Political Science Project "Looking West Or Within"

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Political Science Project: "Looking West or Within"

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RATIONALE OF THE STUDY:

Taking in light the current political bedlam happening in the world assessing the direction in which our country India has taken is the need of the hour. This study is planned and designed to analyze whether the ideals which our political forefathers had sown in us have actually germinated into correct way of ruling/governance or are we trying to caricaturize our own thinking and looking towards west for suggestions.

The objective of this research is to look at the metamorphic nature of the Indian politics and how the western philosophy has shaped it but also has transformed our original political structure. The centre of study is taking different thinkers and philosophers as vertex, define their concepts and see the tantamount it has created.

The research has been conveyed in the descriptive and analytical manner to give the reader the essence of the actual path that should be undertaken and the path which Indian system has adopted.

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A debate yet to be concluded: Is India on right track as far its political thought is concerned?

Note: THE TOPICS HAVE BEEN CHOSEN KEEPING IN MIND THE PAGE CONSTRAINT AND THEREFORE A VERY CONCISE VIEW IS PROVIDED FOR EVERY CHAPTER.

ABSTRACT:

"Wisdom uncreated, the same now as it ever was & the same to be forever more"

- St. Augustine

Political theory has been a contested topic for any thinker as it is produce of human mind which may be blinded by circumstances, religions or technology. But it has been a topic of interest which makes research in this subject more challenging for a novice and enthrall the reader. Relation between the State and individual, inter-relation between Judiciary and State and a meeting point of all of them is commanded by this subject.

Different thinkers from time immemorial have given immensely useful and variant concepts. Ideologies and theories to make this subject more simple but there have been counter views of every idea put forward making it difficult to have a uniform notion of ruling, administration, entity like state, its role and types of governance for actual practice.

India has always been multi layered society with distinct culture, religions and traditions. It has been through omnipotence phases of different kingdoms in ancient and medieval eras and more recently the British rule. Therefore it has been an amalgamation of divergent thinking not only among political parties but among communities. The superstructure which has been adopted by our nation is a potpourri of constant religious and social struggles which has been experienced by the common man and therefore it has been woven in daily fabric of political system.

This research has tried to put forward a question whether should we review our way of thinking in order to formulate a more a better and progress of the Indian society. And whether western ideologies should be undertaken by our system followed by further inquiry whether adopting such an ideology will be profitable for our Indian circumstances. The outline of this paper is highlight the complicate picture of politics around us and how it can be bettered for the humanism. A co-ordination has been developed between Indian and Western thoughts for assessing our existence as a nation.

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPT OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

It can be defined though inadequately that state is an association of institutions working hand in hand with the private individuals and are a more certain and permanent bodies working for welfare. It can have approaches of Max Weber that it creates monopoly and means of " legitimate violence"¹ or of John Locke that individuals should enjoy freedom of thinking and living by his own intellect

State has been an important and inseparable feature of people as it regulates and shapes the activities of personal and public domains of people. In a country like ours were majority of people live in rural atmosphere it becomes the duty of State to pitch in to make a welfare State. There have been many views as to what constitutes a state and how is it different from government. Is the state a good and beneficial organization working for people or is it an evil and corrupt entity that leaves a disparity in the society. Three perspectives can be pointed out that is:

Hegel's "IDEALIST" approach- it emphasizes the power of state and gives no right to private individuals. Also termed as "Absolutist theory" because of it gives negative function to state. It meant to remove obstacles from the society but not giving individuals to grow as human beings but a mere automatic branch of the State.²

The second is functional view of state focusing on just maintenance of social order. Very different from what Hobbes gave in his social contract theory. Here individual was given priority before the state and advocated the reasoning of "I think before I am". The state's role was minimal.

The third concept is Organizational view. This concept tries to make State as an instrumentality of Government and encompasses all the public organizations. It includes the institutions administering the people such as military organizations, judiciary, social security system etc. Though I feel India has been using this organizational concept it also has some elements of idealist thinking. The reason idealist view coming in India is the castes and communities which have been the basis of Indian social stratification. Therefore it emphasizes on social existence of family, civil society etc. and is on a constant way to appeal to the people to leave their individual

¹ Political theory by Andrew Heywood

² Principles of Political theory and organization by L.S. Haqqi

interest for universal growth of the society. It would be Indian society who has actually given the concept of living together for better good and can still be seen in people of India today.

