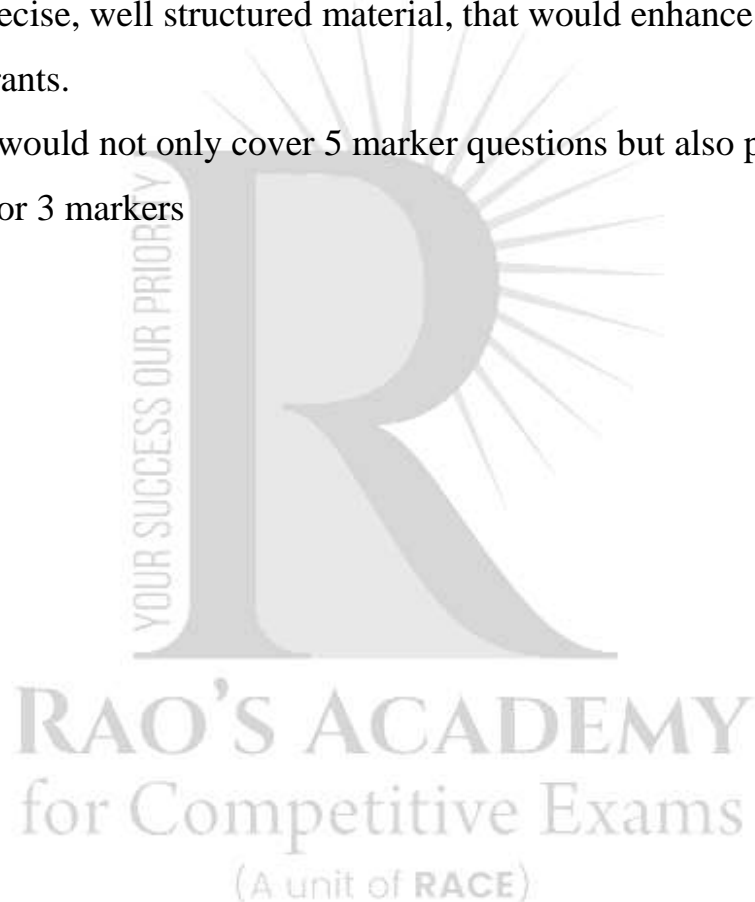


PAPER – 2 PART –A
UNIT – IV
INDIAN POLITICAL THINKER

1. Well Comprehensive material for 3 & 5 Markers.
2. Prayas KSG aims to provide answer of all the expected question from each unit of your syllabus.
3. This matter would cover all topics of this particular unit.
4. It is a very precise, well structured material, that would enhance the scoring ability of MPPSC aspirants.
5. The material would not only cover 5 marker questions but also provide relevant information for 3 markers



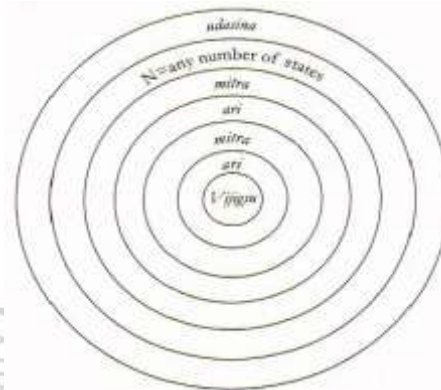
INDIAN POLITICAL THINKER KAUTILYA

1. **Before the emergence of the authority of the King the State of affairs is characterized by Maastya Nyaya? Explain in the view of Kautilya.**
 - In his view, before the emergence of the authority of the king the world was afflicted by anarchy. This state of affairs is characterized by the Maastya Naya, i.e., the law of fishes which concedes the prerogative of each fish to swallow a smaller fish, hence each fish is in the danger of being swallowed by a larger fish.
 - In the context of human beings, it meant that the strong was free to oppress the weak, hence everyone was afraid of the stronger one. There was no sense of security for anyone.
2. **Examine the purpose of Dandaniti identify by Kautilya?**
 - **Kautilya identified four purposes of Dandaniti:** (a) Acquisition of the unacquired; (b) Preservation of the acquired; (c) Augmentation of the preserved; and (d) Fair distribution of the augmented. Only a strong and disciplined prince could fully achieve these purposes. Politically Kautilya was the supporter of a strong monarchy and stable imperialist state. His state was to be paternal in character and benevolent in spirit. The main function of the state was to foster the material and spiritual progress. It was to regulate all branches of human life. It was to maintain the respective privileges of all and to protect them from the tyranny of more powerful sections. Kautilya regarded monarchy as the best human institution and also as the custodian of the national resources and public rights.
3. **Discuss the views of Kautilya on the Purusharthas?**
 - Kautilya went to the extent of claiming that of the four Purusharthas (principal objects of human life). Artha (material prosperity which was fostered by the state) was the most important.
 - He assigned the duty of maintenance of Dharma (religious order) to king himself. Kama (sensual enjoyments) could be attained only under a congenial atmosphere to be maintained by the state. And finally, Moksha (final liberation of soul) could be achieved only when the first three objects have been accomplished.
 - Thus, achievement of all the four principal objects of human life was dependent on the proper functioning of the state. In a nutshell, Kautilya sought to replace the primacy of religion prevailing in his times by advancing the claim of state sovereignty.
4. **Provide an explanation to the saptanga (Seven Organs) theory of the state?**
 - Kautilya has described the structure of the state in his saptanga or seven organs' theory of the state. It was not an original contribution of Kautilya, as *Manusmiriti* and some other earlier works contain references to this theory. According to this theory, the state is comprised of seven elements.
 - These elements are so closely connected with each other as if they are different organs of a single body; they are called 'organs' of the state.
 - The organs of a body like eyes, ears, hands, legs, etc, are not capable of independent existence, and the body too would become crippled or dead if these organs are removed. Similarly, the organs of the state cannot exist outside the state, and if any of these organs is destroyed, the state would become crippled or dead.
5. **Enlist the Seven Organs (Saptanga) as discussed in the Saptanga Theory?**
 1. Swami (the King himself) is equivalent to head in the body.

2. Amatya (the Minister) represents eyes of the state.
 3. Suhrid (the Friend or Ally) represents ears of the state.
 4. Kosha (the Treasure) is the mouth of the state.
 5. Sena (the Army) represents the brain of the state.
 6. Durga (the Fort) represents the arms of the state; and finally.
 7. Pura or Janapada (the Territory and the Population) represents legs of the state.
6. **Give a critical account of Kautilya's views on diplomacy and statecraft.**
- In Kautilya's political thought, diplomacy and statecraft have been built on the geographical and economic foundations of the state.
 - There was ample scope for building large states on the vast plains of India, yet in the absence of advanced means of transport and communication in ancient India, no central government could extend its control to far off territories.
 - That is why this country was divided into small state, and each state was tempted to annex its neighbouring states. Very strong kings aimed at the expansion of their kingdom while the less strong ones sought to maintain their independence by paying tribute to the stronger kings.
 - They not only remained autonomous in their internal administration but also received tributes from their vasals.
7. **Discuss the Upayas i.e. devices or expedients, deemed to be most reliable devices of diplomacy and statecraft.**
- (a) **Sama or Conciliation:** This policy should be adopted in dealing with a stronger king it would be impossible to defeat him in the battlefield.
 - (b) **Dana or Concession or Gift:** This policy would also be suitable for dealing with a stronger king in order to appease him;
 - (c) **Danda or the Use of Force:** This policy should be adopted for dealing with a weaker king to extract concessions from him by terrorizing him or defeating him in the battlefield and
 - (d) **Bheda or Sowing the Seeds of Dissension in one's enemy's camp** (also called the policy of 'divide and rule'): This policy should be adopted for dealing with several equally strong kings with a view to including them to destroy each other's strength.
8. **Examine the functions of the state/king according to Kautilya?**
- (1) **Protection of State and Society:** The state originated from the human instinct for security. Thus, the protection of life and property from internal conflict as well as external aggression became the foremost duty of the state.
 - (2) **Welfare of the Society:** Kautilya state was a welfare state, which aimed at a fully regulated life of citizens.
 - (3) **Upholding the Social Order:** The third function of the state was the protection of the "Dharma" of the land, within the sphere of which both the state and society moved. Preservation of 'Varnashramdharma' through the observance of Dharma (duty) was an important function of the king.
 - (4) **Enforcement of Swadharma:** The enforcing of 'Swadharma' (doing one's own duty) on the subject of the state by regulations in reared to the practices, loss of castes and orders according to the rules laid down in the Vedic literature.
9. **Explain the theory of Rajmandal (The Circle of States) provided by Kautilya?**
- Kautilya formulated a detailed theory of foreign policy and inter-state relations based on the maxim that a friend's friend is likely to be a friend and an enemy's friend an enemy. He laid down six basic principles of foreign policy, viz,

