Parshanighrasara (Enemy's Friend in Back)
- 10. Akrandasara (Friend's Friend in Back)
2 Additional Kings

11. Madhyma (Buffer State)

12. Udasina (Neutral)
MANDAL THEORY

• Mandal Theory is based on the Maxim that neighbors are natural enemies.
• **Why** - Both have an eye on same piece of land.
• **For Example** - Both India and Pakistan have an eye on Kashmir and hence they are natural enemy.

• II Maxim is Enemies neighbors is the natural friend (Mitra)
MANDAL THEORY

• Why - Common Interest

• For Example -
  • Afghanistan is India's natural friend and hence Pakistan will always be willing for gaining strategic depth which means whosoever rules in Afghanistan should be under complete control of Pakistan.
Kautilya suggest to take care of position of King in both front and back.
The enemy in the back is called as Parshvanighra and friend in the back is Akranda.
He mentions about 2 more King.
1. MADHYAMA (BUFFER STATE)

- Whosoever have influence over Madhyama will be in strategic advantage.

- For **Example**- Ones Tibet become Chinese territory. India has lost the strategic advantage and Hence it is necessary that Nepal does not come under the complete control of China.
2. UDASINA (NEUTRAL STATE)

- Neutrality is a recognized status, relevant during war time situation.
- A neutral King has to offer equal access to both the army during war.
- For Example- Switzerland in Europe, Turkmenistan in Central Asia has recognized status of a natural country.
Kautilya has discussed three types of war:

1. Parakaram Yudha: Direct War
2. Kutyudh: Guerrilla War
3. Tushnimyudh: Proxy War
Kautilya discuss Three Types of Victory

1. Dharmavijaya
   Rightful Manner

2. LobhaVijay
   Economic Inducement to Army to make them on our side

3. Asur Vijay
   By Unfair Means
Kautilya Discusses Fold Policy–Use of

- Sama
- Daam
- Danda
- Bheda
Kauṭilya even suggest to user religion.
Kautilya suggest king to send spy in disguise of Sadhu to the enemy King. Sadhu can tell that the bad time of Enemy King are coming. Thus, Kautilya also believe in psychological Warfare like Suntzu.
Kautilya also gives Six Fold Policy (Shadgunya Siddhant)
Kautilya suggested Following Options

1. Sandhi (treaty) if enemy is strong go for it.
Kautilya suggested the following options:

2. Vigraha ➔ break the Sandhi, start war once you become powerful.
Kautilya suggested Following Options

3. Aasana (to sit)- It means stationing troops near enemy territory.
Kautilya suggested Following Options

4. Yana (mobilization of forces) military exercise near enemy territory example China in Doklam
5. Samashraya- Joining Hands with those who have similar ends
Kautilya suggested the following options:

6. Davidbhava - dual policy - friendship with some and war with others.
Kautilya suggested Following Options

For example- instead of opening War on two front, it is better to have Sandhi with other. For example, India can go for peace with China, war with Pakistan.
Kautilya has proved George Tanham wrong.
He represents the realist view of inter-State relation.
He represents offensive realism.
Other ideas of Kautilya
KAUTILYA ON CORRUPTION?

• According to Kautilya corruption is an inevitable fact of public life.
• Why - In the words of Kautilya “Honey on the tongue, it is not possible not to taste it”.
• Public Official handle so much of public resources, it is unrealistic to expect that they will not use it for private ends.
SHOULD
CORRUPTION
BE
TACKLED
KAUTILYA ON CORRUPTION?

- Corruption should be Tackled Because it makes State Weak Internally and Externally-

- 1. It weakens the capacity of the State to achieve Welfare of the people
- 2. It brings moral of the people down, it is easy for enemy King to provoke Rebel.
Problem in Tackling Corruption.
Biggest problem is detection of corruption According to Kautilya.

1. It Is Easy To Detect The Movement Of The Birds Flying In The Sky But It Is Not Easy To Detect Act Of Corruption By Public Officials.
Biggest problem is detection of corruption According to Kautilya.

2. A Fish Swimming In The Water, it Is Difficult To Suggest When It drunk The Water.
According to Kautilya, there may be ways of embezzlement by public officials for remembrance.

1. Officials may play with weights and measures
According To Kautilya, there may be ways of embezzlement by public officials for remember.

2. Officials may take the money out and enter it later in the account book.
According To Kautilya, There May Be ways Of Embezzlement By Public Officials For Remember.

3. They May Sell Resources At A Higher Cost But May Not Enter At Lower Price.
According To Kautilya, There May Be ways Of Embezzlement By Public Officials For Remember.

4. They May Take Out The Money From Public Fund But Do Not Enter It.
Methods of Tackling Corruption

1. Right Sizing The Bureaucracy.
Methods of Tackling Corruption

2. Transfer Of Officials Before he Understand All The Loopholes Of The Office
3. Give Security And Reward To Whistleblowers (Suchaks)
Methods of Tackling Corruption

4. He suggest to punish the entire chain and not just the official. One who gives, one who receives, one who keeps the money.
Methods of Tackling Corruption

5. He Suggests To Publicly Humiliate the Corrupt Officials
Methods of Tackling Corruption

6. Rewards the Honest Officers.
Methods of Tackling Corruption

7. Compensation to the Person Who Had Suffered Loss Because Of Corruption Of the Officials.
Kautilya on Espionage
Kautilya suggest the role of Spy in the both internal as well as external sphear.
Kautilya mention 10 types of Spy the prominent type include

1. Kapatika (Students)
2. Bhikhshukas
3. Grahapalika (Living in the house of person who is to be spied)
4. Udastitha (Destitutes, Orphans)
Question