1.1 SIGNIFICANT THEORIES OF STATE

Many and contradictory views on the concept of State and each theory has influenced the world in its own way. Here we discuss three theories trying to bring out how different world situations and eras had their own political thoughts and highlighting varied concepts.

> Marxian theory of State Individualistic theory of state Concept of Welfare State

MARXISM THEORY OF STATE:

Given by the great thinker Karl Marx after Enlightment it brings the social disparity of people after Industrial Revolution. His ideology began with the alienation theme which he saw in Russia. He very correctly pointed that capitalism is growing threat and dehumanizing the worker class. The alienation of worker was due to the fact that the product which he was producing was not for his benefit but for the profit of his master. Secondly the fact that they were subjected to long hours of labor made them suffer mentally and physically. And lastly it made them worsened their conditions and made them machines.³ He wanted to advocate the universal liberation of workers from the clutches of the richer class. He termed capitalists as bourgeoisie and the laborers as proletariat. His notion of state was a mere superstructure which was formed for the saw the fractured society were the rich kept on accumulating wealth and poor had to struggle for two square meals a day. He said that state doesn't have any righteous prominence in a society and therefore should be overthrown by the suppressed class (workers) and annihilate the capitalists. Taking a very relevant quote which described the situation is:

" Law and police regulations can be compared to a spider's web that lets the big mosquitoes through and catches the small ones"

Julius Wilhelm Zincgref

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³ In his work manuscript Marx has made a simile between human and machines

He saw the state as an inorganic and mechanical entity and didn't give any consideration for the individual as "social being". Marx talks about workers losing their freedom "in service of greed" and of being "depressed spiritually and physically to the condition of the machine".⁴ But his theory was so very blinded by the atmosphere in which he lived that he failed to recognize the role of the State in non-economic activities. Looking at his ideology I would express that looking at the present condition of our country this concept cannot be adopted as it would not only result into bloody revolution but also minimizing the role of the state which we cannot afford at this stage.

Individualistic theory of State:

With aurora of Industrial Revolution this theory was took birth in 18th century. This theory emphasizes on individual freedom and a "Laissez Faire" state. It promoted the concept that individual is rational in his thinking and knows what to do and what not to and therefore it should be state should have a nominal role in the activities of people. It was in the favor of abstention of interference from the state and gave individuals a very free-hand way of functioning. The state should be personified as an entity which acted as a bulwark of individuals from external and internal aggressions. Survival of the fittest is the biological rule and that should be applied for the state as well. It was given the role of the guardian of law and order and nothing more. There are two forms in which this theory grew. One is extreme side given by Herbert Spencer and the other is the moderate side given by J.S.Mill.

According to the moderate view government action or interference was justified if it was for protection of people or for a lawful task. In his work "*Essays on Liberty*" J.S.Mill has summarized his idea very precisely which is reproduced herein:

".....The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral is not a sufficient warrant."⁵

The motto was "let things alone because the world is self regulating." But this concept overlooked that state is positive good and society is not solely based on economic purposes. Moreover it based on a hypothesis that all individuals are correct and make optimum use of resources. This idea can have two sided effect on India if adapted by the political parties. One is that the large and growing class of entrepreneurs would be happy to have such economic conditions where trade rules are minimum and meddlesomeness of state would not affect them.

⁴ Political thinkers (from Socrates to the present) 2nd edition

⁵ Principles of political thinking by S.A.H Haqqi and L.S Rathore

But the flip side of this would lead to giving too much freedom to individual would lead to chaos and people would start doing things without consideration for other members of the society, which would lead to conflicts of gruesome nature. India has always been a society of diagonally opposites where if freedom is given to all to conduct their activities in their own ways would lead to cacophony of ideas where one would try to suppress the other and other would retaliate and make the current situation worst.

