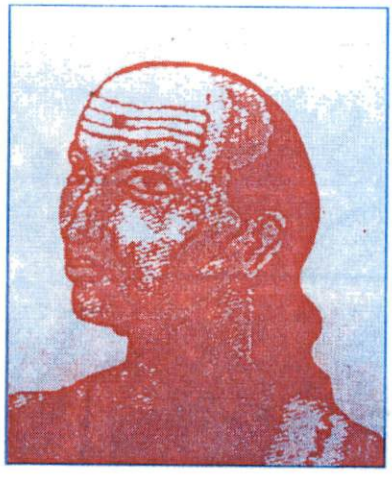
POLITICAL SCIENCE
MA [PREVIOUS]
Course II
Paper - Indian Political Thought

1307



KARNATAKA STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY
Manasagangothri, Mysore - 570 006

Block - 5

ಉನ್ನತ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಇರುವ ಅವಕಾಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿಕ್ಷಣವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಜಾತಂತ್ರೀಕರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ.

ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರೀಯ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ನೀತಿ 1986

The Open University system has been initiated in order to augment opportunities for higher education and as instrument of democrating education.

National Education Policy 1986

ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯವು ದೂರಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮಾಧ್ಯಮಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. .....ವಿದ್ಯಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷಿಗಳನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪಾದನೆಗಾಗಿ ಕಲಿಕಾ ಕೇಂದ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ಬದಲು, ಜ್ಞಾನ ಸಂಪತ್ತನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯೆ ಕಲಿಯುವವರ ಬಳಿ ಕೊಂಡೊಯ್ಯುವ ವಾಹಕವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಡಾ. ಕುಳಂದೈಸ್ವಾಮಿ

"The Open University system makes use of Multimedia in distance education system. ..... it is vehicle which transports knowledge to the place of learners rather than transport to the place of learning.

Dr. Kulandai Swamy

ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ ಸಂದೇಶ

ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಮಗುವು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತಲೇ - ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ. ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ನಾವು ಅದನ್ನು **'ಅಲ್ಪ ಮಾನವ'**ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮತ್ತೆ ಅದನ್ನು **'ವಿಶ್ವಮಾನವ'**ನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದೇ ವಿದ್ಯೆಯ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾಗಬೇಕು.

ಮನುಜ ಮತ, ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ, ಸರ್ವೋದಯ, ಸಮನ್ವಯ, ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಈ ಪಂಚಮಂತ್ರ ಇನ್ನು ಮುಂದಿನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಾಗಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ, ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನು ಬೇಕಾದುದು ಆ ಮತ ಈ ಮತ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ಮನುಜ ಮತ.** ಆ ಪಥ ಈ ಪಥ ಅಲ್ಲ; **ವಿಶ್ವ ಪಥ.** ಆ ಒಬ್ಬರ ಉದಯ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ; ಸರ್ವರ ಸರ್ವಸ್ತರದ ಉದಯ. ಪರಸ್ಪರ ವಿಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಸಿಡಿದು ಹೋಗುವುದಲ್ಲ; ಸಮನ್ವಯಗೊಳ್ಳುವುದು. ಸಂಕುಚಿತ ಮತದ ಆಂಶಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಭೌತಿಕ ಪಾರಮಾರ್ಥಿಕ ಎಂಬ ಭಿನ್ನದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಎಲ್ಲವನ್ನು ಭಗವದ್ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವ **ಪೂರ್ಣದೃಷ್ಟಿ.**

ಕುವೆಂಪು

Gospel of Universal Man

Every Child, at birth, is the universal man. But, as it grows, we turn it into "a petty man". It should be the function of education to turn it again into the enlightened "universal man".

The Religion of Humanity, the Universal Path, the Welfare of All, Reconciliation, the Integral Vision- these ***five mantras*** should become View of the Future. In other words, what we want henceforth is not this religion or that religion, but the Religion of Humanity ; not this path or that path, but the Universal Path ; not the well-being of this individual or that individual, but the Welfare of All ; not turning away and breaking off from one another, but reconciling and uniting in concord and harmony ; and, above all, not the partial view of a narrow creed, not the dual outlook of the material and the spiritual, but the Integral Vision of seeing all things with the eye of the Divine.

Kuvempu

Karnataka State
Open University

Political Science
Course II

Block

5

Introduction

Course Design and Editorial Committee

Prof K. Sudha Rao
Vice-chancellor and Chairperson
Karnataka State Open University

Dean (Academic)-Convenor

Dr. K.J. Suresh
Senior Scale Lecturer
Dept of Pol.Science,
KSOU

Subject Co-ordinator

Course Writer

Dr. R. Harish
Reader in Pol-Science
Karnataka University
Dharwad

Units 13 - 16

Developed by Academic Section, KSOU, Mysore

Further information on the Karnataka State Open University Programmes may obtained from the University's office at Manasagangotri, Mysore-6
Printed and Published on behalf of Karnataka State Open University. Mysore - 6 by **Sri V. Ramanna** Registrar (Administration).

Block - V Introduction

This block contains four units. Unit 13 deals with Dadabai Naoraji popularly known as the Grand old man of India, his life history along with his views on Economic, Social and Political ideas. Unit 14 deals with Gopalakrishna Gokhale and his life history along with Social and economic ideas. Unit 15 contains the discussion about Bal Gangadhar Tilak, his ideas on Social, Political and Education along with his Swadeshi and Swaraj movements. Unit 16 deals with Lala Lajpath rai's Political ideas, his views on Socialism, Hindu Ideology along with Swaraj movements.

UNIT-13 Dadabai Naoraji

Structure

13. 0 Objectives

This unit is written with an objective to familiarize you about the moderates and extremists views in Indian Political thought especially in the nationalist movement in general and about the life of Dadabai Naoraji and his contributions in particular. After going through this unit you should be in a position to understand the following points

* Political thoughts of Moderates and extremists.
* Life history of Dadabai Naoroji .
* His views on economic, social and political ideas.

13.1 Introduction

Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917) was popularly known as the grand old man of India was one of the torch bearers of Indian freedom struggle. A highly educated mathematician and a natural philosophy Professor he was a committed and concerned patriot. He was one of founder presidents of Indian National congress who by his sheer commitment and sacrifice became model moderate in his advocacy of national struggle in India.

13.2 Importance of modern Indian political thought.

Modern Indian political thought forms one of the major areas of political science. This deals with a systematic understanding of the political ideas that were generated in India during the period of nationalist movement. Many of the intellectuals during this period came from different socio economic and cultural context, synthesizing their ideas in their political struggle against the imperial British. This indigenous political thought is therefore very particular to the Indian context, hence, the importance.

13.3 Political thought of Moderates and extremists

As you are aware, during freedom struggle (Nationalist movement) in India, the opinion among the political leaders were divided in matters relating to achieving independence to India from the British. Those who believed that freedom should be won through the peaceful means were considered to be moderates, while those who believed that freedom should be won through violent means were considered to be extremists. Normally such grouping is done on the basis of the advocacy of ideas by these leaders. The moderates normally believed that the imperialists must be made to understand that every individual and nation strives to

achieve liberation and therefore employ varied methods to achieve it. On the other hand, extremists believed that imperialists are enemies and that one should employ violent methods to throw them out of ones own territory as they otherwise would inflict pain amongst the country men.

13.4 A brief life history of Dadabhai Naoroji.

Dr. Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), the Grand Old Man of India, was one of the foremost patriarchs of Indian Nationalism. He was born on September 4, 1825 and died on June 30, 1917. He had diverse experiences. He had been influenced by the heroic idealism of William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson and Zachary Macaulay the pioneers of the Slavery Abolition agitation. In 1853, he, in co operation with some other members, founded the Bombay Association. In 1854, he was appointed professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in the Elphinstone College, Bombay. In 1867, he, along with some other friends, founded the East India Association in London, and in 1869, he and others established its Bombay branch. In 1873, Dadabhai gave evidence before the Fawcett Select Committee on Indian Finance. In 1874, he was prime minister (Dewan) of Baroda.1 In 1875, he became a member of the Bombay Corporation. In 1885, he became an additional member of the Bombay Provincial Legislative Council By dint of great perseverance and tenacity he won a seat in 1892 in the British House of Commons.