• Q. Comparison between Kautilya and Machiavelli?
• There is a tradition among political Scholars to compare Kautilya and Machiavelli.
Pandit Nehru in his Book “Discovery Of India” has called Kautilya as Indian Machiavelli.
Max Weber in his Book “Politics As Vocation” has mentioned that Kautilya is more Machiavellian than Machiavelli.
• If we look at Kautilya King Machiavelli Prince appear harmless Kautilya has given more Harsh advise in an explicit Manner as comparison to Machiavelli

• Any person willing to learn the State craft will be benefited more by Arthashastra in comparison to Prince because princes is carrying advices which are indicative or generic in nature where as Kautilya advices are very specific.
Scholars like Moriz Winternitz, Bottazi have compared Kautilya and Machiavelli in context of finding the route of realist tradition.
Though Kautilya belong to ancient India and Machiavelli belong to modern West. yet there are many similarities.
1. Both works are the work on Statecraft.
2. Both were concerned about the internal and external State of affairs.
3. Both were concerned about their motherland aimed at protection from internal and external threat.
4. Both are realists.
5. Both take pessimistic View of Human Nature.
6. Both look at politics in terms of power. However for both power is not for the benefit of the Kings but for the interest of the Nation.
7. Both believe that material welfare is important.
8. Both suggest that prince should rule with Iron Hand.
9. Both support expansionist Foreign Policy.
THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES ALSO.

• For Example
  • 1. Machiavelli makes separation between ethics and politics where as Kautilya made no separation between Dharma and Danda.
THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES ALSO.

• For Example
  • 2. Machiavelli has not discussed the issue of corruption and Institution of espionage in details like that of Kautilya.
THERE ARE SOME DIFFERENCES ALSO.

- Kautilya was fortunate to see his ideas being implemented during the lifetime.
- However Machiavelli was unfortunate as he never got his Prince.
Buddhist Political View
QUE. DISCUSS THE SALIENT FEATURES OF BUDDHISM?

• Buddhism challenged few aspect of Brahmanism primarily caste system.
• Buddhism is more other the worldly religion in comparison to Hinduism, Buddhism is more egalitarian tradition.
• It can be considered as the socialist tradition of India because they considered private property as an evil.
The Three Basic Principles of Buddhism

1. Anicca
2. Anatta
3. Dukhha
Anicca
Means nothing is Permanent.

Anatta
Means Denial of Self.

Dukkha
Means world is Full of Source
Buddhism believes in 4 Noble Truth.

1. World is full of sorrow
2. Ignorance, greed and hatred is the cause of sorrow
3. Liberation from sorrow means liberation from ignorance.
4. To liberate from ignorance follow 8 fold path
Eightfold Path

1. Right Conduct
2. Right Speech
3. Right Thinking
4. Right Aspirations
Five, Right Believe
Six, Right Effort
Seven, Right Contemplation & Meditation
Eight, Right Source of Livelihood
Question

• Que. Discuss Salient Political Ideas of Buddhism
SALIENT POLITICAL IDEAS OF BUDDHISM

• Buddhism is based on the ideas of Gautam Buddha. Gautam Buddha is not regarded as a political thinker and philosopher in conventional sense.

• However, many Kings of his time used to visit him to learn the principles of good governance.
Scholars like professor Gopal Guru and Gail Omvedt suggest that Buddha can be recognized as a political philosopher.

The source of Buddhist political ideas and Buddhist text like Tipitakas as well as Ashokan edict.
ORIGIN OF STATE

• It is linked to be Institution of private property, once private property came into existence, social conflict started.
• Hence, people came together, enter into social contract to create the State.
• In the Assembly of persons the Nobelist of all was elected as the King referred as mahasammat in Buddhism.
Thus unlike Hinduism King has no divine personality, he is a human being.

there was no requirement of King to come from kshatriya varna.

Unlike Hinduism which support hereditary monarchy, Buddhism favours Republican tradition.
ORIGIN OF STATE

• In Buddhism there is no need for King to be powerful like Lion.
• King has to be Gentle, Liberal, Noble, Moderate, Selfless.
ORIGIN OF STATE

• In Hinduism Chakravarti Samrat wins land in Buddhism world monarch wins heart.

• In Hinduism Samrat rules by force, in Buddhism he rules by law.
• In Hinduism, the wheel symbolizes the wheel of chariot. In Buddhism, the wheel symbolizes Dharma chakra.
Ashoka has given certain ideas and duties of the King.
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

1. King should live as per Dharma.
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

2. King should serve humanity
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

3. King should promote the spirit of toleration among different religions.
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

4. King should forbid cruelty towards animals.
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

5. King should send messengers of peace to the neighbours.
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

6. King should adopt policy of non aggressive towards neighbours
Ashoka has given Certain Ideas and Duties of the King

7. King should construct public utilities.
• Buddhism also give the earliest example of gender equality as women were permitted to join Sangha.

• Buddhist monastery represent earliest example of deliberative democracy.
1. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
2. Aurobindo Ghosh
3. Gandhi
4. M N Roy
5. Ambedkar
SIR SYED AHMED KHAN
(1817 -1898)
Questions

• Que. Discuss the role of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan towards education empowerment and modernization of Muslim community?.

• Que. Discuss why Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has been a controversial figure among leaders of modern India.?