1. pursuit of resources by the *vijigsu* (the one desirous of conquest) for campaigns of victory.
2. elimination of enemies.
3. cultivation of allies and providing help to them.
4. prudence rather than foolhardy valour.
5. preference of peace to war
6. justice in victory as well as in defeat.

The theory of inter-state relations in the *Arthashastra* can be represented in a diagram as seen below:



A

10. Discuss the concept of governance according to Kautilya?

- According to Kautilya, to ensure good governance there must be a properly guided public administration, where the ruler should surrender his likes and dislikes in the interest of his subjects, and the personnel running the Government should be responsive and responsible.
- He states that “In the happiness of his subject’s lies the king’s happiness, in their welfare lays his welfare. He shall not consider as good as only that which pleases him but treat as beneficial to him whatever pleases his subjects”. This view of Kautilya’s displays his emphasis on good governance.

11. In what sense Kautilya is regarded the exponent of Arthashastra tradition of Indian political thought?

- Advent of Arthashastra implied that the pursuit of Artha could be treated as an end-in-itself rather than as an instrument of the pursuit of Dharma or any other type of Purushartha.
- So, before Kautilya the knowledge concerning the science of polity was lying scattered across several works. Moreover, this knowledge did not enjoy an independent status as it was subservient to the knowledge of Dharma. Kautilya was the first who sought to consolidate this knowledge and present it in the form of Arthashastra for the guidance of princes and statesmen.

MAHATMA GANDHI

12. If we have chosen a right end, it is imperative to adopt right means for its achievement. Explain Mahatma Gandhi’s views in the context of statement?

- Mahatma Gandhi does not approve of the use of unjust means under any circumstances whatsoever. Gandhi believed in purity of means as well as ends. He argued that only right means should be adopted for the pursuit of right ends. He strongly refuted the idea that ‘end justifies the means’ or that ‘if a noble end is achieved by adopting noble means, their use would be excused. As Gandhi himself observed:

Gandhi was convinced that *if we take care of our means, end will take care of itself.*

Means and ends may be compared to the seed and the tree respectively. The nature of tree is determined by the nature of seed. Only the right type of seed will grow into the right type of tree. As you sow, so shall you reap.

13. **Mahatma Gandhi opined that means and ends are the two sides of the same coin. They cannot be separated. Justify.**
 - Immoral means cannot be used to achieve moral ends. If used, they will vitiate the end itself. Wrong way can never lead to a right destination. The authority founded on fear and coercion cannot inspire love and respect among people.
 - Gandhi adopted the path of Satyagraha (reliance on the force of truth) for achieving the goal of Swaraj (independence from the foreign rule) because this path was as sacred as its destination. Satyagraha involved the practice of Ahimsa (non-violence) which embodied the right course of action. So Gandhi declared: "For me, Ahimsa comes before Swaraj."
14. **Discuss the Gandhiji's theory of relation between politics and Ethics?**
 - Gandhian principle of close connection between ends and means is further reflected in his theory of relation between politics and ethics. As a moral philosopher, Gandhi treated ethics as the guiding star of all human behavior, including politics. Gandhi's ethics was based on moral teachings of all religions, although he paid special attention to the time-honoured Hindu religion (Sanatana Dharma). He expressed his firm faith in the spiritualization of politics. This meant that if politics was to be a blessing, and not a curse to mankind, it should be informed by the highest ethical and spiritual principles. In other words, politics should be guided by high moral standards, and not by expediency.
15. **For Gandhi, the terms 'spiritual', 'religious' and 'moral or ethical' conveyed the same idea. Examine.**
 - They taught man to abstain from vice and follow the path of virtue. In Gandhi's view, the essence of all religions was identical. God of Hindus was not different from God of Muslims or God of Christians. All religions taught piety and charity toward fellow-beings. No religion was superior or inferior to any other religion. Religious tolerance was the keynote of social harmony.
 - For Gandhi, adherence to religions was the part of his pursuit of truth. This very pursuit induced him to participate in politics.
 - Gandhi never took the term 'religion' in a narrow sense. In his view, teachings of all religions urged on man to follow the path of self-restraint and compassion toward fellow-being, extending to all humanity. They coincide with the universal principles of morality.
16. **Discuss the principal of spiritualization of politics followed by Mahatma Gandhi?**
 - This principle implied a combination of high moral character with the practice of politics- a difficult combination indeed. According to this view, politics should not be treated as a source of material gain but as an instrument of moral uplift; not as a source of power over others, but as a source of power to create congenial conditions for the masses and to elevate moral character of the *elites*.
 - In short, politics and ethics were inseparable in Gandhian system of thought. He was hailed as a saint who had entered politics. But he defined his own position differently.
 - Men say that I am a saint losing myself in politics. The fact is that I am a politician trying my hardest to be a saint.
17. **Discuss the meaning of Non-violence from the views of Mahatma Gandhi?**
 - Non-violence is also part of the pursuit of truth. Non-violence or non-injury (Ahimsa)

literally means: abstention from violence in one's behavior toward other living beings. This represents only the negative side of non-violence. On positive side, it implies love of all. We should extend our love not only to those who love us, but also to those who hate us. In Gandhi's own words:

- It is non-violence only when we love those that hate us. I know how difficult it is to follow this grand law of love. But are not all great and good things difficult to do? Love of the hater is the most difficult of all. But by the grace of God even this most difficult thing becomes easy to accomplish if we want to do it.

18. According to Mahatma Gandhi Non-violence is the art of gaining victory over physical force by spiritual force? Elaborate.

- When it comes to confrontation with injustice, non-violence does not imply showing weakness. Non-violence is not the resort of the weak; it is the power of the strong-of course, his moral power. This power comes from the firm adherence to truth. When one fights for a just cause, and shows firm faith in truth, it results in the 'change of heart' of the mighty opponent and makes him bend. In short, *non-violence is the art of gaining victory over physical force by spiritual force*. Non-violence is the method of self-purification. Practitioner of non-violence gains ample moral power to defeat the forces of untruth.

19. In Gandhi's view, non-violence and cowardice go ill together. Examine?

- A person who carries arms for his defence does so out of fear, if not out of cowardice. True non-violence is impossible without having unadulterated fearlessness. There is hope for a violent man to be some day non-violent, but there is none for a coward. Non-violence taught a person to be brave, and not to escape from his duty.
- Gandhain principle of non-violence did not admit of running away from danger and leaving dear ones unprotected. Between violence and cowardly flight, he would prefer violence to cowardice. Preaching non-violence to a coward was like asking a blind man to enjoy beautiful scenes. There was no difficulty in demonstrating the superiority of non-violence to those who were trained in the school of violence. On the other hand, non-violence could not be taught to a person who fears to die and has no power of resistance.