CONCEPT OF WELFARE STATE:

World War 2 was the nucleus of this idea as the war had left the nations shattered and devastated. England wanted to gear up to tackle five major problems haunting their society. They were – Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness. They indulged in the nationalizing the private sectors for the betterment of common man who had suffered a great deal in the war. Everything was seen from a social concept and made the lives of people more comfortable by providing them with food, clothing, shelter, good education, medical opportunities. There was clear cut demarcation from the police state. It had power with the government but not to the degree of repression. It wanted that state should provide the individuals with their need for building up the economy but not to make the public dependent on the state and make them self reliant and hard working. Hobman puts this theory as compromise between communism on one side and unbridled individualism on the other. India has taken this concept for governance and has achieved quite few developmental work but it needs to go a lot farther to free the masses from poverty and unemployment. This concept has been stated in Article 38 of the Indian Constitution as a part of Directive principles of State. Article 39 also makes sure that government provides facilities for progress of citizens by giving them adequate means of livelihood, distribution of natural resources, equal pay for equal work etc. Legally, as the welfare is very essential for curtailment of conflicts it is the best way to have effective judicial system were courts have a role of not working for the government but with the people and making them nore aware. As said by the Hellen Keller,

" Until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of responsibility for each other's welfare, social justice can never be attained.

"A hero is born among hundred, a wise man is found among thousand, but an accomplished one might not be found even among thousand hundred men" - Plato

Since political science is an ancient concept which has been developed, modified and altered by human minds Plato's mention is must as he gave us the basic framework of the study of this branch and has not lost its appeal in today's modern era. Greece can be said as birthplace of political thought as discipline. After the **Peloponnesian War (430 – 400 B.C)** Greek philosophy touched skies as scholars like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Critias became pioneers of concepts on which our thinkers have extended and given us the fascinating field of political thought. Work of Plato can be classified as two interlinked ideas which made him a great thinker, a great scholar, an even more competent teacher and great human being.

THE POLITICAL IDEA

According to him man is not content with a simple life and is an ambitious, acquisitive in his nature. Man desires all those things which he sees with other people giving him a sense of more encroachment to other people's territory. This creates incongruity between different sections of society. These fluctuations will lead to political changes in the way that aristocracy paves way for plutocratic oligarchy where wealthy traders and rich class rules the state. Aristocracy destroys mass participation with a precarious and threadlike association of people holding power. Oligarchy is also not feasible since it makes inconsiderate conglomeration of wealth. This is met with a revolution where democracy slowly steps in providing equal share of power and freedom. But democracy is also does not have rosy picture for the state as it may turn disastrous because people ill-equipped may take in-charge.

He says that to create a method of excluding ineptitude and corruption from public office, and of selecting and preparing the best to govern for the aim of common good makes the basis of political philosophy and this is the precise method he has incorporated.

The answer to the question raised is that the state should have **"Democratic Aristocracy**". The state as far as ruling is concerned does not have any inheritance value or caste background required as a qualification. The concept of educational election was written by him conveying the idea of that talent should be given preference and best minds should rule even if they have been born in the family of bootblack. But this statesman would be limited when it comes to material wealth and there reward would be honor and respect of people.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL IDEA

For better state it is mandatory that people who exist within it are human beings who are stable and honest. He stratifies society on the basis of human mind and man's individual thought ability. Man is governed by three sources while thinking. They are **desire**, **emotion and knowledge** which give the man a particular stature in the society. the social structure which he gives his based on occupation which a person should have for a perfect and utopian kind of state. Some men are governed by **desire** –they are absorbed in carnal and greedy, having luxuries and try to gain maximum possible. These kind people should be in **manipulate industries**. They are classified as traders, merchants. One class are governed by are governed by **emotion of courage**they are happy in pride and respect rather than possession. These men are interested in armies and act as **guardians and people who fight for protection of the state**. The last class doesn't crave for luxuries or victory but for knowledge. These are the people who make use of their seclusion by contemplating the concepts of human mind and make their wisdom useful to the world.

Now confusion would enter into the society when the trader would want to be in fighter's place, the guardian would want to overtake and be in the scholar's position while scholars mind would be try to do profiteering and would wish to accumulate the wealth. The solution lies in educating everyone and his theory provides for a curriculum which has to be undertaken by the person and based on that education he will be assessed as to what profession is best for him and in what way should he contribute to the state using his skill. This process would enable the hidden talents to come out and give chance to people at early age to correct there mistake. Test will be impartial and everyone will get fair and equal chance to reach to the highest post of the state. And the finished product which has survived through every kind of task and teaching would proceed to become the ruling class or the "brain of the state" in making administrative and political decisions.

Now since the research demand an analysis from Indian perspective, it can be seen that India can take portions of this Platonian thought and develop it further suitable to Indain atmosphere. The voters should look at the concept of virtue and competence which Plato pints out while casting their vote for future leader of the country. The country where people have different sentiments can be unified by the way of educational approach which Plato has dealt with.