• Que. Account for the reasons as to how Sir Syed Ahmed Khan who was an advocate of Hindu Muslim Unity became the originator of “2 National theory”.
Sir Syed Ahmed Khan Remains a Controversial Figure
He is criticized by both

1. Members of his community
2. By Hindus.
He was criticized for his attempts for the modernization of Muslim community.

He was criticized by the orthodox sections.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan challenged the outdated customs and traditions through his magazine title "tehzeeb ul akhlaq"
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY MUSLIM)

- He attempted the modernist interpretation of Quran.
- He believed that Islam is compatible with science and rationalism.
- He believed that Islam can adopt scientific way of life.
He suggested that Muslim youth should keep Quran in one hand and the book of science in the other hand.
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY MUSLIM)

- He has founded a society in Ghazipur UP for scientific research which was later on shifted to Aligarh.

- He also founded journal "Indian Institute Gazette" for promotion of scientific research.
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY HINDU)

1)

- Initially, he was an advocate of Hindu Muslim Unity
- He used to call Hindu and Muslim as the two eyes of beautiful bride India.
- He has advised Muslim to avoid eating beef and respecting the sentiments of Hindu neighbours.
• However his ideas changed later on, it is believed that language controversy in UP has hurt Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY HINDU)

• Urdu in Persian script was the official language of the province, there was a movement for making Hindi in Devanagari script as the official language on the assumption that Urdu has become the language of Elite and Hindi has emerged as a lingua-Franca.
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY HINDU)

- Sir Syed Ahmed Khan felt that Hindus will not accept what Muslims want. Muslim will not accept what Hindu want.
- He accepted that these differences are going to increase in future.
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY HINDU)

• It is better if they live as separate communities.

• It is for this reason he is also considered as the “Originator of two Indian Theory”.
WHY CRITICIZE? (BY HINDU)

- 2) Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has advised Muslim, not to join INC

- WHY-
  - Syed Ahmed Khan has witnessed the State of frustration and stagnation among the members of his community.
• He believed that education is the only means by which stagnation can be tackled.

• He was convinced that Britishers are emerging as the new force in India.
• It will not be possible for us to defeat by Britishers in near future.
• Hence there is no point antagonizing Britishers.
• on the other hand, It is better to win confidence and get support from government for educational empowerment of Muslim.
Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote a Book titled "asbab-i-Baghawat e Hind" means causes of revolt of 1857 - Britishers wear under the impression that Muslims were responsible for The Revolt.

Hence they started promoting Hindus at the cost of Muslim.
• Through his book, he has clarified rather than Muslims, real cause of the revolt was the wrong policies of British administration.

• He has shown evidences where Muslim had actually supported British officials during the revolt.
• Sir Syed Ahmed Khan wrote a Book *The Loyal Mohammedans of India*

• He has expressed the loyalty of muslims and gave assurance from the side of Muslims towards the British raj.
It is to be noted that he was successful in getting help from the government for establishment of Mohammedan Anglo Oriental college in Aligarh, which later on became Aligarh Muslim University.
His status in Muslims can be treated at Par with Raja Ram Mohan Roy among Hindus.
Through he became controversial.
Still, he is one of the greatest leaders of the Muslims in the subcontinent.

Muslim community in India is passing through similar stages of frustration and stagnation.
At present, Muslim community in India needs leaders like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
Sir Syed Ahmed Khan understood that instead of politician or political mobility the most important method of empowerment is educational empowerment.
2. AUROBINDO GHOSH (1872-1950)
Aurobindo Ghosh

- Theory of Indian Nationalism
- Criticism of Moderators
- Theory of Passive Resistance
- His ideal of Human Unity
- His Concept of Freedom
• Aurobindo Ghosh is considered as the prophet of Indian Nationalism.
• He is also considered as greatest spiritual philosopher of modern India.
• RN Tagore held the world will come to know about India’s genius Civilization and culture through Aurobindo.
• Aurobindo is considered as extremist leader as “Lal Bal Pal”

• He was critic of moderates, he has written series of article in paper "Indu Prakash" with the title "new lamps for old".
In these article he has attacked.

1. Early Nationalist views on
   - A. India as a Nation
   - B. The Nature of the British rule.
2. He attack moderators method of struggle and he has given his theory on passive resistance.
He entered on the political scene when as a result of the efforts of early leaders, there was the growth of Nationalism consciousness in the country.

He was convinced that the youth in India are looking for some bold actions and bold theory of Nationalism.
Aurobindo believed that early Nationalist have failed to capture the spirit of new India.
CRITICISM OF MODERATOR VIEW ON NATION
• The status of India as a Nation was challenged by the colonial Masters

• Britishers held that India was not a Nation and India is not more than a mere "Geographical Expression"

• Early Nationalist responded by admitting that India is not a Nation but “Nation in making” Surender nath Banerji
• Early Nationalist believed that under the forces of modernization, India will emerge as a Nation.
• Early Nationalist considered British rule as a blessing in disguise.
• They didn't want to antagonize Britishers.
• They preferred constitutional methods of struggle known as “prayers, petitions and protest.”
• Aurobindo Ghosh challenged the moderate views about the status of India as a Nation, he held that India is a Nation and India was always a Nation

• He held in that the spirit of India as a Nation is not dependent on congress Pandals,

• He held that foreign rule can never be a blessing in disguise.
• It stops the natural evolution of the Nation, He was extremely critical of moderators repeating that British rule is blessing, it weakens the moral of those who aims to fight the British, If they continuously Praise the British rule.

• He held that the constitutional methods will not work because British government is not a constitutional, it is not accountable to Indians.
He suggested those methods which can strike at the root of colonialism.
He suggested Swadeshi, boycott and National education.
• He was convinced that British schools only teach how to become loyalists.
• Hence, British schools should be boycotted.
• He also advocated National courts and boycott of Administration to show Indians can live without British institution.
• Britishers will leave the country only when it is not profitable to live in India.
• Aurobindo Ghosh has supported passive resistance method should be in Accordance to the circumstances.
• He was not against using violence if conditions permit.
• He had links with “Yugantar” Revolutionary Society of Bengal.
• He was the first person to give concept of "Purna Swaraj" though official it became the goal of INC in 1929, when Nehru was president.

