Rousseau on Inequality

[I]
ROUSSEAU : GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) was a renowned French moral and political philosopher. His chief contribution to political thought consists in a searching analysis of social inequalities and justification of popular sovereignty. His most important works in this field include : *Discourse on the Sciences and Arts* (1750), *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755) and *Social Contract* (1762). Of these, *Discourse on the Sciences and Arts* was the product of a prize-winning essay in a contest organized by the Academy of Dijon in 1749. *Social Contract* throws light on the origin and nature of civil society. It also explicates the theory of 'general will' which provides for justification of popular sovereignty.

Social Contract

An agreement among men whereby they relinquish the hypothetical 'state of nature' and enter into civil society. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) (English philosopher), John Locke (1632-1704) (English philosopher) and Jean-Jaques Rousseau (1712-78) (French philosopher) are regarded the chief exponents of the theory of social contract. They have given different accounts of the state of nature, the terms of contract, and the nature of sovereignty which comes into existence in consequence of the social contract.

Sovereignty

Supreme legal authority which is an essential element of the State. It is by virtue of this authority that a State can make binding laws, command obedience to its orders, and punish those who fail to obey its orders. Only a sovereign State can enter into treaty with other States and conduct war against enemy States.

Nature of the Social Contract

Rousseau, like Hobbes (1588-1679), postulates a single contract, and thereby creates absolute, indivisible and inalienable sovereignty. But Rousseau distinguishes himself as an exponent of popular sovereignty. Sovereignty, according to Rousseau, is not vested in a ruler who stands above society as Hobbes had assumed; instead, it is vested in the people themselves. When people enter into a social contract, they relinquish their natural rights in their individual capacity; they surrender these rights to their collective whole. Thus, what they lose in their individual capacity, they get back in their corporate capacity, in improved form. No one is a loser in the bargain. Everybody is a gainer, because when any one is attacked, society as a whole comes to his rescue. Sovereignty is indivisible, yet it is shared by each member of the civil society. According to Rousseau, each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the *general will*, and in our corporate capacity each of us becomes the beneficiary of that common power as an indivisible part of the whole.

Natural Rights

Under Rousseau's system of thought, natural rights of man in the state of nature consist in an unlimited right to all that attracts him and which is within his reach. These rights cannot be maintained when men enter into civil society. So natural rights have to be surrendered when people decide to form civil society.

The creation of popular sovereignty by vesting it in the *general will* is a unique contribution of Rousseau which laid the foundations of modern democracy. As Robert M. MacIver *(The Modern State*; 1926) has noted :

> The secret of Rousseau's doctrine is found in the substitution for *a* sovereign of *the* sovereign. His sovereign is the 'general will', and he is perfectly ready to apply to it all the sweeping attributes which Hobbes delivers to his 'one man or assembly of men.' It too is one and indivisible, inerrant, indestructible, omnipotent.