As a school teacher, professor, businessman, administrator, member of the British Parliament and President of the Indian National Congress, three times, Dadabhai's life was a glorious example of suffering, self abnegation, devoted patriotism and unblemished integrity. He was indeed the pathfinder of Indian nationalism.

13.5 Economic ideas of Dadabhai Navroji

Dadabhai built up the theory of the economic foundations of Indian nationalism. He pointed out that Indian economy was subjected to heavy " drain" the drain of India's resources resulted in the colossal exploitation of the country. Thus Dadabhai became an eye opener to Indians to the appalling story of their grim poverty. He made them conscious of the calamitous consequence of economic drain, famines, pestilence's and starvation to which they were subjected. Dadabhai's "Poverty and Un-British Rule in India" wherein he expounds the "drain" theory, is a classical book in the field of Indian economics and Indian nationalism.

Dadabhai was the pathfinder in the application the statistical methods of problems of Indian finance. He pursued a scientific methodology. He did not relish rhetorical abstractions and generalizations but had a passion for details, facts and figures. He attempted to reveal the economic ruin of India not on the basis of hypothesis and assumptions but tried to base his propositions on solid facts. He was, thus, an empirical economist rather than a speculative metaphysician. He applied an objective methodology also to the discussion of the other practical, political and economic problems of India.

The use of the concept of natural rights in Indian political and economic literature in the eighties of the nineteenth century indicates that although in Europe, Hume, Vico and Bentham had been bitterly critical and even condemnatory of natural rights, in India this concept was being held valid. Thus the economic ideas of Dadabhai Naoroji was anti imperialistic in content and favored the freedom of economy and growth of India.

13.6 Political Ideas of Dadabhai Naoroji

The concept of the moral foundations of political authority has been advocated by all the Indian protagonists of liberalism. Justice, generosity and humanity alone constitute the golden links which hold political structures together. Only the identity of will and aspirations among citizens can provide longevity to a political system. Dadabhai said " You can build up an empire by arms or ephemeral brute physical force, but you can preserve it by the eternal moral force only. Brute force will, some time or another, break down righteousness alone is everlasting" The union of heart, feelings and sentiments constitutes the real basis of political power. It is a commonplace to view to recognize force as the basis of authority but a deeper probe reveals the inadequacy of this conception.

Dadabhai was candid enough to recognize some of the benefits of British rule to India accruing from the "advanced humanitarian civilization of Britain, and the introduction of western education, trained administrative personnel the evil qualities of the then prevailing system of government. He wrote that the present system of government is destructive and despotic to the Indians and un British and suicidal to Britain. On the there hand a truly British course can and will certainly be vastly beneficent both to Britain and India.

A Nation may be defeated several times but its spirit cannot be permanently crushed he said. Dadabhai was not tired of repeating Salisbury's statement that "injustice will bring down the mightiest to ruin. The infamy of despotism and tyranny could not be perpetuated.

Dadabhai, however, trusted that narrow-minded injustice was not a part of the character of the English nation. And therefore argued for civilizing role of British role in India. To him the fulfillment of India's political hopes depended on the renaissance of the moral consciousness in England.

13.7 Socialistic ideas of Dadabhai Naoroji

Dadabhai Naoroji had the keenness and the foresight to realize the growing political and economic force of international socialism. He sought co operation from British socialists, and Hyndman was one of his close friends and sympathizers. Dadabhai attended the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam which met from August 14 to August 20, 1904. At this Congress he repeated the charge of bleeding and drain which he had been levelling against British imperialism for a number of years. In a meeting at Holborn Town Hall he moved a resolution demanding a universal system of old age pensions. He also pleaded for Industrial Commissioners courts in his pamphlet The Rights of Labour. He, furthermore, earnestly vindicated the claim of labour as a property.

13.8 Contributions of Dadabhai Naoroji

Dadabhai Naoroji was a phenomenon in modern Indian history. He was a great political guru and leader He was an economist who had a deep grasp of the problems of public finance, foreign trade and national income. He was also a social and political thinker of great eminence. Although he may not rank with Ricardo, Mill and Marx as a pure economic theoretician, his over whelming personality and lofty moral character brought popularity to his ideas on contemporary Indian economics and politics. Thus his concept of "drain" became as explosive a term in Indian social and economic thinking as the concepts of exploitation and class struggle are in the Marxist and socialist cricles.

Dadabhai believed in the extension of education as a political technique Education is not only a method of personal illumination but it generates in the minds of men a consciousness of right. He hoped that the spread of education would lead to the attainment of Swaraj. Hence he demanded free and compulsory primary education, and free higher education of every kind.

Dadabhai made two contributions to Indian social sciences. First, he formulated the economic interpretation of Indian politics He followed a scientific objective methodology in

his economic writings. His approach, thus, was economic rather than emotional and sentimental. He was the founder of empirical statistical methodology in Indian economic thought. He made the Indian people aware of the drain of the country. Thus he became a leading authority on Indian economics.

Secondly, he stressed the concept of right in his writings on Indian economics and politics. He referred to the concept of natural right in the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. In his presidential speech at the Calcutta Congress in 1906, he claimed British citizenship for Indians on the basis of two types of rights (a) birth rights, and (b) pledged rights. He demanded the immediate implementation for Indians of two rights: (i) employment in the public services, and (ii) representation. He always stressed that Indians were British citizens and hence entitled to the rights and privileges that pertained to British citizenship.

Dadabhai Naoroji had a moral approach to political action. His personal life was marked by transcendent purity and he brought to his political activities the same kind of moral fervour.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Give a brief account about Dadabhai's econoic ideas.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Explain Naoroji's political ideas.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. Write a note on the contributions of Naoroji.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

13.9 Let us sum up

Dear students Dadabhai's devotion to the cause of India was deep and earnest and he pursued political activities in a dedicated spirit of personal abnegation. He was the embodiment of a pure and perfect patriotism. He pursued the path of political agitation because he regarded that as the most potent technic for India's social and economic rehabilitation and progress. In self government alone, he felt, lay India's hope, strength and destiny. His endeavors for the uplift and activities, this patriarch of Indian nationalism strengthened the concept of moralization of politics.

13.10 Key words

Patriotism	-	love of country
Renaissance	-	revival
Unique	-	Peerless
Protagonists	-	male lead
Rehabilitation	-	getting well

13.11 Some useful books

Masani, R.P. Dadabhai Naoroji, The Grand old Man of India, London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1939.

Speeches and Writings of Dadabhia Naoroji, 2nd edition, Madras, G.A. Natesan & Co., 1971.

V.P. Varma : Modern Indian Political Thought

13.12 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 13.5
2. See section 13.6
3. See section 13.8

UNIT-14 Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Structure

14.0 Objectives

This Unit is writen with an objective to familiarize you about the Gopal Krishna Gokhale's views on Indian Political thought. After reading this this you should be able to understand the following points.

* A life of Gopal Krishna Gokhale
* His Economic Social and Political ideas, and
* His contributions to Indian Political thought.

14.1 Introduction

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) was one of much respected statesman India has ever produced. A disciplinarian Professor of History and Economics became one of the forward leaders of Indian National movement. As a disciple of Gandhi he regarded Gandhi has his political Guru. He favored constrictive politics and looked at nationalism as calling for self devotion and sacrifice. He was a champion of the cause of depressed class and emerged as a nation builder. As a political philosopher he is seen even to this day as nationalist who championed the cause of reason, public opinion, justice, and individual conscience.

14.2 A brief life history of Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) was one of the most respected of India's statesmen. He was born on May 9, 1866 at Kolhapur and died in Poona on 19th February, 1915. He graduated from Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1884. In 1886, he became a member of the Decan Education Society. He was appointed a professor of history and economics at the Fergusson College, Poona. For several years he edited the Journal of the Sarvajanika Sabha. He became a member of the Indian Legislative Council in 1902 and continued to be there till his death. His budget speeches there are remarkable for their stubborn mastery of facts as well as for their grasp of the fundamental guiding propositions. He was a consummate master of Indian economics to the study of which he brought large powers of keen analysis and comprehensive synthesis.