20. Write a note on the Gandhi's observation on the power of modern state as compare to Ancient and Medieval states?

- Gandhi observed that modern state was more powerful than ancient and medieval states as it was more organized and more centralized. Power of the state was concentrated in the hands of the few who did not hesitate to misuse it. In Gandhi's view, individual is endowed with soul, but the state is a soulless machine. State's acts are devoid of human sensitivity. State goes by rules and regulations. Those who enforce these rules do not feel any moral responsibility.

21. Discuss the concept of Enlightened Anarchy of Mahatma Gandhi?

- Enlightened Anarchy refers to a form of society which functions without the coercive power of the state, because individuals have full control over themselves. They are so sensitive to the needs and feelings of everyone that they tend to adjust with each other spontaneously and without friction.
- To him political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulates, no representation becomes necessary. There is then a state of enlightened anarchy. In such a State everyone is his own ruler. He rules himself in such a manner that he is never a hindrance to his neighbour. In the ideal State,

therefore, there is no political power because there is no State. But the ideal is never fully realized in life. Hence the classical statement of Thoreau that government is best which governs the least.

22. What do you understand by Political Obligation? Also discuss limits of political obligation?

- Political obligation refers to the set of conditions which determine as to how far, when and why an individual is obliged to obey the law and commands of political authority. This may be accompanied by such duties as the payment of taxes, participation in voting. Jury service and military duty etc. Which are considered to be necessary for the maintenance of political institutions?
- Gandhi recognized severe limits of political obligation, as his principle of 'civil disobedience' indicates. Civil disobedience implies deliberately disobeying an unjust authority and breaking an unjust law. The duty of civil disobedience to an unjust law is the counterpart of the duty of civil obedience to a just law. Civil disobedience may be resorted to as a protest against an unjust policy of government or in order to draw attention of the government to a demand for political reform.

23. Discuss the meaning of Swaraj according to Mahatma Gandhi?

- Gandhi argued that *Swaraj* did not simply mean political independence from the foreign rule; it also implied the idea of cultural and moral independence. If a country is politically independent but culturally dependent on others for choosing its course of action, it would be devoid of *Swaraj*. *Swaraj* does not close the doors of learning from others, but it required confidence in one's own potential and decisions. Gandhi thought of *Swaraj* as a system in which all people will have a natural affinity with their country and they will readily collaborate in the task of nation-building.

24. Explain the concept Satyagraha introduced by Gandhiji?

- Satyagraha refers to the Gandhian technique of fighting against injustice. This non-violent technique of protest was introduced by Gandhi during his sojourn in South Africa (1893-1914) in the course of fighting against injustice perpetrated by the then Government of South Africa on the resident Indians and other non-white people. In *Hind Swaraj* (1910),
- Gandhi defined *Satyagraha* as "a method of securing rights by personal suffering: it is the reverse of resistance by arms. When I refuse to do a thing that is repugnant to my conscience, I use soul force. It involves sacrifice of self." In short, Gandhi conceived *Satyagraha* as the method of using 'soul force' against 'brute force' through 'self-suffering' that would secure 'change of heart' of the opponent who would then be forced to depart from the path of injustice.

25. Write a note on the concept of Sarvodaya?

- Sarvodaya refers to the goal of social reconstruction in Gandhian thought. The term 'Sarvodaya' may be rendered as 'uplift' of all 'rise of all' or 'awakening of all'. All the meanings of this term closely correspond to each other. In a society where only the few are endowed with knowledge, power, prestige and wealth, and very large numbers are languishing, Sarvodaya wants them to rise above. But since it believes in uplift of all, it does not envisage a conflict between the high and the low, between the rich and the poor. As a votary of purity of means as well as end, Gandhi was convinced that violent means cannot be used to achieve a non-violent end.
- The ideal of Sarvodaya is concerned with 'welfare of all', yet it implies special concern with

the welfare of the down-trodden or 'the most disadvantaged.

26. Discuss the concept of Sarvodaya in comparison with Utilitarianism in the view of Gandhiji?

- Gandhian concept of Sarvodaya rejects the utilitarian doctrine of the 'greatest good of the greatest number' in favour of the 'greatest good all'. As Gandhi asserted:
 - I do not believe in the doctrine of the greatest good of the greatest number. It means in its nakedness that in order to achieve the supposed good of 51 percent the interest of 49 percent may be, or rather, should be sacrificed. It is a heartless doctrine and has done harm to humanity.
- In any case, utilitarian philosophy could not rise above the concept of material welfare of human beings. It did not enter the sphere of spiritual welfare of those who are materially well off. On the other hand, the principle of *Sarvodaya* seeks to secure the spiritual as well as material welfare of humanity.

27. How the Gandhian concept of Sarvodaya is different from socialism?

- Socialism stands for an ideology which seeks to replace capitalism by placing the major means of production under social ownership and control. Its chief goal is to secure emancipation of the working classes from capitalist exploitation. It is primarily concerned with material welfare of people.
- *Sarvodaya* is different from socialism in many respects. In the first place, *Sarvodaya* is not concerned merely with material welfare; it embraces spiritual welfare as well. Secondly, it does not seek to replace capitalism forthwith by placing all major means of production under social ownership and control. It neither supports a violent revolution nor democratic propaganda to achieve its goal. Instead, it relies on moral transformation by seeking 'change of heart' of the existing land-owners and capitalist so that they would treat themselves as trustees of the property.

28. Provide an explanation about Doctrine of Trusteeship of Gandhiji?

- Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship is addressed to the conscience of the rich and resourceful members of society, particularly landlords and capitalists. It urges them not to consider themselves as the sole proprietors of their possessions, but only 'trustees' of a gift bestowed upon them by God for the service of humanity. This view is in consonance with the basic philosophy of Gandhi. His principle of non-possession (*aparigraha*) implies that worldly possessions make you morally deprave. Hence one should not take more than his immediate needs. To maintain one's moral strength, material things should be used with a spirit of renunciation.

29. Throw light upon Gandhain Vision of Ideal Social Order?

- Gandhi variously described his ideal social order as *Swaraj* (Self-government), *Poorna Swaraj* (Complete self-government), *Ramrajya* (replica of the Kingdom of Lord Rama), or simply as India of the future. Obviously his vision of an ideal social order was concerned with the future of India, welfare of its people, and preparing them for the service of humanity. He did not produce a full picture of this social order at one place.
 - Gandhian vision does not envisage an 'ideal state' because he was in principle against the institution of the State. In his view, the State symbolized the power of coercion in society and this would hinder the moral development of the individual. That is why he sought to build the image of a 'social order' and not of the state.

30. Describe the guiding principles of Gandhian social order?

- It should be based on *Ahimsa*, that is the attitude of non-violence between the mutual dealings of individuals as well as between individuals and the administrators of this social order.
- It should recognize the dignity of individual and have full faith in his or her moral potential; it should help him or her to recover and develop his or her moral and social powers which have been surrendered to the State at present.
- It should dismantle the existing system of centralization of powers in the State, and create strong and vibrant local communities to ensure decentralization of powers; and finally.
- It should facilitate the regeneration of Indian society and culture by reviving its moral and spiritual traditions.