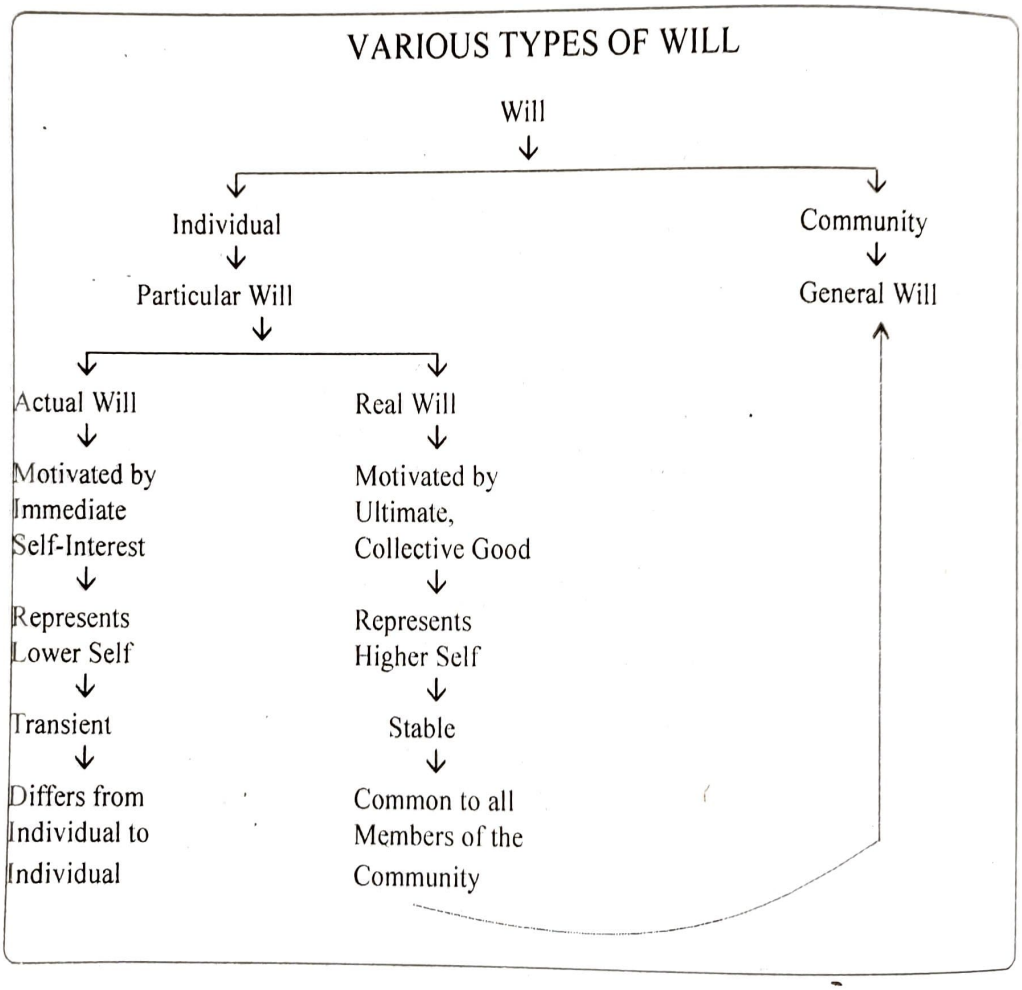
Civil association is the most voluntary act in the world; since every individual is born free and his own master, no one is able, on any pretext whatsoever, to subject him without his consent.

J.J. Rousseau, *Social Contract* (1762)

Concept of the General Will

The concept of the general will lies at the heart of Rousseau's doctrine, which must be distinguished from other types of human will. As Patrick Riley has