Gokhale went to England in 1905 as a member of a delegation to persuade the English statesmen not to enact the partition of Bengal, but even his persuasive oratory failed to have its influence on the British leaders. Gokhale attended the Congress first in 1889. He

was one of the foremost leaders of this great national body. He presided over the Banaras Congress in 1905. To him the break of the Congress in 1907 at Surat was a great blow. It was unfortunate that he could not see the realization of the united Congress in 1916. He how ever, had preferred a compromise between the Moderates and the Extremists.

In 1907, in his budget speech in the Indian Legislative Council, Gokhale had pleaded for the introduction of free primary education. He introduced in 1911 a bill in the Indian Legislative Council for compulsory primary education but due to the strong opposition of the British government, the bill could not be enacted and it was defeated in 1912. The main purpose of the bill was to make it possible for a municipality to introduce compulsory elementary education in its jurisdiction, with government sanction. In September, 1912, a Royal Commission of public Services in India, under the presidentship of Islington, was appointed to report on the various problems and workings of the public services in India. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of the members of this Commission and he worked arduously and conscientiously on it. Six months after Gokhale' s death the Islington Commission submitted its report. Thus, Gokhale spent most his life in the services of the society.

14.3 Political and Social Ideas of Gokhale

Gokhale took the perilous path of politics as a serious profession. He was eminently fitted for being a constructive statesmen. His life of utter self sacrifice and abnegation indicated that according to him nationalism was a species of self devotion to a higher cause. This required that public duty and political work had to be viewed as pathways to consecrated national service. Without suffering and a true spirit of comradeship and simplicity of life, Gokhale used to say, Nationalism could not become a living force. In his political tactics, he was a moderate and believed in constitutional agitation The radical techinc of boycott did not appeal to him. Like Burke, Gokhale believed in caution, slow evolution and rational progress. He was opposed to extreme measures and theatrical outbursts of popular frenzy.

In a speech delivered in Poona in 1894 Gokhale acknowledged the contributions of the Indian National Congress to the task of nation building. The forces that were earlier struggling in a scattered way for creating a strong solid nation had been sought to be united by the Congress. The consequence, of this was that a common supportive emotional response was

available in the different parts of the country to demands and issues of national welfare. The congress had also made public opinion in India more enlightened and more influential. Furthermore, the Congress served as an institutional mechanism thought which pro Indian British politicians could do their duty by the people of the country.

Gokhale was perturbed by the rise of feelings of tension in the country and hence, in 1906 he placed in the Imperial Legislative Council a Seven point Scheme for the moral and material advancement of the Indian people. Decentralization was one of the primary themes of a philosophy of political rights. Centralization becomes tantamount to monarchic exercise of power Gopal Krishna Gokhale recognized the necessity of decentralization. He wanted to provide checks on the actions of the bureaucracy on the spot. He advocated that provincial decentralization could succeed if the provincial councils were enlarged and were given the power of discussing the provincial budget. He had the keenness to recommend the formation of advisory district councils to advise the collector on questions of district administration. In his evidence before the Hobhouse Decentralization Commission, on March 7, 1908, Gokhale recognized the necessity of, (i) village panchyats at the bottom, (ii) district councils at the intermediate level, and (iii) reformed legislative councils at the top.

In a significant speech on " Students and Politics" on October 9, 1909 Gokhale analysed the genesis, achievements and failures of the new school of political thought. According to him three factors accounted for the emergence of the new school (i) prevalence of a scene of gloom and frustration among the people during the latter part of Curzon's Viceroyalty, (ii) apparent failure of the Indian National Congress to achieve constitutional and administrative reforms, and (iii) absence of "political judgment" among a large number of people resulting in the acceptance of " ready made opinions", He said. But, unfortunately, it was directed to the destruction of the very foundations of the old public life of the country and its chief weakness was that it ascribed all the troubles in the country to the existence of a foreign Government in the country thereby ignoring the consideration of a problem in historical perspectives. Thus the political and social ideas of Gokhale expresses a synthesis of forward looking statesman and a concerned liberal.

14.4 Economic Ideas of Gokhale

Gokhale was seriously concerned with the industrial and agricultural problems in India. He had a keen perception of the economic problems engendered by the clash between

the monetary capitalistic economics on the west and the demands and social economic criteria of an underdeveloped country. He pleaded for a more balanced adjustment of the expenditure and income of the Government of India. He favored a more equitable distribution of income. He was interested in bettering the conditions of the agriculturists by reducing the demand of the government upon land. He was deeply pained to see the increasing destitution of the masses. He, hence, advocated relief to the agrarian population. He wanted Indian industries to rationalize the allocation of their resources in such a way as to foster their efficiency. He favored the orientation of the fiscal policy of the government to enhancing educated middle class employment and increasing production. He ardently pleaded for reduction of salt duty. In the budget speech of 1904, Gokhale urged for the further reduction of the eight annas in the salt tax. In his budget speech of 1907, he sponsored the total abolition of salt duty. In his budget speeches of 1903-1904, he had urged the abolition of excise duty on cotton goods. He opposed the lavish expenditure on Indian railways. He advocated the raising of the taxable limits so far as income tax was concerned. In his budget speech of 1907, he raised his voice of protest against the accumulation of the Gold Standard Fund for the purpose of converting Indian rupees into British sovereigns on the introduction of gold currency in India. Gokhale was in favour of systems of protection to new infant industries by the State.

Gokhale displayed concern with the problems of the economic and social development of the people. He keenly felt the necessity of spending the surplus in meeting necessary non recurring expenditure for peoples moral and material well being. His ideal was cutting down expenses on the police and the army and investment of funds on education and sanitation.

14.5 Contributions of Gokhale

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was a historian and a professor of economics. Along with Dadabhai Naoroji and Rande, Gokhale was interested in studying the economic foundations of politics. The strength of the extremist leaders, like Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo, lay in a deep and profound study of India's vast philosophical and theological literature. Hence they quoted the Bhagavadgita and the Mahabharata. But Dadabhai, Rande and Gokhale were analytical students of the science of political economy. The Extremists glorified the cultural attainments of ancient India. The Moderates spoke in the Language of the classical economists like Gladstone, Cobden and Mill. In generalized terms, with some degree of exaggeration, it can be said that the strength of the Moderates lay in economics, that of the Extremists in

philosophy and religion.

Gokhale, although a keen economist interested in problems of finance and income, had a moral approach to politics. Temperamentally he was a spiritualist and a convinced idealist and lived on an elevated moral plane. His mission as a public leader has been spiritualization of politics an ideal that was also sought by Mahatama Gandhi. Gokhale would not sanction an evil means to achieve a good end. He believed in the nobility of human nature. He had won the affection of British statesmen and public figures. The latter recognized his qualities as an extraordinarily gifted leader of men.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the political and social ideas of G.K. Gokhale.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Discuss economic ideas of G.K. Gokhale.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

14. 6 Let us sum up.

Gokhale has been a highly sensitive and committed political leader our country has produced. He being vocal and concerned individual, was a balanced person having keen perception of the socio economic problems of India. He was a champion of the causes of nation and also the under developed world. He displayed his remarkable intellect in finding synergy both as a political philosopher and an economist.

14.7 Key words

Stubborn - persistent

Abnegation - renouncement

Oratory - Speech

Perturbed - troubled

Monetary - financial

14.8 Some useful books

Speeches of G.K.Gokhale, G.A.Natesan & Co., Madras 1920.

T.R.Devagirikar, G.K.Gokhale, Govt. of India Publication Division, 1964.

V.P. Varma : Modern Indian Political Thought

Shivlal : Indian Political Thought

14.9 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 14.3
2. See section 14.4

NOTES

Unit-15 Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Structure

15.0 Objectives

This Unit is written with an objective to let you understand more about Bal Gangdhar Tilak's views on Indian social, economic and education systems in general and his revolutionary ideas about swadeshi and swaraj movements in particular. After going through this, you should be able to understand.

* Life of Bal Gangdhar Tilak
* His views on political, social and educational systems, and
* His views on swadeshi and swaraj concept.