31. Highlight the view of Gandhiji on Panchayats?

- He envisaged the existence of a central government in his scheme of the future social order, that would cultivate a sense of nationhood among the small, cultured and well-organised self-governing village communities. The affairs of these communities were to be managed by Panchayat (village councils) consisting of five persons to be elected annually.
- Each Panchayat would have legislative, executive and judicial powers, but it would largely rely on its moral authority and the pressure of public opinion in order to maintain harmony and order in society. Gandhi earnestly hoped that the institution of Panchayat would instill the spirit of cooperation among people and function as a nursery of civic virtues.

32. Enumerate the Characteristics of Gandhian ideal social order?

- Each tier of government to enjoy considerable autonomy and show a strong sense of community.
- Central Government would be strong enough to hold all tiers of government together.
- Each province would be free to draw up its own Constitution to suit local requirements.
- No outer circle would wield extraordinary power over any inner circle.

33. Provide a comparative Study of Marxian and Gandhian views on Socio-Political Issues?

□ Marx suggested social ownership of means of social production for the creation of a classless society. Gandhi enunciated the principle of 'trusteeship' which required 'change of heart' of capitalists and landlords to regard their business and industry as a trust of the people, and not as their private possession. Marx saw the State as an instrument of the dominant class, and hoped that in a classless society, State and political power would become redundant' hence a stateless society would come into existence.

- Marx wanted full development of technology and forces of production so that everybody's needs could be satisfied. On the contrary, Gandhi wanted replacement of huge machinery by human labour to provide for jobs to the teeming millions, limiting one's needs to the minimum, and elevation of human character. Under these conditions external force to regulate their behavior would no longer be necessary; hence a 'stateless' society would become a reality. Marx believed in 'scientific socialism' Gandhi professed the mission Sarvodaya (uplift of all).

JAWARHAR LAL NEHRU

34. Throw light on Nehru's vision of science for Social Reconstruction in India?

- Nehru commended science and scientific temper for social reconstruction in India. He insisted that Indians should develop scientific temper in order to avail themselves of the

benefits of scientific knowledge and its application in the form of new technology. As the first Prime Minister of independent India, he set up several scientific laboratories and industrial establishments. He described them as the 'temples' of modern India. In his message Nehru observed.

- It was science along that could solve the problems of hunger and poverty, of insanitation and illiteracy, of superstition and deadening custom and tradition, of vast resources running to waste, of a rich country inhabited by starving people.

35. Highlight major themes of Nehru's vision on science for human emancipation?

- Science must serve the common people. It must help to solve their material problems like food and other basic necessities of life.
- The scientific way of thinking and the scientific temper should spread to all spheres including politics.
- Science should tackle the larger human problems-social, economic, psychological etc; and finally.
- Science should be tempered with wisdom. It must pay attention to the spiritual side of man.

36. Discuss the Nehru's Idea of Nationalism?

Nehru's nationalism was inspired by its historical foundations. As he observed:

- Nationalism is essentially a group memory of past achievements, traditions and experiences, and nationalism is stronger today than it has ever been. Whenever a crisis has arisen nationalism has emerged again and dominated the scene, and people have sought comfort and strength in their old traditions. One of the remarkable developments of the present age has been the rediscovery of the past and of the nation.
- However, in another context Nehru warned that feeling proud of the heritage and achievements of one's nation's should not be accompanied by disdain for other nations. He argued that it would be a folly to discard or deprecate other nations in the name of nationalism. The slogan of 'My nation-right or wrong' represents a distorted view of nationalism. National prejudice often comes in the way of our judgment when we forget to discriminate between right and wrong.

37. Nehru's Nationalism was strongly influenced by the idea of 'synthetic universalism' as evolved by Rabindranath Tagore.

- Genuine nationalism requires that all nations should follow the path of justice and morality, and all nations should strive to make due contribution to the progress of humanity. If different nations come together and try to learn constructively from each other's legacy, each of them would be a gainer, and all of them would be contribution to building a humanist world order. In this respect, 'Nehru's Nationalism was strongly influenced by the idea of 'synthetic universalism' as evolved by Rabindranath Tagore.

38. Nehru was an ardent champion of the Indian view of secularism. Examine?

- In a multi-religious society like India, Nehru defined secular state as a state that protects all religions but does not favour any one at the expense of the other. It does not adopt any religions as the state religion. During independence movement of India, Nehru drafted Congress Resolution on Fundamental Rights (1931) which stated that the state should observed neutrality in regard to all religions.
- After independence of India when the Indian Constitution (1950) had been in force for over a decade, Nehru observed in an important speech (1961).
- We have laid down in our Constitution that India is a secular State. That does not mean irreligion. It means equal respect for all faiths and equal opportunities for those who profess

any faith.

- Nehru did not conceive secularism as indifference to religion. He believed in a broader vision of religion which infused a moral spirit into the people of India. However, he always insisted on liberating religion from the shackles of blind faith, dogma and bigotry.

39. Highlight the views of Nehru on the causes behind the difference in economic status Hindus and Muslims?

- Nehru gave a penetrating analysis of Hindu-Muslim tension that was prevalent in pre-independence India. He observed that people were not rich or poor because they were Hindus or Muslims respectively. The difference in their economic status was the product of historical factors.
- Hindus turned to English education which was a passport to government service and the professions. On the other hand, most of the weavers who had gone to the wall on account of destruction of the Indian industries by the British, were Muslims.
- In Bengal, which had the biggest Muslim population of any Indian province during those days, they were poor tenants or small land-holders. The landlord was usually a Hindu, and so was the village bania (the trader), who was the money-lender and the owner of the village store. The landlord and the bania were thus in a position to oppress the tenant and exploit him, and they took full advantage of this position. This was the reason why Hindus became rich and Muslims remained poor.

40. Discuss the Nehru's view on Socialism?

- In other words, Nehru sought to modify the tenets of Marxism so as to accommodate the provision of civil liberties with the goal of socialism.
- Nehru....saw himself a libertarian Marxist, and his idea of socialism encompassed at every stage a large and irreducible measure of civil liberty. One could have neither democracy nor socialism without the other; in fact, each thrived on the other. Nehru rejected any mechanical view of human nature and looked forward to a socialist society which, by removing economic and social obstacles and inhibitions, would provide greater scope for individual freedom.

41. Nehru believed that political democracy would never turn out to be a real democracy unless it met the socialist objective of reducing economic inequalities. Comment?

- During his speech in Parliament in 1952, Nehru observed:
If there is economic inequality in the country, all the political democracy and all the adult suffrage in the world cannot bring about real democracy. Therefore, your objective must be to put an end to all differences between class and class, to bring about more equality and a more unitary society- in other words, to strive for economic democracy. We have to think in terms of ultimately developing into a classless society.

42. Up to what extent Nehru was impressed by Marxist thought?

- Nehru was impressed by Marxist thought but he could not accept it in its entirety because of his intense love of liberty. He accepted the Marxist analysis of the past but he was not convinced by the Marxist projection of the future. His commitment to civil liberties prevented him from accepting the idea of 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. He eulogized only that form of socialism which not only protected but nourished individual freedom. Way back in 1939, he wrote in a letter to Subhas Chandra Bose.

I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist, and intellectually a socialist.....I hope that socialism does not kill or suppress individuality; indeed I am attracted to it because it will release innumerable individuals from economic and cultural bondage.

43. Enumerate the Nehru's Panchsheel Principle?

- He formulated five principles of **Panchsheel** in **1954** with the Prime Minister of China to determine the mutual relations and behavior of nations. **The Five Principles are as follows:**
 1. Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty.
 2. Non-aggression against each other.
 3. Non-interference in each other's internal affairs.
 4. Equality and mutual benefit.
 5. Peaceful co-existence.