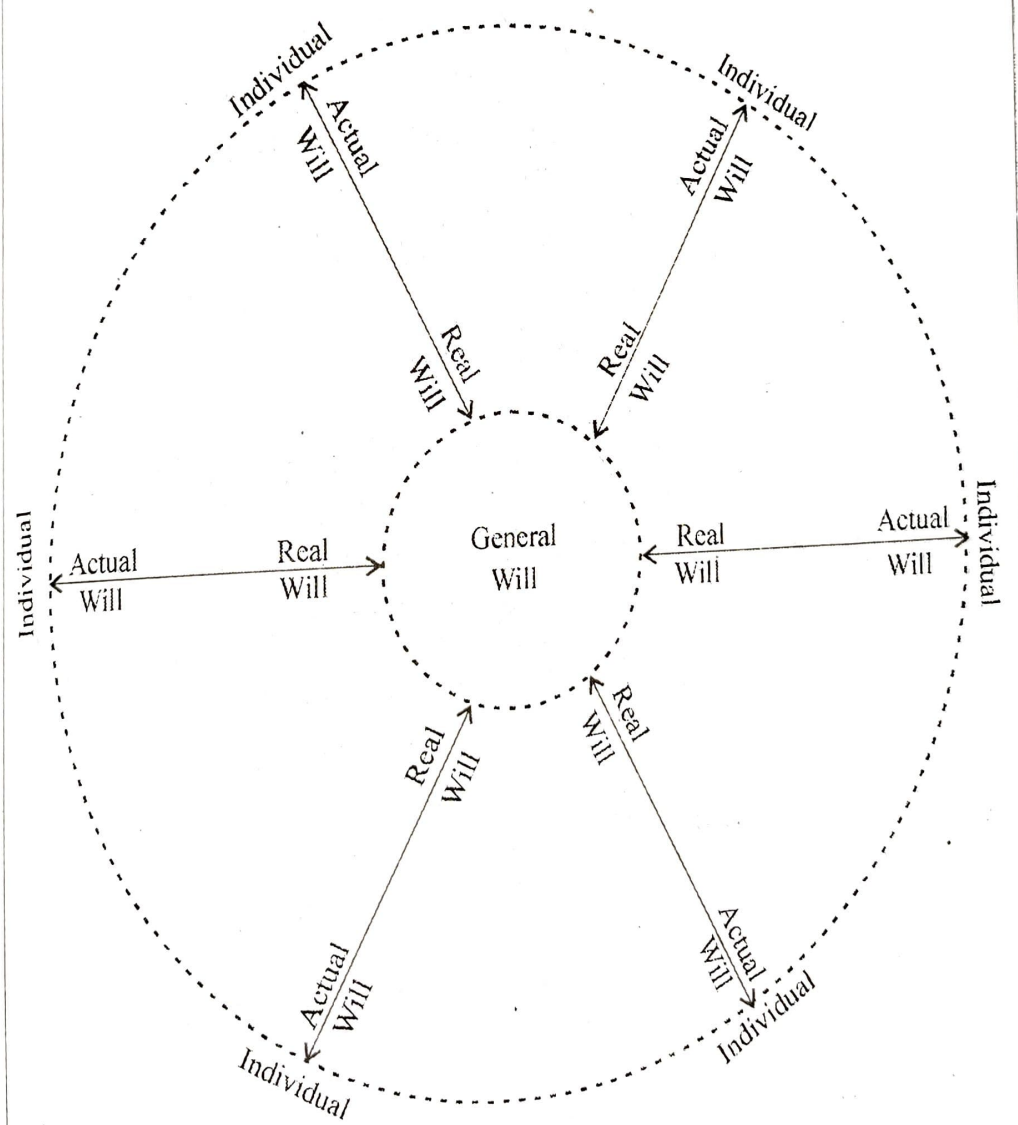
elucidated : "Rousseau himself insists that 'the general will is always right', that it is 'the will that one has as a citizen'—when one thinks of the common good and not of one's own particular will as a private person." (*The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, edited by David Miller; 1987) Subsequent writers have used the distinction between actual will and real will in order to explicate Rousseau's distinction between particular will and general will. The existence of these two types of will is a source of conflict within the mind of man. Actual will is motivated by his immediate, selfish interest. Real will is motivated by his ultimate, collective interest. Actual will is reflected in his 'lower self'; real will is reflected in his 'higher self'. Actual will prompts him towards gratification of his desires; real will induces him to acts of reason. Actual will is transient, unstable and inconsistent; it changes from moment to moment. Real will is stable, constant, consistent and determinate. *Man's freedom consists in overcoming his actual will and following the direction of the real will*. Real will expresses his true freedom. It subordinates man's self-interest to the interests of the community—common interest or common good—which is shared by each and all.



But individual by himself is imperfect. At times he may not be able to discriminate between his actual will and real will. This dilemma is resolved by

the transition from the 'particular' to the 'general' will. The general will harmonizes the interests of each with those of all. It does not represent a 'compromise' or the convergence of diverse interests, but an expression of the highest in every man. It is the spirit of citizenship in its concrete shape. Man's particular will may create confusion; but the general will alway shows him the right way. He must follow the right way in order to secure his real freedom even if he feels constrained. In other words, when man acts in the state against his particular will under the direction of the general will, he is not losing his freedom. In fact, the constraint of *the general will* is instrumental for securing his larger and ultimate freedom, which *reconciles freedom of each with freedom of all*. That is why Rousseau quips : '*man can be forced to be free.*'

GENESIS OF THE GENERAL WILL



Actual Will impels individuals to different directions:
Real Will directs them toward the Common Good.

In this line of argument, Rousseau travels much ahead of his original position. He starts with describing civil society as an expression of *'superior will'* but ends up with treating it as an expression of *'superior reason'*. He starts with the mechanistic view of the state but ends up with the organic view of the state. He starts as an ardent liberal but ends up as an ardent idealist. Rousseau was the most brilliant writer of his time but he is also most confusing. Liberals and idealists adore him alike; they also condemn him alike.