15. 1 Introduction

In his public life of forty years (1880-1920), Lokmany Bal Gangadhar Tilak devoted his energies to diverse types of activities. As an educator he was one of the most important imembers responsible the establishment of the poona New English School, the Deccan Education Society and the Fergusson College. During the days of the Swadeshi Movement he was the prime mover and patron of the Samartha Vidyalaya. He was the great champion of the Poona temperance activities. He rushed to the help of V.S.Bapat in 1894 when the latter was friendless and was subjected to probable judicial penalization. He came to the rescue of the poor Mamlatdars against Arthur Crawford in 1889 when there was nobody to take up their cause. As a fighter against economic injustice, he took an important part in making the people conscious of their rights during the famine of 1896. He preached passionately the cult of Swadeshi. He moved important resolutions pertaining to economic affairs from the Congress platform the resolutions on permanent settlemtn, decentralization of finance, etc. As a political leader Tilak's role was very significant in Congress activities. He infused the spirit of political assertiveness and partiotism among the people by his two papers the kesari and the Ratha and by the Shivaji and the Ganapati festivals. His Home Rule League, established in April, 1916, prepared the country for Swaraj. He had the major share in forming friendly relations in 1919. Between Indian Nationalism and the British Labour party during his visit to England (1918-1919).

On the debit side it has to be acknowledged that Tilak was an inveterate controversialist. Engaged in bitter polemics against his moderate opponents, he would give vent to his prejudices against them. He not only lacked the divine sweetness of Gandhi, he also did not share the calm moderation of Bhandarkar, Ranade and Gokhale. But although aggressive and

defiant, he was not vain and arrogant. He was a cultured gentleman . There was no pettiness of mind and virulence of heart in him. In his obituaries, he superlatively hailed Rande, Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale. In the early years his image was of a leader with the biting tongue who disrupted the meetings of others and threatened violence to the rivals. But with the passage of time, exuberant vitality of the Maratha politician gave place to the placid severity of the commentator of the Gita The unbalance and discordance manifested in his break from his colleagues of the Deccan Education Society gave place to the genorosity and magnanimity of the elder statesman pleading for Hindu Muslim unity from 1916 to the end of his life.

15.2 Social ideas of Tilak

The contact between the rationalistic, scientific and dynamic civilization of the West and the religious, conservative and traditional culture of India made the problem of social reform very significant. Several movements grew up in India which advocated social change and transformation. Some of these reform movements like the Brahmo Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj were influenced by the ideology and values of the West and earnestly advocated immediate social progress. The Arya Samaj also advocated social reform but its roots lay in the Vedas which it regarded as the infallible word of God. Ram Mohan Roy was the main figure behind Bentinck's Act against the Sati system. The leaders of the Prarthana Samaj fully supported the British government in passing the Age of Consent Act, and the leaders of the Arya Samaj have been instrumental in obtaining from the government servarrl Acts relating to marriage, e.g., the Sharda Act, the Arya Marriage Act, etc. Hence it is clear that new movements of social reform in Hinduism not only were not averse to the government making social laws but at times they helped the government in this connection. But Tilak's attitude to social reform, was radically divergent.

Another problem equally significant was that of the relation between political agitation and social reform. Since the inception of the Indian National Congress this problem was regarded as important. One of the objects of the Congress, according to W.C. Banerjea, the President of the Congress in 1885, was to consider, the authoritative record, after this has been carefully elicited, by the fullest discussion of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on some of the more important and pressing of the social questions of the day. But at the second Congress at Calcutta, President Dadabhai Naoroji categorically said, a

National Congress must confine itself to questions in which the entire nation has a direct participation, and it must leave the adjustment of social reforms and other class questions to class congress. Tilak also was opposed to mixing up social and political issues. According to him the imperative demand was political progress and social questions could be discussed and social changes introduced only gradually.

It is true that Tilak did not like the attitude of the social reformers. They had received western education and wanted to introduce western social notions in Hindu society. They had the scoffing and ridiculing attitude towards Hindu religious codes and scriptures. Philosophically speaking, Tilak did believe that with the change in times there were bound to be changes in the interpretation of scripture. Even new social laws were bound to be made. But so long as the majority was sticking to the teachings of the religious codes, it was not proper, according to Tilak, to deride their notions and conceptions. In Indian history it is found that social reformers have also been saints. Nanak and Kabir were spiritual souls. But the modern self styled reformers, who were at best intellectual and some of whom even did not hesitate to bask in the sunshine of bureaucratic favours, had no moral right to sit in judgment upon the social codes which according to the Hindu cultural orientation, were associated with religion. The social reformers has purely secularistic notions of social reform conceived in the western fashion They were social positivists believing in the judgment of political authority in the social and moral spheres. Tilak, on the other hand, was a conservative historicist believing in the gradual evolution of the social consciousness. He did accept the need of social change and reform but felt that these should be carried on under the leadership of men of eminent moral and spiritual character living as the embodiment of the Hindu way of life and not by mere intellectuals pouring thee vials of their wrath on the contemporary society in newspapers. Hence it is clear that Tilak's attitude to social reform was dictated by his comprehensive conception of political and culture content that was very much Indian.

15.3 Political ideas of Tilak

Tilak's political philosophy has its roots both in the Indian tradition as well as in some of the contemporary western political and legal thought. It should not be forgotten that he was a graduate of the Bombay University and had a first class Bachelors degree in Law. But he was also nurtured in a great Sanskritic tradition and cultural environment permeated with

old Hindu values. His father was a Sanskrit scholar. Tilak, himself, was a great scholar of the Vedas. There is however, not direct influence of the Vedic Samhitas on his political thought. Tilak was a Chitapavan Brahmin and, according to some legends, the Chitapavans are supoosed to have come from outside India. This legend is mentioned in Kelkar's biography of Tilak. There is no direct mentionn, however, of this legend in Tilak's own writings. It may be possible, nevertheless, that he had known of this legend. The Mahabharata had a great influence on Tilak's thought. He derived some suport for his view of the non absolutism of the norm of Ahimsa from the Mahabharata. In the epic, Prahlada says to Bali not to consider forgiveness as an eternal law. There may be occasions when compromise has to be made in the application of this law. This statement could well support Tilak's view that in politics there is not place for the absolute application of Ahimsa. The Bhagavadgita was a concrete support to Tilak in his concept of righteous violence. As a moral philosopher, he emphasized that for evaluating the worth or demerit of an action what was to be taken into consideration was not the external consequence which may sometimes be unplatable to our senses, but the inner motivating drive. In other words, purification of intentions leading to the cultivation of a spirit of equanimity and passionless spiritual equality was the central point. Tilak's defence of the politicall murder of Afzal Khan by Shivaji on the basis of the Bhagavadgita is well known.

In his writings in the Kesari, Tilak has, at a vew places, quoted the Mansumriti and the Niti Shataka of Bharatrihari. Their realism came to Tilak's support. Tilak was deeply rooted in the Hindu tradition. For his religious traditionalism he did draw sustenance and support from the writings of the large number of Maratha saints including people like Jnaneshwar, Tukaram, and Ramadas. He was not as trenchant ruralist as Dayananda.

15.4 Tilak's ideas on education.

Enlightenment of the people is one of the most important technics of the rise of a nation. In Europe the rationnalistic enlightnment of France preceded the French Revolution hence Voltaire and Rousseau we regarded as the intellectual precursors of the great revolutionary movement. In modern India we find that the rise and growth of nationalism has been associated with the pread of educational institutions organized on nationalistic lines. Chiploonkar and Tilak and Agarkar were the pioneers of a new educational movement in Maharashtra. Lala Lajapat Rai and Hansraj were the pioneers and leaders in the foundation

of the D.A.V. College in Lahore. Swami Shraddhananda established the Gurukul at Kangri on the basis of the ideals of Vedic Brahmacharya. During the Swadeshi movement (1905 to 1910) many new educational institutions were established.