44. Throw light on Nehru's thought on Parliamentary System?

- Nehru thought the parliamentary system was the most appropriate among the various forms of democratic governance. The interest of minorities are also more secure in this.
- Nehru was familiar with the short coming and evils of the democratic system, but he firmly believed that the evils of democracy were not ones that could not be overcome. There is no doubt in the successful operation of democracy if the condition of economic equality, proper education system and excellent moral character can be adopted.

45. Explain Nehru's view on communalism in India?

- Nehru was deeply disgusted by the communalism sentiment. He considered the foreign rule in India and the prevailing ignorance and economic deprivation among the people as the root cause of communalism.
- He expressed that foreign rulers gave the seeds of communalism in order to strengthen the basic unity of the people of India to strengthen their hegemony in India.
- He said that communalism leaders were, in fact, opposed to communal harmony in order to maintain their supremacy and thus were the biggest hurdles in the path of social, economic and political changes by promoting bigotry and conservatism.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

46. Examine Sardar Patel's view about democracy and role of discipline in Success of Democracy?

- Sardar Patel had full faith in democracy, Regarding democracy. Sardar's statement was. "If the people have power, they will get whatever they need. If the people feel that injustice is being done to them, they can take the path of abandonment even to self- government."
 He also believed that discipline is essential for the success of democracy. Sardar Patel keeps not only the ruled but also the ruler under discipline. He himself never did the task of dissolving discipline in his entire political life and he dealt harshly with whoever did the work of dissolving the discipline.

47. Sardar Patel's was an advocate of Freedom of Expression. Justify?

- As the **Chairman of the Committee on Fundamental Rights** in the **Constituent Assembly**, Sardar has given the first freedom of thought and expression in the six freedoms mentioned in **Article 19**.
- His view of freedom was that this freedom should not be taken on a negative basis but on a positive basis. He said that "There is a difference of ground and sky in the religion and work of the newspapers in the time of independence and today. The writing of a responsible journalist can have a huge impact on the public. As much as it affects goodness it can be equally evil. Therefore, newspapers should share their hands in the construction of the country and do not do anything that would harm the nation.

48. Highlight Sardar Patel's view on non-violence and satyagraha?

- He wanted to achieve their goals from the path of Satyagraha itself. Therefore, after coming to power, he stressed the need for such laws, in which criminals have more opportunity to improve than punishments. Therefore, he supported corrective punishment.
- According to Sardar Patel- Friendship is not as much as punishment is done. The support of law should be taken to a minimum. We have power. No one should have any indifference due to the executive of this power. If we do not work in this manner, we will not be able to digest power. Regarding the use of power by the Sardar, he said that the government should use the power at the time when it is necessary for reform or public interest, otherwise it will not succeed.

49. Sardar Patel considered small state as a hindrance in development. Explain

- Sardar Patel unified the native princely states after independence. He felt that these small states are a hindrance in the development of the nation and that these states formed on linguistic and geographical basis are detrimental to the unity and integrity of the country.
 - He was against this type of regionalism. For this reason he opposed the segregation of Tamil Nadu from Andhra Pradesh and was also positively opposed to the segregation of the state of Gujarat from Maharashtra.

50. Democracy to Patel had wider meaning. Examine.

- According to Sardar Patel a democratic system where democratic governance would prevail and a democratic value system where the high spirit of democratic ideals would dominate. He believed that it is only through democratic practices that people can find greater space in the decision-making process and with the people, restructuring and modernization of the society would be possible.
- For this reason, he wanted to accord high priority to an alert and enlightened public opinion. He held, among other issues, that public opinion should act as the mechanism of eternal vigilance which could ensure liberty of the people. That is why; he was all in favour of the freedom of the press. He also held that the freedom of the press must be in terms with national aspirations and above all, with the high ideals of nationalism.

51. Discuss Sardar Patel's vision on survival of democratic governance and integrated India.

- He was of the opinion that the history of democratic governance all over the world would suggest that a democracy can survive and achieve its goal if it is backed by stability which would provide the solid foundation for sustained development and progress.
- The primary aim, therefore, was to achieve that stability which was the surest foundation of progress. In this process, he also emphasized the role of a strong opposition and the achievement of progress would be possible when there would be unity of purpose, unity of aims and unity of endeavour.
- To him, negotiation, persuasion and accommodation are the three basic components of a stable democratic order. He stood for an integrated India and the way, he brought the erstwhile princely states shows his firm commitment to this idea.

52. Sardar was a true believer of the conception of pluralism. Comment

- He wanted to maintain the integrity of country without any kinds of caste, class, religion and regional considerations. In fact, Sardar Patel wanted to create a democratic pluralistic society with the base of 'unity and integrity'.
53. Sardar Patel was convinced that the future of India lay in consolidation, not in disintegration in the name of language or religion. He thought the nation to be a cohesive unit, changed the complexion of India by merging the small independent states into administratively viable units and brought about a new wave of nationalism. He did not want this **spirit** to be lots of fostering new divisionary forces. That is why he deeply concentrated crucial issues when our constitution developed. Why Sardar Patel is called 'The Iron Man of India'?
- A charismatic leader who spoke straight from his heart, respected the opinion of those who disagreed with him – Sardar Patel, strongly believed in the unity of Indians who fought the British together and their ability to progress from 'Swarajya' to 'Surajya'. He was a staunch believer in equality, stood for women empowerment and self-sufficiency through rapid industrialization.
54. **Compare Sardar Patel's political approach with other national leaders of his time.**
- In the crucial debate over the objectives of the Indian National Congress during the years 1928 to 1931, Patel believed (like Gandhi and Motilal Nehru, but unlike Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose) that the goal of the Indian National Congress should be dominion status within the British Commonwealth—not independence.
 - In contrast to Jawaharlal Nehru, who condoned violence in the struggle for independence, Patel ruled out armed revolution, not on moral but on practical grounds. Patel held that it would be abortive and would entail severe repression. Patel, like Gandhi, saw advantages in the future participation of a free India in a British Commonwealth, provided that India was admitted as an equal member.

RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

55. **Why Lohia is hailed as a champion of social justice?**
- In post-independence Indian politics, Lohia came into prominence for his stand on three controversial issues:
 - (a) He sought to mobilize all backward castes of India in order to defeat the Indian National Congress in elections;
 - (b) He pleaded for affirmative action for backward castes, redefined as other backward classes (OBCs); and
 - (c) He campaigned to 'Banish English' from India in order to pave the way for flourishing of Indian languages. Lohia's stand on all these issues was designed to smash the bastion of dominance of the *elites*, that is the chosen few (who claim to be more capable or talented) in Indian society and politics. That is why Lohia is hailed by his followers as a champion of social justice.
56. **Write the analysis provided by Lohia about Indian Social Structure?**
- Lohia argued that the adherents of Marxism in India were inclined to analyse the India society and to seek the solution of its problems in terms of class-structure. He drew their attention to the fact that Indian society was still a caste-ridden society where class-structure in the Marxian sense had not been established.
 - Its problems should be understood and analysed in terms of caste structure which was a heritage of feudalism. It was necessary, in the first place, to smash the caste structure in India in order to pave the way for the emergence of class structure, and its

transition to socialism. Lohia believed that an effective dent in the caste structure could be made through awakening and emancipation of the backward castes.