MECHANISTIC VIEW OF THE STATE

In this metaphorical expression, the State is compared to a machine which was invented by men for the protection and maintenance of their rights. Like a machine, structure of the State can be modified, overhauled or even replaced by men according to their judgement, who constituted it.

ORGANIC VIEW OF THE STATE

In this metaphorical expression, the State is compared to an organism or a living body, and individuals are regarded its organs. An individual separated from the State loses his essence and identity like an organ served from the body.

[II]
ANALYSIS OF INEQUALITIES

Early hints of Rousseau's attitude toward the problem of inequality may be found in his *Discourse on the Sciences and Arts* (1750). It gives a vivid description of the state of nature and the morally corrupting impact of civilization on human life. This *Discourse* was published on the basis of Rousseau's prize-winning essay on the subject —'Has the Progress of Sciences and Arts Contributed to Corrupt or Purify Morals?' This essay contest was organized by the Academy of Dijon in 1749. In this essay Rousseau asserted that man is nice by nature but he becomes wretched under the influence of the corrupt institutions created by an unnatural civilization. The state of nature was a state of primitive simplicity and 'idyllic blissfulness'. This boon was lost by man when he became interested in scientific and literary activities. Rousseau came to the conclusion that if man wants to recover the original happiness and innocence, he must return to nature.

Rousseau's second Discourse, *i.e.* the *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755) is a more profound work. Here Rousseau makes a distinction between two types of inequalities : Natural inequality and Conventional inquality (*i.e.* moral and political inequality). Natural inequality among men is manifested in the differences of their physical strength, aptitude and character.

Conventional inequality, on the other hand, is the product of our civilization. This type of inequality could not exist in the state of nature. Rousseau thinks that primitive man's major natural virtue is that of pity which makes him understand directly the sufferings of others. It tends to cultivate a sense of community and companionship among human beings in the state of nature. Rousseau strongly believed that primitive societies like those of the indigenous Americans and Africans were the 'best for man'. He argued that the rise of civilization, far from being a boon, is always accompanied by costs that are greater than its benefits.

In this Discourse Rousseau speculates about the rise of civilization. He observes that geography and accident were the roots of the fall from nature. Some men began to live along the sides of rivers for better conditions of living; others continued to live in forests in search of food. Natural catastrophies like earthquakes and lightning led to the discovery of fire; and the urge for meeting the growing scarcity of things led to the discovery of metals and invention of agriculture.

> It was iron and corn, which first civilized men, and ruined humanity.
>
> J.J. Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (1755)

When men learnt the art of control over nature and production through labour for their consumption, conception of private property slowly entered into human consciousness. This marked the real beginning of civilization which ruined humanity. Civil society was founded on this conception :

> The first man who, having enclosed a piece of ground, bethought himself of saying *This is mine*, and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society.
>
> (*Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*; 1755)

In due course, the actual inequalities as manifested in the moral and political inequalities became more glaring, and the slavery of most men to civilization became more widespread.

In his *Social Contract* (1762), Rousseau begins his argument with the description of the existing state of civilization. By now he has realized that his proposal for 'Return to Nature' given in his earlier *Discourses* was no longer feasible. So he embarks on rebuilding moral foundation of civil society. Thus he proceeds :

> Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains. Many a one believes himself the master of others, and yet he is a greater slave than they.

Rousseau, of course, maintains that liberty in the state of nature is a great boon. But in due course of time, when population increases and the treasures of nature start depleting, it is no longer possible for men to enjoy natural liberty

as before. In other words, natural liberty is now threatened because of changed circumstances. When the forces of nature no longer sustain men, they have to consolidate their own force to save themselves. They, therefore, create a civil society to safeguard their freedom.

In *Social Contract* Rousseau seems to make the point that the formation of civil society has deprived man of his natural liberty. But he immediately proceeds to 'ignore this question' and attempt a justification of this 'change'. He seeks justification of authority in the natural agreement among men. Thus, he observes: "Since no man has a natural authority over other men, and since might never makes right, it follows that agreements are the basis for all legitimate authority among men." When men abandon the state of nature to enter into civil society through the social contract, their loss is handsomely compensated. As Rousseau asserts, what man loses by the social contract is his natural liberty and unlimited right to all which attracts him and which is within his reach. What he gains is civil liberty and the property of what he possesses.