Talak's ideal was twofold. Along with Chiploonker and Agrakar he thought it essential that education had to be cheapened and teachers had to recover some of that idealism which had been prevalent in the ancient history of this country. The teachers and prceptors of the Vedic and Upanishadic periods were renowned not for opulence and mundane prosperity but for scholarship, integrity and devotion to duty The re incorporation of that old ideal was essential for the regeneration of the motherland. Tilka's second ideal was to spread education. The extension of educational opportunities was the indispensable condition for political enlightenment and progress. Hence the spread of education was the uppermost in Tilk's eyes. During the Swadeshi agitation days (1905 to 1910) he began to stress the nationalistic implications of education. But during the eighties of the last century, Chiploonkar, Tilak and Agarkar had stressed the progressive expansion of the education which could be had in those days under the existing political framework.. It is significant that both Tilak and Shraddha randa should begin their public career as educators, but while Shraddhananda was influenced by the ideals of Brahmachary as inculcated in the Vedas, Tilak accpted the synthesis of eastern ideals and western practices and institutions. Tilkas revivalism did not go to the extent of accepting the possibility of the total incorporation of ancient ideas and theories in modern times. Throughout his life, he accepted the value of English education in the generation of the sentiments of political radicalism and progressivism. Even during the Home Rule days, system of education had been a factor for political enlightenment in the country. To this extent his spirits is different from that of Gandhi. The Mahatma, especially in the Hind Swaraj, appears as a devastating critic of western civilization. Tilak's spirit and ideas were more realistic. Although a profound scholar of the Vedas and the different systems of Hindu philosophy, he recognized that the English education had to make contributions to the growth of the Indian body politic

Tilak took the lead in the foundation of the Deccan Education Society. In 1884, Gopal Krishna Gokhale joined the Poona New English School as a teacher and he also became a member of the Society. Since 1885 he also began to teach in the Forgusson College. It is pleasant to remember that the great Gopal Krishna Gokhale, whom Mahatma Gandhi regarded

as his political guru, was attracted to the cause of educational activities involving personal self sacrifice by the glamour of Tilak's personality. It is true that as time passed the influences of Agarakar and Ranade and especially of the latter became more prominent in the case of Gokhale but none the less it was Tilak who was at least partly responsible for introducing Gokhale to the path of a public career. The Deccan Education Society placed before its members exalted ideals of noble self-sacrifice. Hence it is clear that Tilak's attitude to Education was comprehensive, wide and of deep.

15. 5 Tilak's views on Swadeshi and Swaraj Movement

The dominant metaphysical assumptions of Tilak influenced his political ideas. He was a Vedantist. The metaphysics of non dualism of the Vedanta, implied, according to him the political conception of natural right. Because the spriti is the supreme reality and because all men are portions or aspects of that absolute essence, hence all have the same autonomous spiritual potentiality. Hence Advaitism taught him the supremacy of the concept of freedom. Freedom a must for his Home Rule movement. The divine instinct of freedom never aged. Freedom is the very life of the individual soul which Vedanta declares to be not separate from God but identical with him. This freedom was a principle that could never perish. Thus, freedom according to Tilak was a divine attribute. Freedom may be equated with the autonomous power of creationism. Without freedom no moral and spiritual life is possible Foreign imperialism kills the soul of a nation and hence Tilak fought against the British empire. Thus there were philosophical foundations for the political struggles for liberty in which Tilak was engaged.

Tilak's nationalism was also influenced by the western theories of national independence and self determination. In the famous trial speech of 1908, he quotes with approval John Stuart Mill's definition of nationality. In 1919 and 1920, he accepted the Wilsonian concept of self determination and pleaded for its application to India. Hence Tilak's philosophy of nationalism was a synthesis of the Vedantic ideal of the spirit as supreme freedom and the western conceptions of Mazzini, Burke, Mill and later on of Wilson. This synthesis he expressed in terms of Swarajya, a Vedic term which was used in Maharashtra to indicate the Maratha policy of Shivaji.

Because of his spiritual approach, Tilak regarded that Swarajya was not only a right but a Dharma. He gave a moral and spiritual meaning also of Swarajya.

Nationalism is essentially a psychological and spiritual conception. It is the modern version of the old deep sentiments of tribal patriotism which we find since prehistoric and ancient times. The feeling of affection and attachment which people felt for the tribe or the gana or the polis or the civets or the desha has now been extended to cover the entire nation. It is true that nationalism flourishes best when there are objective entities which create sentiments of unity. A common spoken language, belief in common descent from an actual or a mythical race, habitation on the same territory and profession of a common religion are very important objective factors which generate the feelings of nationalism. But the subjective psychological factor is dominant. There must be the presence of psychological unity fostered by the heritage historical tradition. In spite of racial and linguistic diversities, this psychological bond of nationalism has been important in India. The overflowing continuity of the stream of Indian culture since olden times has contributed to produce this fundamental psychological unity in India. Besides the subjective experience of this psychological unity, another feature of nationalism also has been uppermost in India. Thus his concept of swaraj movement was deeply noted in ones own Religion cultural Identity.

15.6 Contribution of Bal Gangdhar Tilak

The Ganapati Utsava was an old institution and is traditional in Maharshtra. In former times the great Chiefs and Sardars of Maharshtra used to give donations for tis celebration. The ingenuity of Tilak and his colleagues consisted in giving a public character to a festival which was so long celebrated on a private basis. This public aspect could intensify the bonds of nationalism because there would occur the reinforcement of feelings evoked by participation in a common religious festival. It is also true that the public orientation was imparted to the Ganapati festival after the Hindu Moslem riots in the Bombary presidency. The idea of the public celebration of the Ganesh festival originated in a private discussion between Tilak and some of his colleagues like Namjoshi. The Hindu Moslem riots had demonstrated the utter necessity of strengthening the foundations of Hindu solidarity and the Ganesh festival could be of great service in this connection. Both Brahmans and non Brahmans participated in the celebrations. The idea of a public Ganesh festival spread in the Indian States and by 1896-97 it began to be celebrated all over Maharashtra. Hence Tilak deserves the credit for having renovated and reinterpreted the Ganpati festival and, thus, the mere mechanical conception of a political movement was transformed into an almost civil religion

By inaugurating the public ganesh festival, Tilak tried to bring nationalism to the masses. The Indian National Congress in those days was more or less an academic movement, moving on occidental lines and quoting Burke, Mill and Spencer and their araguments for liberty and individualism.. But the Ganapati festival was an experiment and a very successful one in a mass nationalism and to this extent it has successfully influenced the psychological orientation of the people of Maharashtra over several decades. The contribution of Tilak in this sense is one that consolidated the communities to instill among them the spirit of nationalism

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Discuss the political and social ideas of Tilak.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. What are the views of Tilak on Education?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. Write a note on contribution of Tilak to Indian Political Thought.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

15.8 Let us sum up

Tilak was one of the greatest figures in the political history of modern India. He was also a profound scholar. Bu his monumental writings in the field of Vedic and philosophic researches he has created a name and fame for himself in the literary and cultural annals of India. He will have a permanent place not only in the political history of India but also in the history of the renaissance of the country. The combination of scholarship and political leadership has given to Tilak a unique place in modern Indian history. With the sober sense of keen political realism he combined a vast intellectual idealism. Amidst the turmoils and worries of the vicissitudes of political life he found solace in deciphering the meanings of obscure Vedic mantras. He had the intellectual aptitude which delights in prolonged concentration and it was unfortunate that due to the political servitude of India he could pursue his literary endeavors only in the enforced seclusion of prison life.

As a scholar, he was very comprehensive in the range of the subjects he had mastered. He was at home in astronomy, mathematics, law, philosophy and religion. His study of the basic texts of the Vedas, Hindu philosophy and Hindu law was thorough, intensive and penetrating. There was also a touch of poetic romanticism in him. Only a man of imaginative insight could find the astronomical clue to Vedic antiquities in that verse of the Bhagavadgita in which Krishna says I am Margashirsha among months and Vasanta among seasons. But this romantic vision went hand in hand with a scholarly passion for thoroughness. The almost overwhelming texual references that we find in his books on Vedic researches make one wonder at his intellectual industry .

15.9 Key words.

Insight	-	acumen
Reverence	-	Respect
Persistence	-	Steadfastness
Emancipation	-	Liberation
Precursor	-	forerunner
inveterate	-	deep rooted
obituary	-	record of death

15.9 Some useful books.

V.P. Varma	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
Dr.Bali	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
Shivlal	-	Indian Political Thought

15.10 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 15.3 & 15.2
2. See section 15.4
3. See section 15.6

NOTES

Unit-16 Lala Lajpath Rai

Structure

16.0 Objectives

This unit is written with an objective to give you an understanding, you about the life of Lal Rajpath Rai and his views on Hindu ideology. After going through this unit you should be able to understand;

* Rai's brief life history
* His Views on political and social systems and
* Views on Hindu ideology.