57. Discuss two Principles of Historical Change postulated by Lohia?

- ***The struggle among various societies for supremacy in terms of power and prosperity:*** In this respect history moves like a cycle because no society can stay at the top forever. Throughout the history the centre of power and prosperity has shifted from one region of the world to another; and
- ***The struggle among various divisions within every society:*** In every society two types of social divisions, namely 'class' and 'caste' constantly tend to shift their position. Class permits social mobility. It allows people to move to higher or lower position. Caste, on the other hand, does not permit social mobility. It makes individuals freeze in their social position in which they are born. Caste system operates in vicious circle: the restricted opportunities available to the people tend to limit their abilities, which in turn further restrict the opportunities available to them, and so on. In a word, caste is the symptom of a stagnant social hierarchy. Internal organization of every society oscillates between class and caste.

58. Throw light on Lohia's Asian Context on Socialism?

- He exhorted the socialists of Asia to mould their policies in the light of typical conditions of this continent. Civilization in this region has emerged after centuries of old despotism and feudalism. Politics in Asia is a mixture of rigid dogmas and political conventions which give rise to narrow-mindedness and communalism. In the absence of any stable tradition of democratic politics, often terror and assassinations become the part of politics.
- According to Lohia, the development of bureaucracy and technocracy has given rise to a new class which has further complicated the politics of this region. Its outcome is the rise of a style of leadership which resorts to verbosity and playing with sentiments of people to maintain itself in power. Socialists in Asia will have to fight against all these evils. *They will have to evolve an original and wide-ranging social philosophy that could remedy the typical ills of Asian Society.*

59. Elaborate upon the problems of democracy in India as analysed by Lohia?

- Lohia realized that the form of democracy prevailing in the West was not suitable for solving the problems of India. True democracy calls for people's participation in the political processes and this in turn requires widespread decentralization. Lohia warned that mere creation of a Parliament in a country does not make it democratic. Democracy shall be meaningful only when it is accepted as a way of life.
- *In a country like India, true democracy can be established only when citizens can play an active role in public life so that wherever they come across injustice, they could raise their voice against it.* This view of Lohia echoes the concept of Swaraj enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948).

60. Describe the Lohia's concept of Four Pillar's state to solve the problem of Democracy?

- Lohia wanted to replace parliamentary democracy by a decentralized system described by him as the 'four-pillar's state. In his *Fragments of World Mind* (1965). Lohia argued that when the structure of the state will be raised on four pillars, namely village, district, province and centre, and all of them will be armed with equal authority, only then democracy will become able to strengthen the ordinary people.
- Illustrating the metaphor of four pillars, Lohia argued that the four pillars which are

independent of each other lend support to the same roof, so this arrangement will create harmony between the contradictory notions of centralization and decentralization. Thus the four autonomous organs of administration, namely village, district, province and centre, will be linked with each other by the principle of functional federalism.

61. Lohia believed that his scheme of 'four-pillar's state would meet the requirements of socialism as well as democracy. Elaborate?

- Lohia pointed out that the distribution of power between Centre, State and local administration under the current form of federalism does not conform to the concept of decentralized democracy. It facilitates the function of governance, but does not promote citizens' adequate participation in governance.
- He argued that social ownership and control over the means of production should be established in consonance with the needs of decentralization, with full protection of human rights which are the bedrock of equality. Equality is the keynote of democracy. Liberal democracy of the West and communism of the East have failed to attain this goal. In order to establish true democracy, we must ensure citizens' maximum participation in governance through the mechanism of decentralization.

62. Enumerate Seven Types of Revolution given by Lohia to secure comprehensive social transformation?

1. Revolution against economic injustice
2. Revolution against caste system.
3. Revolution against gender inequality.
4. Nationalist revolution against imperialism.
5. Revolution against colour discrimination.
6. Revolution for individual rights against collectivity.
7. Procedural revolution of non-violent civil disobedience.

63. Examine the objectives of Lohia's seven type of Revolution?

- Lohia sought to widen the scope of his socialism and democracy by advancing a scheme of thorough-going transformation of the prevailing state of affairs. He does not confine himself to the removal of economic inequalities, but wants to fight against all forms of injustice prevalent in society.
- In short, Lohia was looking forward to a new social order where economic inequalities shall be eliminated; where opportunities of self-development shall not be restricted by birth; where women will have the same opportunities of growth as men; where forces of imperialism and new forms of imperialism shall not be allowed to stand in the way of national independence of people; where aesthetic standards will not be determined by colour of the skin, that is where white races will not be treated as naturally superior to non-white races; where rights of the individuals shall not be treated as subsidiary to the choice of the collectivity; and finally, where reason and moral courage, instead of weapons of mass destruction, shall be treated as the symbol of power.

64. Lohia stood for Gandhian method of decentralization of economic and political power? Examine

- After analyzing the current economic systems, Lohia realized that capitalist as well as communist system were unsuitable for two-third population of the world. Under both these system, huge machines are used for mass production. This results in the concentration of

economic as well as political power and the suppression of individual freedom. In Asian countries, it would be necessary to promote cottage industries based on the use of small machines in order to ensure full utilization of their labour force.

Dr. BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR

65. Explain meaning of democracy as visualized by Dr. Ambedkar?

- Dr. Ambedkar was a strong votary of democracy and constitutional method. He wanted to establish true democracy in India which was conceived as political democracy combined with social and economic democracy.
- He defined democracy as a way of life based on liberty, equality, fraternity, justice and human dignity. He realized that introduction of democracy in India in its conventional form would not be compatible with social justice. So he did not want to place the untouchables under majority rule without any constitutional guarantee for the protection of their rights. They could benefit from the freedom of the country only if their rights (i.e. the rights of the Scheduled Castes) were embodied in the Constitution of free India.

66. Describe the type of Political Executive in India, that is favoured by Ambedkar?

- Dr. Ambedkar did not favour the adoption of British type executive in India because the majority in British Parliament was a political majority but the majority in India was a communal majority. In his *State and Minorities: What Are Their Rights and How to Secure Them in The Constitution of India* (1947), Ambedkar outlined his theory of democratic based on the concept of checks and balances:
 1. It should prevent the majority from forming a government without giving an opportunity to the minorities to have a say in the matter.
 2. It should prevent the inclusion of those members of minorities, who lack confidence of the minorities themselves, in the executive represented by the majority party.
 3. It should prevent the majority from having such executive control over administration which could pave the way for the tyranny of majority; and finally.
 4. It should provide for a stable executive necessary for good and efficient administration.

67. Describe the Aim of State defined by Dr. Ambedkar?

- 1. To maintain the right of every citizen to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness and to free speech and free exercise of religion.
- 2. To remove social, political and economic inequality by providing better opportunities to the submerged classes; and
- 3. To make it possible for every citizen to enjoy freedom from want and freedom from fear.
- In consonance with his commitment to social justice, Ambedkar stood for a State which guaranteed protection against persecution of one community by another besides protecting against internal disturbances, violences and disorder in any part of its territory.

68. Highlight the conditions that must be maintained in a country if democracy were to be protected Dr. Ambedkar?

1. We must hold faith to the constitutional method of achieving our social and economic objectives unless the departure from this method became absolutely essential and inevitable.
2. We must not lay our liberty at the feet of great men for *no man could be grateful at the cost of his honour; no woman could be grateful at the cost of its independence*; and finally.
3. We must convert our political democracy into social democracy,

i.e. a way of life which recognized liberty, equality and fraternity as its basic principles.