Rousseau's overall analysis of inequality sought to challenge the belief associated with Enlightenment that the historical changes of his times had brought about 'progress'. Rousseau's argument also implied, that the Europeans had promoted social inequality; they had subdued the primitive tribes of Africa and the New World by means of violence; and they eulogized these achievements as 'progress'.

ENLIGHTENMENT

An intellectual movement of eighteenth century France, Germany and Great Britain. It was marked by the growth of a new outlook, informed by reason and power of scientific knowledge. Old superstitions were discarded, old fears were dispelled, and new faith in 'progress' through reliance on reason and scientific method was evolved.

PROGRESS

The notion that social change is heading toward a continuous improvement of social conditions of mankind. It is an evaluative concept which seeks to compare the ongoing changes with the vision of an ideal social order. It tries to show that any perceptible social change marks a step in the direction of realizing that ideal.

In the history of social and political thought, Rousseau was the first to anlyse the prevailing inequalities in society and to demand the removal of those inequalities which involved social injustice. Before Rousseau all social inequalities were placed in the same category which were treated to be unalterable. Rousseau's distinction between 'natural inequality' and

'conventional inequality' led to the conclusion that some of social inequalities were certainly alterable. This idea provides us a solid ground for making necessary changes in the social structure in order to secure social justice.

SOCIAL JUSTICE

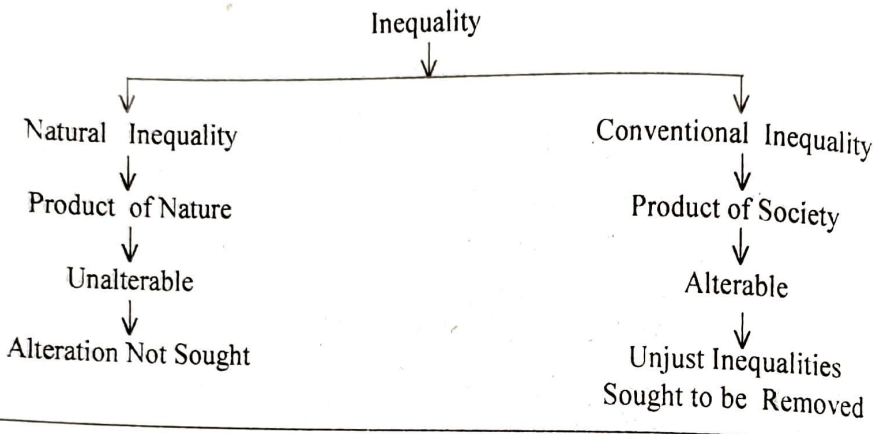
The policy which seeks to prevent the concentration of valuable resources of the community in the hands of the rich, and to create a social order which will enable the poor and the weaker sections to gain a respectable share thereof by virtue of their ability, effort and need.

Natural or physical inequality , according to Rousseau, implies a statement of fact. It consists in the differences of age, health, bodily strength and qualities of mind and soul. These differences are the product of natural order, and these are almost unalterable. Neither these have been created by man, nor can he alter them at will. On the other hand, conventional (*i.e.* moral or political) inequality consists in the different privileges that some men enjoy to the exclusion of others, such as inequalities of wealth, prestige and power. These differences are the product of social order and these are largely alterable. These have been created by man who can alter them provided there is a political will. For example, nature has given fair complexion to some people, and dark complexion to others. It is an example of natural inequality. But if those with fair complexion live in magnificent houses, and those without it live in slums, this arrangement is not ordained by nature; it is the product of human design. It is an example of conventional inequality. When we invoke the principle of equality to demand that the people of white and non-white races should be granted equal opportunities and rights in the matter of education employment, housing, and above all a reasonable share in power, we are certainly demanding a change in the social structure. We never demand that all non-whites should be made white to ensure their equality!