16.1 A brief life history of Lala Lajpath Rai

Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) was decidedly the greatest man produced by the Punjab after Ranjit Singh. He occupies a pre eminent position in the galaxy of the fighters for independence and was a national hero. As a staunch nationalist, as a social reformer and a fearless fighter for swaraj he was loved and admired throughout the country. He was born on January 28, 1865, in Jagaraon in the Ludhiana District and died on November 17, 1928, he began to practise in Lahore. Through great struggle he raised himself up to a front position in the legal profession in the Punjab. He imbibed the sentiments of selflessness, fearlessness and service in ht eArya Samaj. His contacts with Lala Saindas and Pandit Gurudatta Vidyarthi evoked and deepened his innate patriotic urges. He was one of the important figures of the D.A.V. College at Lahore which had been founded on June, 1886. He read in 1880 or 1881 a small biography of Mazzini contained in a speech by Surendranath Banerjea, and this left and indelible impression on his mind. Later he read a bigger work, life and Teachings of Mazzini, and also translated Mazzini's Duties of Man in Urdu. Lajpat Rai himself wrote a biography of Mazzini in Urdu, in 1895. He also wrote and got published a biography of Garibaldi in Urdu (1892-93). In 1897, he rendered considerable relief service during the famine in the Punjab. In 1901, he gave evidence before the Famine Commission. In 1902, he gave evidence before the University Commission set up by Lord Curzon.

Munshi Radhakrishna, the father of Lajpat Rai, was at first an admirer of Syed Ahmad Khan, but when the views of the latter underwent a pro Moslemist communal transformation, he was disappointed and published an open letter against him in the paper Kohinoor. Lajpat Rai had read Syed Ahmad's ; The Causes of the Mutiny. He also used to read the latter's Social Reformer and Aligarh Insitute Gazette. He wrote some letters to the press wherein he criticized the latter's opinions in an effective manner. In 1888, only three years after the India

Naional Congress was founded, Lajpat Rai joined it. He appeared at the Congress platform in 1888 at Allahabad and in his Urdu speech he stressed the necessity of the due consideration of educational and industrial matters.

In 1905, he was selected by the Indian National Congress to go to England to place the grievances of Indians before British public opinion. He went as a member of the Congress Delegation to England along with Gokhale to persuade the British leaders not to proceed with the partition of Bengal. But the arrogant power of a mighty imperialism would not listen to the calm persuasions of the spokesmen of a down trodden nation. From England, At the Banaras Congress of 1905, he played the significant role of a successful mediator between the camps of the President of the session Gopal Krishna gokhale, and of Lokamanya Tilak who favoured a more extremist approach.

The deportatin of Lalaji along with Sardar Ajit Singh in 1907, under Regulation III of 1888, to Mandalya was absolutely unjustified. It proceeded out of the whims of the Anglo Indian bureaucracy which was bent upon reactionary measures of repression. It gave, however, to Lalaji the halo of martyrdom. The deportation made him a national hero. He was released on September 7, 1907 After his return, the New Party of the Nationalists wanted to have him as the President of the forthcoming Nagpur (later the venue was changed to Surat) session of the Congress. But sensing opposition from the side of the Moderates, he withdrew his name. In 1913, he collected money in Punjab for helping the South African Satyagraha. He invited Gokhale to Lahore and a sum of forty thousand rupees was collected. He was thus infact a deeply devoted social servant who by the call of his heart devoted his life to social causes.

16.2 Political Ideas of Lajpat Rai

Lajpat Rai was a brave fighter and a staunch nationalist. He was not an aggressive revolutionary nationalist, however neither was he an advocate of undefined, cosmopolitanism which he derided as another name for selfishness. Nor was he a self proclaimed selfless servant His idea of nationalism is akin to that of the nineteenth century Italian Nationalists. He subscribed to the principle that every nation had the fundamental right to fix and work out its ideals and any interference with its right was unnatural and unjust. He, therefore, stressed the right of India to strengthen herself by creating the foundations of a strong independent political life. The consent of the governed is the sole logical and legitimate basis of government.

In his book, Young India, first published in 1916 in the U.S.A. Lajpat Rai provided an interpretation and a history of the Indian nationalist movement. According to him, India was not conquered by the British sword but by the unscrupulous diplomatic machinations of the British. The movement of 1857, he regarded as both political and national. He looked upon Indian nationalism as a deep and powerful force. Nationalism is nurtured by the blood of martyrs. Repression only forsters additional impetus to it. Thus Indian nationalism may be said to have received substantial help from the Lyttons, Curzons and Sydenhams, through a process of antipathetic reactions. It is these die hard, autocratic rulers who had provoked terrorist and violent activities in Indian politics. Lajpat Rai pleaded for political advance and parliamentary government. And emphatically denied the charge of the unfitness of Orientals for representative institutions.

Lala believed in the immediate realization of liberty which is the spiritual heritage of mans age long endeavours. Hence in his book, Englands debt to India, he regarded the attainment of self government or Home Rule as the only means for the political salvation of India. The force of Britain's paternalistic dominance had, therefore, to end and an explicit adjudication of the rights and obligations of Englishmen and Indians was essential.

Like Digby, Dadabhai Naoroji and Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Lajpat Rai, also tried to unravel the story of the ceaseless economic exploitation of India He revealed the merciless policy of exploitation which had enchained the Indian traders, agriculturists and labourers to the cruel machines of an alien imperialism. He also exposed the Machiavellian technics through which India had for long experienced economic exhaustion, a sort of killing by inches, which took a century to complete. The drain in no case represented the interest on capital investment or services performed. It manifested itself in diverse ways in the form of the mounting cost of the public services, and in the shape of the increasing expenditure on the army.

Lajpat Rai believed in the all round advancement of the nation. In his speech as the president of the Indian Natinal Congress in 1920, he stressed the necessity of the educational, social and economic uplift of the masses. He wanted Indians to cultivate a high sense of public duty and a high standard of public morality. True deshbhakti implied a subordination of private considerations to the greater good of the social polity. Lajpat Rai categorically stated that the nation is superior to the state. He thus, repudiated the Fichtean theory of the

superiority of the state to the nations. According to him, the nation determines the form of the state and in its corporate capacity has the freedom to change the form of the state.

16.3 Lajpat Rai's views on Socialism

After his return from the U.S.A., on February 20, 1920, Lala took some part in the popularization of socialist ideas. It is worthy note that the preface of his book, The Arya Samaj, was written by Sidney Webb, the famous British socialist. He was opposed to the addition to the powers of the capitalists and the landlords. His was no doctrianaire socialism but he definitely stated that the present constitution of society was wrong and unjust and perhaps even more barbaric than it had been in primitive times. He, however, wanted that Indian labour and capital should meet on equal ground and co operate for the development of Indian industries. As the first President of the Indian Trade Union Congress in 1920, Lajpat Rai wanted that the Trade Union Congress should send its delegates to the International Labour Organization. He urged friendship between the Indian Labourers and the European proletariat. He, however, repudiated resort to the technics followed by the labouring population of Europe and Russia. He also pleaded for the intellectuals of the country coming to the help of the labourers. Lajpat Rai condemmned the European capitalists who under the shadow of nationalism spread havoc in the wold. Later on, he condemned the British liberals for their hypocritical imperialism and capitalism and asked the Indian people to have more faith in the British Labour party.

Lajpat Rai did not subscribe to the Marxist thesis that in accordance with the inexorable determinism of the historical dialectic, a country must first pass through the capitalist phase before it could realize proletarian dictatorship. But even if this were true, Lalaji felt that it would be unwise to reproduce in India the worm eaten decomposing, vicious and immoral capitalist system of Europe. The First World War, he felt, had given a damaging blow to the civilization of Europe. He was, hence, opposed to the introduction and accentuation of the evils of an expiring industrial civilization into India. Lalaji was a bitter opponent of capitalism and imperialiism, and on the basis of his experiences in the west, he went even to the length of saying that socialistic even Bolshevic version of facts was more reliable and more humane than the capitalistic version.