- 69. Why during the course of constitution-making Ambedkar threw his weight on the side of unitary Principle?**
- During the course of constitution-making Ambedkar threw his weight on the side of unitary Principle in the interest of the unity and integrity of the nation. In the face of a lot of sentimental, revivalist talk of the glories of the Panchyati Raj, he retorted: "These village republics have been the ruination of India. What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism? I am glad that the draft constitution has discarded the village and adopted the individual as the unit."
- 70. Analyze the differences in method adopted by Dr. Ambedkar and Mahatma Gandhi to eradicate untouchability in India?**
- Ambedkar differed him in regard to the method of achieving this objective. Gandhi coined the word "Harijans" (Children of God) to describe the 'untouchables' in order to underline the value of their service to humanity and to develop a soft corner for them in the high castes.
 - However, Ambedkar insisted on calling them 'Untouchables' the Depressed Classes' (Dalits) or 'the Scheduled Castes' to focus on their inherited social plight. He maintained that soothing names and soft palliatives will hardly serve any purpose: "They forgot that whitewashing does not save a dilapidated house. You must pull it down and build a new".
- 71. Discuss the recommendations provided by Dr. Ambedkar to establish social justice by replacing the caste system?**
1. The untouchables should dissociate themselves from the traditional bonds of untouchables status. They should refuse to do traditional untouchable work, such as dragging of dead cattle out of the village, and also stop drinking bad liquor and eating beef which was the symbol of their untouchable status.
 2. The untouchables should try to restore their self-respect and pride. They should become educated and professionally qualified. They should shed their inferiority complex; migrate to larger cities where professional status instead of inborn status is largely respected, take up modern professions and transform themselves to fit into the modern civilization.
 3. The untouchables should be represented at all levels of Government by their own representative. Ambedkar was convinced that the leadership of the untouchables should emerge from the untouchables themselves.
 4. The Government should take responsibility for the welfare of all its people, creating special rights for those to whom society had denied education and occupational opportunities. The untouchables should have recourse to legal channels for the protection of their rights; and finally.
- 72. Examine the Role of State as provided by Dr. Ambedkar?**
- B.R. Ambedkar liberalized the purpose and rationale of the existence of the state. He considered the state as an indispensable and useful institution. But he also believed that the power of the state could not be considered unlimited and indefinite.
 - B.R. Ambedkar expected the state to ensure that the ideals of equality, freedom and fraternity in the society can be established, without making any possible encroachment in the area of the rights of the individual.
 - He was of the view that the primary responsibility of the state is to provide security to the people and to create such a system in which all the people can take advantage of the boons of freedom.

- B.R.Ambedkar is of the view that the state, apart from fulfilling its obligations to protect the life, property and dignity of the people justifies its existence only by properly ensuring the equitable claims of all sections of society in social and economic fields and it is on these grounds that he earns the natural obedience of the citizens.

73. Write a note on Dr. Ambedkar's view on democracy?

- He defined democracy as “ a system of governance through which revolutionary changes can be brought about in the social and economic life of the people without any blood pressure.
- According to him, the real democracy is where the participation of all sections of the people in the power of governance can be ensured. Thus, in his opinion, social democracy is a precondition of political democracy.
- B.R.Ambedkar termed the definitions made by Western scholars of democracy as incomplete and unclear. He was of the view that Western scholars have often defined democracy as a method of governance in which the power of governance is believed to be inherent in the public, in the hands of elected representatives of the people and in principle.

74. Enumerate Essential Conditions for the Success of Democracy emphasized by Dr. Ambedkar.

- Establishment of Social Democracy
- Multi-Party System and Competent Opposition
- Political Neutrality of Administration
- A restriction on the Autocracy of the Majority
- Adherence to Constitutional Ethics
- Awareness of Public Opinion.

DEENDAYAL UPADHYAY

75. How did Pandit Deendayal Upadhyay defined Nation?

- In his words, “when a human community has a vow, thought or ideal and that community views a particular land in a maternal way, it is called a nation.” Deendayal made it clear that will the elements included in the above definition are mandatory to the nation. If one of them is lacking, the nation will not be formed. Thus, Deendayal did not make the basis of nationalism to be governed only by geographical factors and a single political system.
- Deendayal distinguished between the state and the nation and made it clear that the state only expresses geographical boundaries and institutional arrangements to a nation while the nation also contains the cultural values and ideals of that community.
- According to him, the nation is a permanent truth. The state is born to fulfill the needs of the nation. In his words, “True strength resides in the nation, not in the state.”

76. Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay gave priority to the nation over the state. Examine.

- According to him, the nation is based on some fundamental ideals and values. The state is an institutional tool for the implementation of those values.
- According to him, the purposes of the state can be explained only with reference to the ideals of the nation. In the context of India, only the basic principles defined as religion can be defined as the purpose of the state.

His statement is “The state is an important institution in various institutions, but not paramount. One of the main reasons for the problems that are occurring in the world today is that people often consider the state to be the sole representatives of society, other institutions

have become insignificant, and the state has become so effective that the whole power is concentrated in it, and its monopoly is increasing.

77. Verify the meaning of Integral Humanism of Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay?

- Integral Humanism mainly underlines that different aspects of a person's life cannot be understood in a fragmented view. To achieve one needs all kinds of achievements, physical, moral and spiritual.
- Integral Humanism holds that these different aspects of a person's life are not conflicting, but complementary. Integral humanism also emphasizes that there exists unity between the individual and the society. This implies that the individual is essentially connected to the larger units in a logical order.
- In this way, the individual, family, society, nation and the world are virtually the same series of mutually essential links. Thus, no confrontation can be imagined between them.

78. What was the objective of Integral humanism propounded by Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay?

- The concept of Integral Humanism he propounded envisages remedies for the post-globalization maladies of the world. Upadhyaya conceived classes, casteless and conflict-free social order. He stressed on the ancient Indian wisdom of oneness of the human kind. For him, the brotherhood of a shared, common heritage was central to political activism. He emphasized on coexistence and harmony with nature.

79. Discuss four necessary aspects of a Nation as discuss by Pt. Deen Dayal Upadhyay?

- According to Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay, a nation needs four things. Firstly, land and people, which we call country; secondly, collective will, comprising the desire of all; thirdly, a system, which can be called as a set of principles or constitution for which the concept of Dharma is invoked in our cultural, fourthly, ideals of life. All these four elements comprise a nation; He draws an analogy between individual and nation as he writes that just as man needs body, mind, intellect and soul, likewise the above four, make a nation. Deendayal emphasizes that only a group of people and a piece of land, neither separately nor together, constitute a nation.

80. Clarify the meaning of Swarajya from the prospective of Pt. Deendayal Upadhaya.

- Pt. Deendayal Upadhaya showed importance of Swarajya for India. He did not limit Swarajya to a narrow definition of the right of govern the country. According to him, there are three essential aspects in the interpretation of Swarajaya are as follows:
 - The state is governed by those who are part of the nation.
 - The operation of the state should be done in accordance with the national interest.
 - The state should have the ability to protect and promote the interest of the nation in it.

81. Throw light on Pt. Deendayal Upadhyay concept of "Swaraj of Idea's".

- 'Swaraj of ideas' means decolonization of ideas, i.e., decolonization of Indian minds. India was free politically but ideologically, colonial hangover was still there.

82. Highlight the concept of "Ekjan" of Pt. Deendayal Upadhaya.

- According to Deen Dayal solidarity of the people with the land in which they reside lays in the concept of Ekjan' one people, one nation, Ekjan, to him, is a living organism. He believes that Ekjan, which is the basis of nation, evolves over a passage of time, which is rooted in a long and unbroken tradition spanning generations. Ekjan, according to him is the life breath of the people. It shapes the consciousness of the people residing in a specific territory.

83. Throw light on Pt.Deendayal Upadhaya's view's on democracy.

- Deendayal acknowledged the superiority of democracy over other systems of governance, because this system gives the public an opportunity to participate in governance. But he criticized that in practice democratic methods have become a symbol of the macro rule of the majority, and out of them the basic spirit of democracy i.e. surrender to public interest has been omitted.
- He is of the opinion that the only rule devoted to external religion and public interest can be considered as real democracy. His statement is that "true democracy can only be where there is both freedom and religion.