• Theory of Nationalism
• (schools of Nationalism),
• there are three schools of thought with respect to concept of Nation.
Theory of Nationalism

1. Liberals
2. Marxist
3. Cultural Nationalism
1. LIBERALS

- According to them, Nation is a evolution.
- Nation is a modern concept, it comes with modernization and rationalism.
- once society becomes rational, the significance of religion declines.
- people come together for secular benefit.
2. MARXIST

- According to them the Nationalism is a false consciousness promoted by bourgeoisie class to weaken solidarity of workers (poor).
- prominent exponent Benedict Anderson has called nation as "Invented Tradition".
3. CULTURAL NATIONALISM

- German School of Nationalism
According to this school “Nation is Real”
Nation is Eternal,
Nation has a Spirit,
Nation is Natural,
Existence of nation is based on the recognition of common cultural symbols.
Arvindo Ghosh Theory is known as Theory Of Cultural Nationalism
Aurobindo Ghosh was inspired by

1. Neo-Vedantism of Vivekananda
2. Patriotism of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.
BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

- Author Anand Math
1. NEO-VEDANTISM

- It Attacks Brahmanism and considers Brahminism responsible for lack of unity.

- It suggests to go back to the principles of Sanatan Dharma.
The Value of Sanatan Dharma are

1. Universalism
   - (One Common god in all.)

2. Cosmopolitan
   - (Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam)
Vivekananda held that amidst diversity there exist fundamental Unity in India.
WHERE TO FIND THE UNITY -

- Unity is found in the way of life which has lot of common things from East to West and north to south.
Aurobindo Ghosh also believed in the presence of unity in diversity, which is the basis of Nationalist consciousness in the country,

He also believed that the principles of Sanatan Dharma can provide the foundational basis for unification in India.
Vivekananda appealed to the youth in India to dedicate themselves for the cause of motherland, he held that “arise awake and do not stop till the goal is not achieved”.
Aurobindo Ghosh also held that Nationalism should be the new religion of youth in India.

we require similar commitment for Nationalism which we have for religion.
BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE

• He in his book "Anand Math" has projected India as mother Goddesses 'Shakti'.

• He has inspired youths to set Mother India free from the foreign chains.
• Aurobindo Ghosh appeal to the Indians youth to sacrifice themselves for the cause of Mother India, he is inspired by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee.

• If Nationalism is inspired by Vivekananda,

• Patriotism is inspired by BC Chatterjee.
Aurobindo Ghosh has also used the symbol of Goddesses Shakti to frighten the Britishers.
Goddesses Shakti represent the power of millions of Indians challenging the foreign rule.

Now these millions of Indian have come together to fight the foreign rule.

Thus, Aurobindo Ghosh spiritualised the idea of Nationalism.
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism
India is not a Nation in making, India was always a Nation.
Nation is not Geographical expression,
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism

Nation is not the collection of human being,
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism

Nation is not a piece of land,
Nation is not a figure of speech,
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism

Nation is not creation of mind,
Nation is not the figment of people's imagination,
Nation is not a political programme,
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism

Nation is not an intellectual pastime.
Nature is a Faith
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism

Nation is a Religion
Aurobindo Ghosh on Nationalism

Nation is Divine, Nation has a Spirit.
VIEWS ON INDIAN NATION

• There is a spirit of Nation that is present since beginning.
• The spirit maybe sleeping, but it is now awakens. spirit Never Dies.
• Spirit is bound to emerge. spirit cannot be suppressed.
• Hence, nobody can stop the rise of India as a Nation.
A. Ghosh has mentioned that the rise of India has a Divine Mission.
WHAT IS DIVINE MISSION

- It is through India Universal spirit aims to give his message.
- Only India has such civilizational values which can protect the world from crisis.
- Hence the rise of India as a Nation is not just for the benefit of India, it is for the benefit of humanity.
WHAT IS DIVINE MISSION

• Thus it is neither possible to stop the rise of India as a Nation, non it is desirable to stop.
• On the other hand international community should not stop the emergence of India as a Nation.

• Why?
  • It is a collective good.
According to A. Ghosh, India has to deliver the divine message which it cannot do in State of slavery.
Aurobindo view on the ideal of Human Unity is the next logical step after independence of India.

Indian Nationalism is different from the narrow jingoistic Nationalism.

Indian Nationalism is based on the values of Sanatan Dharma.
• **Sanatan Dharma** is based on universalism and cosmopolitism.

• Independence of India is just a intermediate Step, yet a necessary step before the emergence of cosmopolitan world order.
According to A. Ghosh, Aggregation is the law of Universe, man is not self sufficient, man forms the family, families together form the Nation.
• Nations have to come together to create the Cosmopolitan world order.

• We are passing through such a phase where we will not be able to solve contemporary problems on our own.
According to A. Ghosh, Either we follow the law of nature or nature will destroy us.
RELEVANCE OF AUROBINDO'S IDEA IN PRESENT TIME

• In context of the rise of global threats like climate change, transnational terrorism, Radicalism.
• we can say that it is beyond the capacity of any single Nation, even superpowers to deal on its own.
• we can address these Global problems only when act with the spirit of cosmopolitanism.
In the words of Aurobindo "craving for freedom is lodged so deep in human heart that even thousands of argument are powerless to approve it"
Swaraj has been the goal of freedom movement.
The concept of Swaraj kept on evolving.
Aurobindo was the first person to talk about Purna Swaraj or complete liberation from the foreign rule, though officially Purna Swaraj became the official goal only in 1929.
AUROBINDO ON FREEDOM

- Aurobindo Ghosh categorically stated that foreign rule cannot be a blessing in disguise.
- There is an evolution in Aurobindo's idea of Swaraj or freedom.
AUROBINDO ON FREEDOM

• He not only discusses Swaraj in terms of liberation from the foreign rule.