1.3 NATURAL LAW AND CHRISTIANITY

The Roman Empire disintegrated in 400A.D due to factors like Imperial incompetence, Christianity and monetary troubles to name a few which made the Christian church omnipotent. Christianity was a branch of Judaism in initial stage centering around the Jewish Messiah. Since Jews had eventually gave themselves a separate identity it was the "gentiles" or the Non-Jews who formed a kinship in the barbarian state of Rome. During the last phase of Roman empire the Kings ruled with only a small support of the senatorial class.

The Christians gave the ultimate power to the monarch who was considered to have divine origin and people often referred to "rex dei gratia",⁶ and the king was often termed as "rex". The relationship which grew between the ruler and his mass was of a theocratic state concept. The king who had boundless power made the ruled class weak and incapable of any resistance. For the king his people were given to him by God to be under his royal care. **St. Augustine** touches upon the central theme of Christian theology in his work **"The city of God"** and has developed the concept of Catholic Church seen separate from the earthly city. **According to him state was city of God and the monarch was under divine guidance to govern his people**. During this time religion played authoritative role for legal sanction. Religion provided legitimacy and it couldn't and everything was done under the name of GOD.

Church was an instrumentality of force in the later ages due to which from a divine state concept people considered it more of an of an HELL state as it curtailed every movement which tried to question the Church. People could not have been ruled without King's guidance, and they were confined within the walls of Catholic Church.

Aquinas was the thinker of that time who tried combing Aristotelian ideas Christian concepts which demarcated natural and supernatural orders of the state. He was in favor of limited monarchy and he was recognized for his scholastic status within the Catholic Church.

At this time India was within its own conflicts of Turkish invasions and other internal aggressions. But this concept of divine state was also followed in India as well but its way was a bit different in execution. Law has to be the backbone of eternal, natural and divine nature of ruling without any human being given the status nearer to god.

⁶ The meaning is king is by the grace of god

1.4 THE CONCEPT OF STATE AT THE TIME OF FRENCH ENLIGHTENMENT

Great paradigm shifts in ideas had taken place from the Dark Ages of Christian rule to the period of Renaissance. Every idea of absolute monarch was met with oppositions and Immanuel Kant gave the philosophy that human beings should **deviate from illogically obeying the church and based on supersititions.** In his book "*Conflict of the Faculties*"(*1798*) Kant gives human beings the philosophy of Science and reason over religion. It is possible to live without any city of god or without interference from divine powers if man starts living by the basic principles of reason. French philosopher Voltaire says that world should be made from respect of nature and which gave us the concept of pantheism (tolerance to all gods).⁷ There are two basic philosophies which made the whole phase worth so much importance in human history. They are

- The faith in human reason, rationality and science to overcome the false notions of the monarch and the divine origin theory.
- The need for scientific, practical knowledge that would let people comeout from the darkness of the Church

During this time French Revolution had started taking shape at an alarming rate and therefore new ideas came along with it. Rise in epidemics, lowering standard of living, no proper facilities to people due to over- population raised a doubt against the Monarch's ability to rule. People discovered the sudden need for Science and logic which could make their lives better. Rene Descartes was the scholar at the time of 17th century the "age of reason" who doubted evry concept and tried to find the logic behind functioning of things or development of scientific advancements, everything was challenge to human senses of thinking. The founder of Empiricism was Francis Bacon who is also known as "father of experimental philosophy" developed the theory of "knowledge is power".⁸ He emphasized on the empirical observation and experimentation of phenomena and practicability of thoughts which govern human mind. He tries to draw the technology into his purview of thinking and makes the hypothesis in his book "Advancement of learning" which has been developed further in "New Organon" as structured philosophy which led the scientific minds of those times to develop and research new arts and sciences.

⁷ Doctrine that equates god with the forces and laws of nature.

⁸ hhtp://plato.stanford.edu/entries/enlightment

Our research would be incomplete without the mention of Thomas Hobbes. In his acclaimed work "*Leviathan*" he gave too much power to the sovereign making the individuals bound to by a social contract. He can be referred to as pessimistic thinker who writes that human nature is innately violent and people are in continous war like situations. He prefer a single absolute ruler instead of oligarchy as the wealth of the sovereign entity would be equivalent to public's wealth not giving him a chance to abuse the powers of his position. He mentions that role of religion is major when it comes to organizing or telling the masse about their duties and can be helpful to control the "nasty, brutish and greedy" of man. The opposite side of the fulcrum is John Locke who said that man is inherently good and helpful but the state should gain that trust from the people to compromise certain personal objectives for the development of society. he says in the book "*Essays concerning Human Understanding*" that man has a mind like bad slate and he can be improved by the state in a proper way by providing him with best of both worlds that is to give him freedom to invent, discover, make but give the concept of separation of powers and beneficial practices to him.