16.4 Lajapat Rai's views on Hindu Ideology

During the First World War Lalaji was in the west and there he wrote his famous book The Arya Samaj. In this book he pleaded that the Arya Samaj should adopt a more universalistic and tolerant approach. From the very beginning of his career as a social worker in the punjab Arya Samaj, Lalaji had never sympathized with the dogmatic fanaticism of people like pandits Lekharam and Gurudatta. Lalaji wanted that those elements of the past culture which provided strength and vitality should certainly be conserved, but he wanted a religion that would provide the foundation for an honorable life on this earth and in the present situation, and hence he urged Indians to be armed with the armory of present day institutions and present day culture. He pleaded for a wider outlook and advocated a reconciliation of Hinduism with that greater Indian nationalism. Thus, he wanted the Arya Samaj to follow a policy of mobility tempered with conservatism and thus advance on the path of progress. Lalaji had his moorings in the traditions and historic sentiments of ancient India because he was an Arya Samajist. He, hence, would not tolerate any sharp break with the past. He wrote To attempt to divorce Dharma from life is a very risky affair. He believed in the conservation of those old values which still had a meaning and significance. He recognized that the modern civilization had excelled in building a vast structure catering to mans comforts and pleasures, but he was frank in stating that perhaps the Vedic ideals about cosmology and sociology were nearer the truth than those of the modern civilization. Religion, according to Lajpat Rai, had not only to provide for moral advance and spiritual beauty but also to promote social development . As an Arya Samajist, he was opposed to the iniquities in the name of the cast and believed in the growth of real religion as a truly elevating force.

Due to his long residence in the west, Lajpat Rai had developed a comprehensive outlook and it would be absolutely unfair to consider him a pure Hindu revivalist. It would be unwise, according to him, to perpetuate the social philosophies of Manu, Narada and Apastmba. He was hopeful that a better understanding would dawn between the east and the west. He, however, was no admirer of a dull uniformity or rigid monotony. In criticizing the views of Mr. Lowes Dixkinson of Cambridge, Lalaji maintained that the east had a great degree of unity in the field of religious ideals, intellectual norms, social patterns of behavior and artistic criteria. He, nevertheless, wanted the East to imbibe something of the aggressive

spirit of the west and assimilate her intellectual achievements. He had a keen appreciation of some of the sociological and political concepts of the West and admired the political institution of western democracies. He was influenced to some extent by the educational ideas of John Dewey and Bertand Russell. He was also a believer in some of the educational ideas and experiments that were being carried on the west during those days.

16.5 Contributions of Lajpath Rai

Lajpat Rai would not yield to the whims and dicates of an aggressive bureaucracy. He also stood for justice in the sense of giving to each individual and group what is due to it. He believed in the co operation and rapprochement between Hindus and Moslems. At the Madras Congress of 11927, he supported the resolution for unity among the two communities, but he would not stand for any jeopardization of the interests of the Hindus. The leaders of the Indian National Congress did not sympathize with the stand taken by Lalaji Shraddhananda, Malaviya and Lajpat Rai were greatly perturbed by the atrocities of the Moplas in 1921 and by the riots in Multan, Amritsar, Saharanpur and Kohat. The congres believed in a policy of giving concessions to the Moslems because the latter were a minority in the country. But although a minority in the country, the Moslems had a very strong position in the panjab. Lalaji could not but be influenced by the peculiar political and communal situation of the Punjab. Hence for some time Lalaji had connections with the Hindu Maha sabha also. But he never became a communalist and never subscribed to any kind of work that would injure the cause of Swaraj.

In October , 1928, Lajpat Rai presided over the U.P. Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Etawah. In his presidential address he supported the Nehru Report and advised the Hindus to accept it. According to this Report dominion status was recognized as the goal of India's political aspirations and a courageous attempt was made to deal with the Hindu Moslem problem. Lajpat Rai condemned the iniquities of the cast system. In the contemporary context to Indian society and politics he considered the caste system to be a grave evil and a dangerous hindrance to the path of Hindu Sangathan.

Lajpat Rai had a keen mind and had immense grasp of the realities of the Indian political situation, especially of the Panjab. He felt and stated that communal representation with separate electorates could not be reconciled with the claims of Moslems that they believed in nationalism and unity. At the Unity Conference in Delhi in 1925, and in the presidential speech

at the Calcutta Hindu Mahasbha session, he expressed opposition to communal electorates. In the late twenties, in a fit of exasperation, Lalaji even suggested that the Panjab be partitioned into two sectors 1) the Western Panjab with Moslem majority to be a Moslem governed province, and 2) the Eastern Panjab to contain a majority of Hindus and Sikhs and to be governed by them. The bitter irony was that Lalaji's suggestion was the one accepted ultimately when the Moslem League began a crusade and direct action for what Mahātma Gandhi called the vivisection of the country.

Check Your Progress - 1

Note: 1) Use the space given below for your answer.

2) Also check your answer with the clue given at the end of the Unit.

1. Explain the political ideas of Lala Lajpat Rai.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

2. Discuss Lajpat Rai views on Swadesh and Swaraj.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

3. Write a note on Lalaji's views on Socialism.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

16.6 Let us sum up

While sunning up the contents of the Indian political leaders and their achievements, it could be seen even in the west too, that these men were the "child" of their own time Rai was no exception. A punjabhi with a commitment to the cause of the nationn, he showed his sensitivity and understanding. In a deeply devided world Lajpat stood an a bridge between hatredness and love, thus showing a midway to a cause.

16.7 Key words

Exasperation	-	irritation
Reconcile	-	persuade
Cosmopolitan	-	metropolitan
Unscrupulous	-	unethical
Doctrinaire	-	follower
Unravel	-	

16.8 Some useful books

V.P. Varma	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
Dr.Bali	-	Modern Indian Political Thought
Shivlal	-	Indian Political Thought