• He discussed Swaraj even in context of society.
According to A. Ghosh, the biggest challenge in any theory of freedom, is how to achieve freedom that is not detrimental to the interest of wider society.
Aurobindo neither approved capitalistic system nor socialist system.

- Socialist system completely oppress the individual where as capitalist system is based on the mechanistic view of freedom.
- in capitalist system where everybody is concerned only about itself.
- There will be a situation of Chao.
- Hence, idea of freedom of individual has to be based on gospel of humanity.
Aurobindo Ghosh mention about the triangle of
Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.
According to A. Ghosh, Individual freedom should be in harmony with interest of Nation and humanity as a whole.
• In later years of his life, he started looking at the freedom in a metaphysical and spiritualistic sense.
• He believed in the concept of sachidanand which means (Sat+Chit+Anand).
• The objective of life is attainment of happiness, the attainment of happiness is based on the realisation of ultimate reality, The realization of ultimate reality depends upon achieving the State of supermind.
• The State of supermind requires integral yoga, integral Yog combines (Dharma yoga, Gyan Yog, Rajyog ,Bhakti yoga, karmayog, hathyog)

• Integral yoga requires (tap and sadhna) only through integral yog, we can move from fragmented disoriented State to a much sharper and clear understanding of ourself.
INTRODUCTION

• Rightly called as Mahatma

• Gandhi is the second most popular personalities after Jesus Christ as per Time Magazine survey.
GANDHISM

• Gandhi denied the existence of any school of thought like Gandhism
• Gandhi described himself as Man of action.
• Gandhi never claimed that he knows the ultimate truth.
• Gandhi described his life as Experiment With Truth.
According to Professor Humayun Kabir, Gandhi cannot be regarded as the political philosopher in conventional sense.
According to Bipin Chandra-
Psychologist master of strategist and
exceptional politician
Even though Gandhi denied the existence of Gandhism, there are people who consider themselves as Gandhians and hence we cannot say that Gandhism as a school of thought does not exist.
INFLUENCE ON GANDHI
Influence On Gandhi

• 1. The biggest influence on Gandhi is of his mother who was extremely religious.

• Gandhi is inspired by various religions like Vaishnavism, Jainism, Christianity.
2. He was also influenced by the great thinkers like Socrates and Plato.
3. He was influenced by the

Leo Tolstoy  John Ruskin  Edward Carpenter.
School Of Thought

- As far as his epistemology is concerned, he can be called as postmodernist.
- As far as his political philosophy is considered we can call him moral anarchist.
1. Non Violence
Thought Of Gandhi

2. Satyagraha
3. Swaraj
4. Sarvodaya
5. His critique of modern civilization
6. His theory of ends and means.
7. His views on Right and duties.
8. His views on State, democracy, women education.
1) NON VIOLENCE

- It is the fundamental principle of Gandhism,
- For Gandhi non violence is article of Faith or matter of religion.
According to Gandhi,
The objective of life is to understand the truth or God.
• **Gandhi** believed in the continuity of ends and means.

• If the objective of life is to attain the God than means cannot be those of shaitan.
1. Non Violence

- He was influenced by Jesus Christ.
- Jesus Christ was the symbol of love and humanity.
According to Gandhi, he cannot tell what is ultimate truth. However, he was sure that "Ahimsa" is the path or a way of life to be followed if one wants to understand God.
According to Gandhi,
Hinsa belong to the world of animal because either their soul is sleeping or undeveloped.

There is no rule of hinsa in the life of humans. Human have soul and reason.
According to Gandhi, "Ahimsa" should not be understood in the Limited sense of not committing violence. "Ahimsa" is based on the feeling of love and brotherhood.
AHIMSA

• Only ""Ahimsa"" is the source of peace.

• According to Gandhi, one have to take the responsibility if somebody is my enemy. my enemy is part of my self, I have to rectify myself.
• According to Gandhi nobody can hurt the other person without hurting himself.

• Nobody can degrade the other person without degrading himself.

• Thus ""Ahimsa"" is linked to the concept of human dignity.
Gandhi suggested, To observe ""Ahimsa"" in thoughts, speech and action.
Gandhi suggested, "Ahimsa" can be employed between humans towards animals as well as environment.
2) SATYAGRAHA

- Satyagraha is a Political Technique of Gandhi.
- Gandhian movements are called Satyagraha.
- Gandhi had developed a technique of Satyagraha as a method of Protest in South Africa.
2. Satyagraha

- In India he has employed the technique “first at local level like Champaran, kheda and later on all India level.

- He kept on experimenting and perfecting the technique.
• One of the best example of **Gandhian Satyagraha** was civil disobedience movement.

• He have employed both Mass satyagraha as well as individual Satyagraha.
PHILOSOPHY BEHIND SATYAGRAHA

1. Gandhi has differentiated between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance.
What Is The Difference?

According to Gandhi, in passive resistance person may not be using force because of the situation. However, for Satyagraha non violence is an article of Faith.
PHILOSOPHY BEHIND SATYAGRAHA

• 2. In passive resistance person may think that the other person is his enemy.
• However there is no enemy for a Satyagraha, he is against evil and not against Evil doer.
• Satyagraha has a feeling of love and brotherhood rather than enemity.
PHILOSOPHY BEHIND SATYAGRAHA

• Thus, non violence is at the heart of Satyagrahi.