India was a French colony at this time and was greatly impacted by the French revolution and was seen to be supporting France in their fight as they treated Indians better. But the question here is did India learn from the age of Enlightenment or was just another event that is no more relevant today. Though French revolution was disaster of sorts giving rise to other problems, India can take iota of thinking which developed at the time of Enlightenment, since the rural India is still under the veil of superstitions and traditional beliefs not allowing the overall progress to reach them. It can be inferred that Indians have this mentality of sticking to the conventional forms of living, not taking into account caste, creed or community but we would be slow compared to other western countries to adapt to new way of thought and it would take time for the concept to create a stir among the mass if they aren't directly linked to the issue. This attitude should change for the positive governance which would make technological advancement possible even for the poorest of poor man and make the state on the lines of welfare state.

Conclusion:

India has no doubt been influenced by western thought, culture and art in expanding nature in present times. People have started knowing the governmental structure, the kinds of rights they have been given, their duties and their surroundings, courtesy to globalization and world becoming one single panorama of knowledge. But has it taken us forward from within or has it made us slave of foreign concepts and corroded our own ideals. This question can be answered when we look at the next chapter that is meant to deal with eastern political thought that is Indian ways of politics.

CHAPTER 2 - INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

India has always been the land of nature, beliefs, traditions, kings and kingdoms underlying the fact that Indian system had long before developed the concept of state and had been ruling themselves in an unique and royal manner. From the Harrapan civilization till the British rule Indian sub continent has witnessed great deal of different mixed political thoughts. Though India is composed of different tribal and linguistic parts, it had the same type of government, governance ways and similar way of performance throughout all the princely states.

1.1 KAUTILYA'S ADMINISTRATION TECHNIQUES

The advent of Indian political thought began with the sharp thinking of Vishnugupt or more commonly known as "Kautilya" the great academician and scholar of the Magadhan Empire. He gave many different ideas in his well written and tremendously useful work "*ARTHASHSTRA*" which deals with following points:

- ✤ Nature of State
- ✤ The ideas of "DHARMA" & "DANDA"
- ✤ Interstate relations
- ✤ The idea of diplomacy
- Decentralization of power
- ✤ Welfare state in its earliest forms and public opinion

His book has given us acumen on the topics of economics, duties of kings, warfare tactics, administration, sociology and variety of other concepts which the western philosophy had kept a loophole. His science of politics was the reason for the formation the strongest state in India that was the kingdom of Magadha. His theory of State shines not only today but held a great literary value in the ancient period. His concept was that state was by actually a reality of "**matsyanyaya**" ⁹ where the survival of fittest is the law and can be analogous to concept of western individualism. He said that instead of having "**dvairajya**"¹⁰ or "**vairajya**"¹¹ as the form of government monarchial form is more suitable. In his work he puts forward the trick to have s stable rule was by laying stress on the "**kosha**" (**treasury**), "**danda**" (**army**) **and "durga**" (**fortified capital**). It give the state a dimension which can be said ahead of its time having interactions and diplomatic relations with other states. In ancient Indian literary works, every

⁹ Rule of the fish

¹⁰ Joint rule of males of the same family

¹¹ rule by foreign ruler by occupation

writer included the concepts of "**Mandals**" (**circles**) of minister looking after the "savoire faire" and political finesse within the state and outside with the neighboring state. His two-fold concept of "dharma" and "danda" still have acceptance within modern India and frequently mentioned by Political leaders and parties. He controlled the power of the king by the "dharma" and did not allow the king to become supreme. And "dharma" was the law of the land which was based on righteousness and virtues of self-conscience. For an effective social system he also linked the idea of "danda". In ancient era "danda" was the understood as punishment but kautilya didn't confine this to only punishment but also as the duty included in dharma and king was bound to punish those who were wrong even if his moral conscience pinched him.