JAYPRAKASH NARAYAN

84. Analyze J.P. Narayan's view on democracy and socialism.

- JP's concept of democracy is intertwined with his philosophy of socialism and social revolution. At the outset he rejected Marxian model of socialism as adopted in the then Soviet Union, although he had started with the faith in Marxism.
- JP realized that the authoritarian and totalitarian character of Soviet Communism, derived from the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was against the spirit of true socialism. Similarly, JP severely criticized the Chinese Communists for their cruel and inhuman attitude toward Tibet. JP stood for humane and democratic form of socialism which seemed to be in consonance with the spirit of Indian culture.

85. As a votary of socialism, JP recognized the economic foundations of politics.

- According to his well-known writing *Towards Struggle* (1946), socialism refers to an elaborate theory of social-economic reconstruction. It is informed by the notion of equality. Equality is a complex principle which must be analysed in proper perspective. All men cannot be considered as equal in terms of their innate capabilities. In this sense, the claim of 'natural equality' is not based on reason. But the prevailing gross inequalities among men in the social- economic sphere are not the consequence of their inequalities.
- These stem from the disproportionate control over the means of production in society. These inequalities must be removed in order to afford equal opportunities of self-developed to all men. This can be accomplished by creating social-economic equality, and not merely by creating a psychological impression of equality among men.

86. Examine the recommendation of JP Narayan to implement socialist policy in India. Elaborate.

- JP argued that you cannot promote cultural creativity among men until their economic needs are fulfilled. This can be achieved only through socialism which calls for comprehensive planning. Socialization of means of production would be a necessary condition of this arrangement. JP recommended collective ownership and control over large-scale production in order to implement socialist policy in India. He particularly insisted on the nationalization of heavy transport, shipping, mining and heavy industries. He held that the exploitation of the bulk of people can be stopped only when they become capable of controlling their economic and political destiny.

87. In Indian context JP discovered a new group of justification of socialism. Comment.

- He argued that the basic philosophy of socialism fits into the long- cherished values of the Indian culture itself. This culture expects people to abstain from acquisitiveness, avarice and

the exclusive pursuit of self-interest. It does not eulogize the satisfaction of trivial physical desires. It exhorts them to work in close cooperation and willingly share the fruit of their labour.

- The Indian ideal of **Lok Samgraha** is akin to the spirit of socialism. It is therefore not correct to say that in India the idea of socialism has been imported from abroad. However, it is true that the economic principles of modern socialism were systematically formulated in the West. In any case the spirit of socialism was present in the tradition of Indian culture.

88. What do you mean by Lok Samgraha?

- Lok Samgraha refers to an underlying ideal of Hindu ethics which implies protection and welfare of the world. This ideal is deeply concerned with the human happiness, the stability of society and the preservation of moral order. According to the Hindu scriptures, Lok Samgraha is a divine function which is required to be emulated by each temporal authority as well as by a human being devoted to his duty.

89. JP sought to develop the idea of true socialism by combining it with Mahatma Gandhi's idea of Sarvodaya.

- Sarvodaya implies uplift of all, that is the welfare of everyone although it is especially inclined toward amelioration of the condition of the underprivileged. When a policy caters to everybody's good, it leaves no scope for the clash of interest between different sections. Hence there is no place for the Marxian idea of class conflict in JP's model of socialism. On the contrary, it is intended to promote the Gandhian idea of class cooperation.

90. What are the keynote of JP's concept of true democracy?

- JP sought to replace the politics of power by the politics of cooperation. Like Gandhi, JP saw Swaraj at the individual level, i.e., the self-discipline as the medium of spontaneous cooperation between individual. Further, JP saw true socialism as an instrument of liberation of mankind from imperialist domination as well as feudal exploitation which was still persisting in India and other third-world countries.
- That is why JP applied the weapon of socialism during India's struggle for independence as well as for social-economic reconstruction of India after independence. Then JP recommended a new structure and approach to democracy for India after independence to achieve the goals of fraternity and social justice. In a nutshell, precedence of lokniti (politics of people) over rajniti (politics of power) and that of lokshakti (power of people) over rajshakti (power of the state) is the keynote of JP's concept of true democracy.

91. Discuss the principles and objective of JP's Total Revolution?(Sampoorna Kranti)

- JP floated the idea of 'total revolution' (Sampoorna Kranti) as the logical outcome of the principle of true democracy. In short, total revolution refers to mass upsurge against the rampant corruption and authoritarianism in the prevailing 'democratic' regime. It called for fundamental reforms in the electoral administrative, economic, social, political and educational system of the country.
- Total revolution envisaged transformation of the entire social order including total elimination of economic disparities and social discrimination, not the mere replacement of the existing power-holders by another set of power-holders who would follow the same style of politics.

92. Highlight the JP's view on Western form of Democracy?

- He argued that the so-called 'people's democracy' as adopted in East European countries largely represented the replica of the communist system prevailing in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, the political structure intended for the pursuit of socialism had been reduced to

political rivalry and conflict between the dominant factions within the Communist Party.

- This distorted and corrupted form of socialism had led to concentration of political power and economic privileges in the hands of a small, dominant group within the party in power. In short, this

form of state socialism was a poor substitute for true socialism, made worse under the dictatorship of a heartless bureaucracy. This system was not at all conducive to freedom of citizens which was a necessary condition for working of true socialism as well as true democracy.

93. Explain partyless democracy as projected by JP Narayan?

- Instead of the prevailing models, JP projects the system of partyless democracy to carry out Sarvodaya-based socialist programme. This model is designed to ensure universal citizen participation. It has been outlined in his two important writings: From Socialism to Sarvodaya (1957); and Swaraj for the People (1961). It represents the structure of a truly decentralized democracy.
- JP describes his model as Panchayati Raj which is akin to Gandhian scheme of Gram Swaraj. While the existing forms of democracy function as 'government from above'. JP's vision of Panchyati Raj represents 'Swaraj from below'. In the political sphere, it envisages widespread decentralization of administrative, legislative and judicial powers; in the economic sphere, it projects a widely decentralized economic order.

94. Write distinction between Marxian Socialism and JP's Socialism?

The Issue	Marxian Socialism	JP's Socialism
Target	Satisfaction of Material Needs	Satisfaction of Material as well as Spiritual Needs
Status of the Classes	Class Conflict between haves and have-nots is inevitable until the final revolution	Class conflict may be contained by adopting the policy of Sarvodaya (uplift of all)
Procedure of Revolution	Start Revolution in the Base (Mode of Economic Production); Superstructure will be transformed automatically	Revolution should comprehend the Base as well as the Superstructure (i.e. legal, political, cultural as well as intellectual structure of society)
Organization Recommended	Supremacy of the Communist Party	Partyless Democracy

95. Explain JP's view about state?

- Jai Prakash Narayan also considered the state a soulless machine just like Gandhism and Marxist ideology. This is a device which hinders the development of personality of the person; hence he has said to giveless power to the state.
- He has also described the notion of welfare state as nurturing the interests of the bureaucracy. He says that in the name of welfare state, bureaucracy loses maximum share of public welfare schemes. He has also refuted the idea of Marx's disappearance of the kingdom, so it is absolutely necessary to remain in its existence.
- Like Gandhi, he was also in favour of delegating the least powers to the state. He has said, I neither believed before nor now that the state will be completely lost, but I believe that the best objective is to try to reduce the scope of the state to the extent possible.