• Satyagraha is the battle between Good and evil.

• Hence, means and ends should have continuity.
According to Gandhi, Satyagraha is a weapon of strong, rather than weapon of weak.
PHILOSOPHY BEHIND SATYAGRAHA

• It is a weapon of those who are spiritually strong and not just physically strong.
• Gandhi has clarified that Satyagraha should not be equated with cowardice.
• Gandhi held that between violence and being coward, he will choose violence.
WHY GANDHI HAS USED SATYAGRAHA?

• Gandhi was a great politician.

• He was in the habit of giving larger than life view of whatever he used to do.
WHY GANDHI HAS USED SATYAGRAHA?

- When he called Indian Freedom Struggle Satyagraha, for freedom struggle was not just any other fight.
- It started looking extraordinary.
- It got spiritualised.
- It became the battle between good and evil.
WHY GANDHI HAS USED SATYAGRAHA?

- It became the Dharmayuddha.

- Gandhi wanted to communicate that the fight is for the truth, for the Right cause and hence ultimately Indians are going to win.
3. Concept Of Swaraj

CONCEPT OF SWARAJ
Concept Of Swaraj

1. Swaraj is an Indian version of Liberty
2. Swaraj has been the goal of freedom struggle.
3. For earlier leaders Swaraj was self rule under British State or Dominion.
4. It was Aurobindo Ghosh who gave the concept of Purna Swaraj.
5. Aurobindo has influenced Gandhi's concept of Swaraj.
For Gandhi, Swaraj was not just liberation from foreign rule. For Gandhi, the end of foreign rule was just a means and not an end, for Gandhi Swaraj was not to be seen as transfer of power from the one set of ruler to another.
6. Swaraj meant giving the life of dignity to the poorest of poor. To give life of dignity, we have to address mass poverty, only way to address mass poverty is Democratic decentralization.
Gandhi aim was to establish Ram Rajya.
RAM RAJYA

RAM RAJYA
Ram Rajya

- Ram Rajya is a Stateless society.
- In Rama Rajya the society is based on the idea of oceanic circles of power.
- Here individual is at the centre.
Ram Rajya

• Power lies with the individual.
• However power is not for exploitation but for the empowerment.

• Ramrajya denote democratic decentralisation.
According to Gandhi, “State is the symbol of weakness of Man”.
Ram Rajya

- To end the relevance of State in our life we require Swaraj.
- Gandhi Swaraj is based on the ideal of Swaraj given in the Mundaka upanishad.
Ram Rajya

- Unlike west where freedom means end of restriction.
- Swaraj means putting restriction.
- Man Achieves Swaraj only When he is able to control his Desires.
- Hence self control will eliminate the need of State.
Gandhi has described Swaraj in Different Dimension

1. At level of individual Which means self-controlled.
Gandhi has described Swaraj in Different Dimension

2. Swaraj in political sphere means democratic decentralization.
Gandhi has described Swaraj in Different Dimension

3. Economics ➔ Swaraj means economic reorganization of the society to fulfill the basic needs instead of mass production,
Gandhi suggested Production by masses.
He suggested revival of cottage industries and land to tillers.
Gandhi has described Swaraj in Different Dimension

4. Social Swaraj-
Means ending Untouchability and communal violence.
Gandhi has described Swaraj in Different Dimension

5. Cultural Swaraj-
Gandhi suggested that one should accept good things from all cultures and religions without being uprooted by them.
Gandhi has described Swaraj in Different Dimension

5. Cultural Swaraj-
If we will not respect our culture world will not respect because culture is our identity.

If we will not respect out culture, how the world will respect out culture. Culture is our identity.
4. Concept Of Sarvodaya

CONCEPT OF SARVODAYA

• (Bread Labour, Trusteeship)
INTRODUCTION

• Sarvodaya- Gandhi socialism
• Gandhi has translated John Ruskin book **UNTO THIS LAST** into Gujarati with title Sarvodaya.

• The book is not just translation but Gandhi has added his own Idea also.
Question

• What Is The Theme Of Gandhi’s Socialism?
THEME OF GANDHI’s SOCIALISM

- Gandhi does not suggest equal pay for all works, Gandhi suggest equal respect for all works.
- Like John Ruskin, Gandhi suggested that the work of the barber is as important as of a lawyer.
- Both works deserves equal respect.
- His concept of bread labour is associated with idea of dignity of labour.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
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<tr>
<td>• What Does A Bread Labour Means?</td>
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The idea is that every person should perform some form of physical labour.

Why?

This is way we can understand the “pains and hardships of those who perform Manual labor”
BREAD LABOUR

• Why?
  • This is the way we can develop respect for Manual labour.
  • Gandhi Sarvodaya aim at giving the “Life of Dignity to the Masses” and hence it is a major component of Gandhi constructive programme.
Obedience to the law of bread labour will bring about a silent revolution in the structure of society.

— Mahatma Gandhi —

AZQUOTES
Gandhi has Proposed

1. Land Reform means Land to Tillers.
Gandhi has Proposed

2. Revival of Cottage Industry.
Gandhi has Proposed

Gandhi has Proposed

4. Favored production of masses rather than mass production.
5. Unlike Marx who suggested violent overthrow of capitalism.
   Gandhi suggests Trusteeship.
Gandhi suggested to appeal to the conscious of the capitalist class.
• He appeal to respect for Manual labour.
• capitalist should consider themselves as a Trustee of the capital rather than owner of the capital.

• Gandhi believed that capital is social production.

• Hence capitalist should keep what is required for the running the industry.
• What is enough for the personal use and should contribute the remaining part for the well being of the society.