His information on the six war tactics given as "**upayas**" is also the reason why Indians were considered to be strong warriors and were treated as immune from other threat, except that of invasions in the later period. His espionage system can be used by the government even today but using modern apparatus and means but keeping the method the same. The way in which his theory of "**janapad**" became successful gave the idea of his competence in the arena of politics and it also became practical.

1.2 POLITICS DURING MUGHAL RULE

The time of 1200-1600 witnessed not only frequent but huge conquest by outsiders in our country due to which the ancient political thought was impacted greatly and turned out to be heterogeneous mix of different cultures and religions. And one such was "ISLAM" which tried to give India a more divine and Godly concept of State. It was more like the Christian principles of divine nature of the king and the state. One very interesting feature was its belief that Quran is for all the people in the world, and teachings of Prophet Mohammad were ultimate source of law and governance. The state and people were here onto serve the aims and beliefs of "**shariat**" which made their religion uniform and their rules codified. This law is still applied in India and governs the Muslim majority on grounds of religion binding.

All the discriminations which were prevalent in the Roman culture where neglected by the shariat of Islam. The prophet declared that those who were hardworking and honest in their lives were loved by God, and those who didn't work for the welfare of their family and state were looked upon as parasites eating the fruits of progress of the state. In a very different but keeping the same ideology as capitalism with a bit of liberalism, Islam gives the incentive for the workers to work under the fear of hatred from Allah, as well as develop their state on that basis. Its concept was that all men are born free within the care of the Almighty, and therefore, law should keep everyone on the same platform. Contribution of Baruni is impeccable in this regard because he has written volumes like <u>"Tarikh-i- Firozeshahi" and "Ftawa-i-jahandari"</u> which puts Prophet Mohammad as the core and goes forward in saying that the state is embodiment of state on earth is a blessing by God in the form of the Prophet. And an ideal Sultan should rule the

people according to the responsibilities which have been given in Quran. In this system one can see that inheritance played a role in forming the state. And the realms of the power were in the hands of privileged few who either had royal lineage or who belonged to nobility class. The disengagement was between the governing elites and ruled middle class. Politics was revolved around the "zawabit" (the state laws) which made the king know his powers and regulate the state only to the conceptions of the zawabit and contradictory views were not entertained as the political thought was very much restricted to the Sultan and the Prophet.

Thus we can say proudly that India has not only seen ideologies of different communities but also has accepted them, cherished them, nurtured them and have most importantly taken them as the modern way of living. Indian laws and customs still consider the Quran as a source of law keeping it away from orthodoxy. Indian have always tried to have peaceful existence with their fellow humans which has made India accept Muslim political thought in mainstream politics.

2.3 EARLY NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS

History of British rule is an event which we know it by heart and so mentioning it a chronological manner would serve no purpose. But the fact that the nationalist thinkers developed their own concept is worth mentioning with sense of patriotism. During the colonization of India, west was ever-dominant but it had nothing to do with inner domain of the country and its failure to understand the culture was one of the major reasons why its concept failed in most of the eastern countries, specially India. They tried to create hegemony but failed because of the diversities which were present in India gave them a tough time to rule and govern itself. The early reformers and political figures in the freedom struggle were Ram Manohar Roy, Bankimchandra Chattopadhaya, Dayanand Saraswati and Jyotiba Phule, who gave shape to the fight and made way for national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawarharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel etc.

Ram Manohar Roy

A social reformer famous for abolishing the practice of Sati was the founder of first official institution called Brahmo Samaj. He was moderate in his political views as he considered British rule as a boon in disguise because it suppressed the feudal system. He was also very open in demanding the freedom of press along with another revolutionary Dwarkanath Tagore. This can be considered as first although small step towards liberalizing Indian population from the British rule. He had ambivalent role in history since he was with British rule in some parts and he also wanted upliftment of people from the derogatory rule.

Bankinchandra Chattopadhayay

He was the first systematic expounder for idea of Nationalism. Unlike typical liberals he was in favor of community and wanted a sense of solidarity to arise in people. He gave two points for changing the attitudes of common man. He wanted that people should realize that what is good for Hinduism will be good for me and one should act in accordance with the beliefs, views and actions of Hindu society. Being inspired Kautilya he laid emphasis on the "dharma" for getting national solidarity. His argument for having unity among Hindus was the fact that though west surpassed them in material culture but the spiritual dominance was with India and that should not be subjugated by the west.