15.10 Answers to Check your progress exercises

Check Your Progress - 1

1. See section 16.2
2. See section 16.5
3. See section 16.3

NOTES

NOTES

NOTES

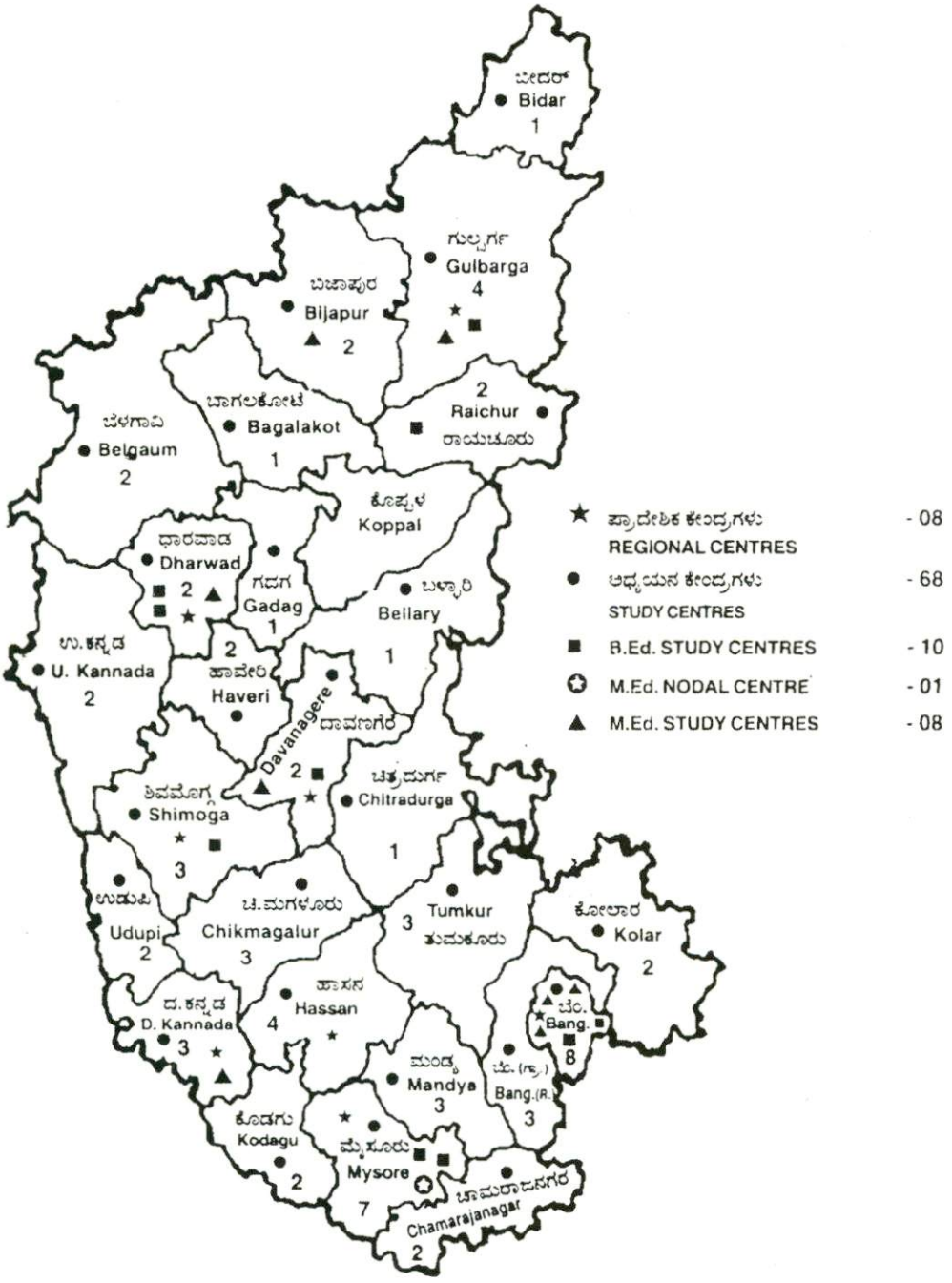
NOTES

NOTES

NOTES

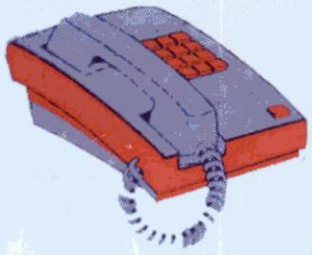
NOTES

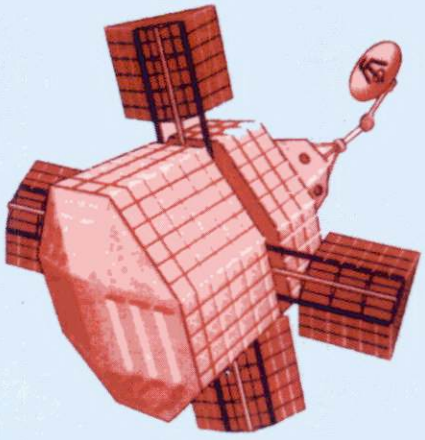
ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಮುಕ್ತ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕ ಹಾಗೂ ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳು
Regional and Study Centres of Karnataka State Open University

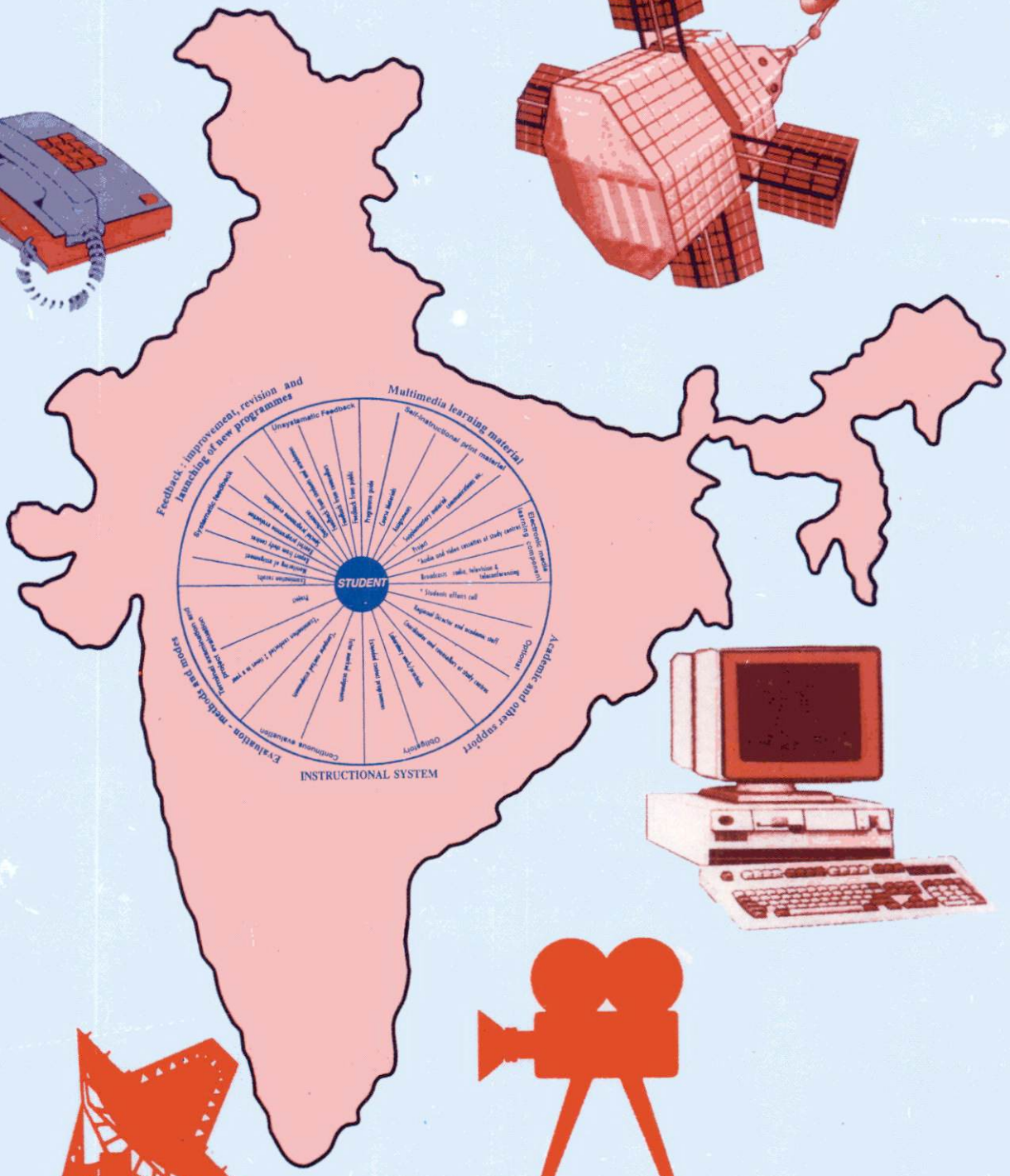


(ನಮೂದಿಸಿರುವ ಅಂಕಿ - ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಟ್ಟು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಕೇಂದ್ರಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.)
(The Number indicate the total number of study Centres existing in that districts.)

ಆದೇಶ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ : ಕರಾಮುವಿ/ಸಿಪಾವಿ/4/809/2007-08 ದಿನಾಂಕ : 28-05-2007
ಒಳಪುಟ : 60 GSM MPM ಕಾಗದ, ಪೈಟ್ ಪ್ರಿಂಟಿಂಗ್ ಮತ್ತು ರಕ್ಷಾಪುಟ : 170 ಆರ್ಟ್‌ಕಾರ್ಡ್
ಮುದ್ರಕರು : ವಿನಾಯಕ ಆಫ್‌ಸೆಟ್ ಪ್ರಿಂಟರ್ಸ್ , ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು-560 076. ಪ್ರತಿಗಳು : 3000






Multimedia learning material
Self-instructional print material
Programme guide
Course materials
Supplementary material
Project
Broadcast radio, television & videoconferencing
Electronic media learning (computer)
Feedback : improvement, revision and launching of new programmes
Unsystematic Feedback
Systematic feedback
Academic and other support
Opinion
Regional Director and academic staff
Coordinator and counsellors at study centres
Interactive (counsellor)
Distance mode programmes
Contact mode programmes
Counsellor
Evaluation - methods and modes
Continuous evaluation
Project
STUDENT
INSTRUCTIONAL SYSTEM