• One of the principle of Gandhi was that there is enough for the need but not enough for the greed.
GANDHIAN CRITIQUE OF MODERN CIVILIZATION -

- Source of influence ➔ Edward Carpenter.

- He has demonstrated the negative consequences of modern medicine on human health.
Question

- What was Gandhi view on modern Civilization?
GANDHI VIEW ON MODERN CIVILIZATION

- He called modern civilization at Satanic civilization,
- He criticize the modern civilization not because it is western but because of its negative consequences.
- Gandhi didn’t reject everything that is Western.
Gandhi View on Modern Civilization

- Gandhi was influenced by the idea of Socrates & Plato.
- Gandhi even translated Plato's dialogue in Gujarati.
Question

• Why Gandhi opposed To Modern Civilization?
He opposed because of the values of Modern Civilization.

1. Utilitarianism
2. Materialism
Gandhi believed that utilitarianism undermines Human Dignity.
It reduces human beings to the level of animal.

Human being simply as consumer of utility, having no regard for the Ethics.

He believed that imperialism and fascism are product of utilitarianism.
Utilitarianism reduces man to the level of animal, we do not feel that exploiting the fellow human being just for our pleasure.

Utilitarianism and a materialism are interlinked.

excessive materialism has negative consequences not only for society but also for environment.
According to Gandhi “the path of development which Western world has followed in last hundred years, if same path of the development is adopted by others, even nine more earth will not be sufficient.”
GANDHI CONCEPT OF CIVILIZATION

- Civilization is not which reduces man to the level of animal or convert man into Shaitan.
- true civilization is which makes us better human being.
- Civilization is not about the satisfaction of wants, it is about control over Desires.
GANDHI CONCEPT OF CIVILIZATION

• Gandhi was extremely critical of Machiavellian which separate politics and ethics.

• He also linked colonial exploitation and imperialist wars to the Machiavellian idea of pure power politics.
WHY GANDHI FOETICIDES WESTERN CIVILIZATION?

• His critique of Western Civilization can be seen as his attempt to establish counter hegemony, it challenges the discourse of white man's burden or civilizing mission.

• It can be considered as Gandhi's war of position.
Gandhi on ends and means?

- GANDHİ ON ENDS AND MEANS
GANDHI ON ENDS AND MEANS?

- Gandhi believed in the continuity of ends and means, He was critic of Machiavellianism which separate ends and means,

- Machiavelli has given priority to end our means and held that ends justify the means.
GANDHI ON ENDS AND MEANS?

• Gandhi was aware of negative consequences of separating ends and means.

• Gandhi was influenced by Gokhale who was trying to introduce spiritualism in politics.

• It is for this reason Gandhi considered Gokhale as his political Guru.
GANDHI ON ENDS AND MEANS?

• Gandhi held that politics without religion and ethics is like a death trap.

• Hence, it is the only way we can make politics legitimate, is by bringing ethics into politics.

• We can also see the influence of Greek thinkers like Socrates who believe that the question of good life cannot be separated from the good political life.
Gandhi believed that separation of End and means is illogical. In his book “Hind Swaraj”. He has written that we cannot expect rose flowers by sowing the seeds of babool.
GANDHI ON ENDS AND MEANS?

• Gandhi has applied his theory of the continuity of ends & means in his struggle for independence.
• Since freedom movement was Satyagraha, the path to be adopted is part of "Ahimsa".
GANDHI ON RIGHTS AND DUTIES-

- Gandhi Believed in functional interdependence on Rights and duties.
- He was influenced by the philosophy of Geeta.
- Geeta emphasize on “Nishkam Karma”
According to Geeta. “Do your duty reward is not thy concern”.
• Gandhi believe that Rights are inherent in the duties performed in embryonic sense.

• If we perform our duty we automatically, get our Rights

• It is wrong to think that we can enjoy Rights without fulfillment of our obligations.
• It is also to be noted that Gandhi does not sacrifice individual for the sake of society.

• Nor Gandhi support the atomistic view of man, he gives importance to human dignity and believed in coexistence.
GANDHI ON STATE

• Gandhi is anarchist, he is influenced by Leo Tolstoy's book- “Kingdom of God within You”

• He is called as moral anarchist.
GANDHI ON STATE

• He believed that State is a symbol of weakness in men.

• He advocates Swaraj or self-control.

• He called State as soul less machine incompatible with the principle of "Ahimsa"."
GANDHI ON STATE

- Even smallest State requires some amount of police or Army.
- His ideal State is “Ram Rajya” a Stateless society based on the idea of oceanic circles of power.
GANDHI ON EDUCATION
Gandhi gave the idea of “Nayee Taleem”
1. According to him one Should learn from the book of life.

According to him, life is the best teacher.
GANDHI ON EDUCATION

2. Earn while learn.

education has to be a lifelong process and so a person should be in a position to avoid the education on his own.

He emphasize on vocational education.
3. He favored the teachings of Home Science, Nursing, and Forestry.
1. Gandhian movements play critical role in the mobilization of women in political sphere despite India being a highly patriarchal society.
2. Women have special role in Gandhi's constructive programme like promotion of Khadi, ending Untouchability.
3. According to Gandhi, Sita and Draupadi should be the ideal of women in India. They are the symbol of moral power, Ravan could not touch Sita because of her moral strength.
1. He favored party less democracy.
Gandhi On Democracy

He was critique of political parties compare them with prostitutes.
2. He favored Democratic Decentralization.
M.N Roy 1887-1954
INTRODUCTION

• According to Sudipta Kaviraj,

• “MN Roy was remarkable failure”
INTRODUCTION

• He was critique of Gandhi.
• He is considered as one of the greatest philosophers of modern India.
• He gave the philosophy of Radical Humanism
• Ideational Journey of MN Roy?
Journey of MN Roy