Dayanand Saraswati

This great thinker took his ideals from Vedas which formed the model of Indian civilization since long time. He was not at all influenced by west nor did he value their culture. He established Arya Samaj and started letting people know the importance of ancient scriptures bringing the common man closer to their values making them realize what damage the British philosophy was doing. His work "*Satyarth Prakash*"¹² makes two points.

- ✓ One was that empirical world was no mirage and had a specific purpose. It actually justified the concept given in Old Testament by defining God as an active agent of creation.
- ✓ And the diverse nature of Hindu society. this point tries to convey that Hindu society is still behind in psychological aspect and the communities are weak due to existence of evils like dowry, child marriage and carnal gratifications. This has led Britishers get a hold on Indian society. So he suggested that one should turn back to Vedas and try to follow its path.

His relevance in today's time is that he regarded Communalism and caste division the reason for unstable society. This is the precise situation being encountered by us as communalism today and taken a violent turn. His theory for strengthening the moral foundation should definitely be taken by our government.

Jyotiba Phule

He was also just like Sarawati in his views. He despised bifurcation of people on the basis of their birth which was prevalent and wanted merits of individual to stand out for progress of the society. His top priority was abolishing discrimination against untouchables and breaking the authority of Brahmans. For him English education was most important in eradicating class

¹² Published in 1875 and is also referred as the light of truth

divisions and to make awareness about the "step-motherly" treatment meted out to other nonbrahminical classes. He can be said as harbinger of Mahatma Gandhi in carrying out similar political and social changes.

2.4 DIFFERENT MOVEMENTS

The Backward Caste Movement:

Caste can be described as the "steel frame of Hinduism"¹³ and always been topic of conflict in the Indian society. The backward classes known as Dalits (dwija) has always suffered atrocities of other higher castes. Always given deprecating treatment, these people became aware of their rights when electoral politics came in1880s and influential upper class got the maximum representation. Two patterns can be seen in this revolt:

- One was undertaken by non-brahminical castes of west and south to obtain a say in the governmental and administrative matters. A more stronger kind of movement.
- The other is of Northern India which did not meet up to the expectations of parallel revolt which had occurred. The cause of this was that northern were backward themselves.

Thus this movement tried to shatter conventional mould and make a more balanced society.

Women's Movement

Woman has always been secondary in all fields of work in India. It was predicted that if Nation wanted to grow women should be given their rights. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Sraswati, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar were the founders to establish the dignity and importance of women. Interestingly the early movements were pioneered by males, however with growing momentum females came from their households to seek their position which they were entitled. This movement was inductive during Gadhian movement of non-violence were large female population gave their support. A new vigour and strength was inflicted in the nation's struggle. Subhash Chandra Bose contributed to this movement by establishing Mahila Rashtriya Sangh to promote woman's active participation in the freedom struggle. It also abolished "purdah" system, sati acts and took out the root causes of them and threw them from the society.

¹³ A.R Desai " Social Background of Indian Nationalism"

THE WAY WHICH OUR COUNTRY HAS TAKEN: A DEBATE YET TO BE CONCLUDED {IS INDIA ON THE RIGHT TRACK AS FAR AS POLITICAL THOUGHT IS

CONCERNED}

Summarizing the subject, India should adopt the good features from every theory whether west or within its community, but should always take care that too much of everything would spoil the function which the concept undertaken has to perform. India is divided by political parties who instead of solving the existing problems has added to the problems. Scandals, corruption, violence and communalism nature of people has taken our country to dogs. The progress which was required has not yet been achieved and where it is seen it hasn't reached the entire society.

Decay within political parties has made our country a stage for destructive clash where no one wins but the public loses. The concept of non-violence which was advocated by our Father of the Nation has eroded completely. In the past iota of civility was restored by Rajiv Gandhi after 1984 elections but it didn't materialize and after that no party has ventured in that area. In an article Rajiv Gandhi hinted that he was aware of the fact that his party had wretched internal conditions and this confession led to uproar as to how come a political figure be so blunt in expressing his views.¹⁴

The current situation has made us contemplate that whether adopting the western philosophy would enrich us but at what cost or whether seeking guidance from our history will be helpful at the cost of forgiving modernization. Or a third option that should we have a different concept which makes people supreme or the government supreme. All questions could be answered by proper reasoning and thinking. The thinking that Indians should adopt is that of unity, tolerance and humanity which has been adopted since creation of earth.

" Should India look West or within itself?"

¹⁴ Times of India, 1985 Delhi