Phase I - Until 1920

Phase II - From 1930 To 1940

Phase III - From 1940 onwards
PHASE I - Until 1920

- Started as a revolutionary
- He was associated with yugantar
- He was influenced by “Jatin Das”
  - He was sent abroad to procure arms for revolutionaries.
- He happened to attend lecture delivered by Lala Lajpat Rai.
PHASE I - UPTIL 1920

- He wanted to know the strategy of INC
- With respect to addressing poverty of masses in India, he could not get the satisfactory answer.
- He started the search for the answer and got influenced by Marx, became the founding member of “Communist Party” of Mexico.
- Very soon he became a very renowned personality in Marxism.
M N ROY AS A MARXIST-

- He considered Marx as a greatest philosopher and the liberator of mankind.
- During this phase, he was critic of Gandhi and INC.
- He called INC as a bourgeoisie party and Gandhi as a bourgeoisie leader.
1. Gandhi's political program is not in the interest of masses.
2. Gandhi's non violence is actually violence on mass.
M N Roy View On Gandhi

3. Gandhi is mediaeval and reactionary.
4. Gandhi's charkha economy has no solutions for addressing the basic needs of masses in India.
5. Gandhi was working against masses and had understanding with colonial master. 

Arrest of Gandhi by government was political drama, it is for this reason, they used to release him within few days.
M N Roy View On Gandhi

6. Gandhi was not a strong man but a “weak and watery Men” looking for appointments with viceroy.
M N Roy View On Gandhi

7. Gandhi's intention against mass is clear when Gandhi called off the non cooperation movement abruptly.
Gandhi feared that power will shift from his hands to the hands of masses.
According to Sudipta Kaviraj, “He can be charged of the Guilt of Heteronomy”.
Note - What Is Heteronomy?

- Applying the history of some other country without understanding the indigenous context.
- M.N. Roy's assumptions about Gandhi and INC are influenced by approach of bourgeoisie class in Germany.
- During this phase M. N. Roy developed difference with Lenin.
• Lenin has invited him to second communist international.

• Why-
  • Lenin wanted to decide, what position communist international should take towards the freedom movement going on in colonies.
- Since MN Roy belongs to India, a British Colony and had recognition of Marxist scholar.
- Lenin thought his insights would be useful.
- He entered into debate with Lenin and was finally ousted from communist international.

Lenin Roy Debate?
Question

• What Was The Issue Of Debate?
Disagreements over strategy

LENIN'S VIEW
Lenin suggested to stage revolution.
Stages Revolution

I Stage

II Stage
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I Stage</th>
<th>II Stage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Communist international should support Nationalist party like INC in India and kuomintang led by Sun yat Sen.</td>
<td>- Once country is liberated from foreign rule, Attempts should be made to bring communist revolution.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
1. No need for two stage revolution.
2. No need to support Nationalist Parties.
3. Directly support the Communist Parties workers and peasants parties.
He held that a parallel message movement is emerging in colonies and hence we can directly support masses.

He held that in India masses are ready for communist revolution.
PHASE II- FROM 1930 TO 1940

- He joins INC with the objective to Radicalised the congress from within, he established a League of Radical congressmen
PHASE II- FROM 1930 TO 1940

- During this phase, He became sympathetic to Gandhi and a critic of Marxism.
- He acknowledged that Gandhi's programs certainly helped the masses.
Disagreements over strategy

ROY’S CRITICISM OF MARXISM
WHICH MARXISM ROY CRITICIZE?

- Which Marxism he criticized ➔ Soviet Marxism
- Even when he criticized Marxism,
- He continued to believe that he is Marxist and he is not leaving Marxism, he is only reinterpreting it.
- He called it as his humanist interpretation of Marxism.
He has criticized following principle of Marxism

1. Historical Materialism
2. Dialectical Materialism
3. Class Struggle
4. Surplus Value
5. Revolution
1. HISTORICAL MATERIALISM -

- It is not a scientific explanation of history because it has overlooked the role of idea in shaping history.
2. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM-

- He said that dialectical materialism is actually idealism not real materialism.
3. CLASS STRUGGLE

- According to him history is not the result of class struggle rather class cooperation.
4. SURPLUS VALUE

- Surplus Value is bound to emerge and is not the cause of exploitation, what is required is equitable distribution of surplus value.
5. REVOLUTION

- Real Revolution is not the change in mode of production but Revolution is change in the mode of thinking.
PHASE III - FROM 1940 ONWARDS

- He left Congress on the issue of “Quit India Movement”

- He felt that Quit India Movement will weaken the fight against Fascism.
PHASE III- FROM 1940 ONWARDS

• During this phase, he gave his own Philosophy of initially he called as New Humanism, but later on rename as Radical Humanism.

• He inaugurated “Radical Democratic Party” and give 22 thesis of Radical humanism but later disbanded the party and started movement for Radical Humanism.
RADICAL HUMANISM
What Is The Purpose Of Radical Humanism?

He defines it as Philosophy of freedom.
The ultimate aim is Liberation of man.
WHAT IS HUMANISM?

- It is philosophy which keeps human being at the centre, its origin can be traced to the idea of Protagoras in ancient Greece.
- Humanism was revived in Modern Times as a result of renaissance.
- MN Roy called his philosophy as new Humanism.
WHAT IS THE NEW IN HIS HUMANISM?

- It is based on understanding of different Scholars as well as the experience of centuries.
- It is more refined and perfect from the humanism,
- He later on changed the name to Radical Humanism.
What Does Radical Symbolise?

Radical means root.
It takes human being at the core.
it takes human being in Radical sense.