In the present-day world, the distinction between natural inequality and conventional inequality originally drawn by Rousseau can be applied to a larger sphere. We can now realize that with the advance of scientific knowledge and technology, more and more areas of natural inequality are coming within the 'alterable' sphere. We know that health and bodily strength of human beings can be considerably improved by proper nutrition and health-care, and mental make-up of a person can be considerably developed by proper counselling, education and training. Even physical deformities and mental handicap can be prevented by timely care, protection and treatment, so much so that an individual's appearance can be refurbished by means of plastic surgery and by making use of the skills of a beautician! The availability of these benefits to any individual is again dependent on his socio-economic status and the technological advancement of the society in which he lives. It is becoming

increasingly clear that a large part of humanity is being deprived of the benefits of modern technology largely because of the prevailing social distinctions and economic inequalities, and not because of some divinely ordained system. Thus the distinction between natural and conventional inequalities is not becoming irrelevant in the contemporary society, but the impact of conventional inequality is being felt in larger and larger sphere, and our social responsibility for the removal of this inequality is also increasing.

ROUSSEAU'S ANALYSIS OF INEQUALITY



When all or some members of society realize that some of the prevailing inequalities are unjust, and these are alterable by social action, then the ideal of equality becomes the motive force of our political life. Generally people never complain about natural inequalities. They seek the removal of only such inequalities which have become deep-rooted in our social system. These inequalities are reflected in social-economic-political status of people which effect the distribution of wealth and opportunities of self-development in society. Thus Rousseau gave us a well-reasoned account of the nature of social inequality. He demolished the age-old misconception that all inequalities in society are unalterable. He identified the sphere of 'alterable' inequalities in society and thereby paved the way for movement toward social justice.

Q. "Rousseau identified the sphere of alterable inequalities in society and thereby paved the way for movement toward social justice." Elaborate and comment.

10

Ambedkar and Lohia on Social Justice

Ambedkar on Social Justice

In the words of Bhimrao Ambedkar (1891–1956), the founding father of modern India, "An idea needs propagation as much as a plant needs watering." Ambedkar was a leading figure in the struggle for Indian independence. He is also the architect and draftsman of the new India's Constitution. He was the supporter of civil rights for the sixty million members of the "untouchable" caste. Ambedkar was fearless spokesman of the deprived class. In 1950, he resigned from the law ministry when Nehru's cabinet turned down the Women's Rights Bill. Ambedkar once said, "Without social reform the true feeling of nationalism cannot be evolved". He was the crusader of social equality. Columbia University of America recognized Ambedkar as the main citizen, social worker and strong follower of human rights in India. His introduction of Hindu Code Bill in 1951 clearly reflects his keenness in removing the prevalent discrimination against the Hindu women in the matters of property rights.

Ambedkar himself admits that he was influenced by Kabir of the *Bhakti* cult, Phooley, a social reformer of the nineteenth century Maharashtra, and Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur who inspired him to fight against the Hindu orthodoxy. His important works are *Customs in India* (1917), *Small Holdings in India and their Remedies* (1923), *Annihilation of Caste* (1938), *Federation versus Freedom* (1939), *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables* (1943), *What Congress and Gandhi have into untouchables* (1945), *Who were Shudras* (1946), *The Untouchables* (1948), *Thoughts on Linguistic States* (1955), and *The Buddha and his Dharma* (1957).

Ambedkar was a social revolutionary leader who worked his whole life towards the annihilation of caste system. In his childhood, he suffered a lot

from the hands of *Varna* system prevalent in the Hindu society. That is why he became the champion of the civil rights of the deprived classes.

Hindu Social Order

According to Ambedkar, the Hindu social order had two important constituents, that is, the caste system and untouchability. Hindu social order for him is founded on the doctrine of inequality and not on the basis of the principle of liberty, equality and fraternity, the values which formed the basis of universal human rights.

Sukhadev Thorat argued that "in the social sphere the caste system involves (a) division of people in social groups (castes). The social, religious, cultural and economic rights of members of the castes are predetermined in advance by birth into that caste and are hereditary; (b) an unequal distribution of these rights across caste groups; and (c) provision of a mechanism of social and economic ostracism calculated to ensure rigid adherence to the system and justification of the social system by the philosophy of Hinduism. In the sphere of economic rights, the Hindu social order also lays down a scheme of distribution, namely (a) it fixes the occupations for each caste by birth and its hereditary continuation; (b) unequal distribution of these economic rights related to property, trade, employment, wages, education etc., among the caste groups; and (c) hierarchy of occupation based on social stigma. These features imply that the Hindu social order is based on three interrelated elements, namely predetermination of social, religious and economic rights of each caste based on birth; the unequal and hierarchical (graded) division of these rights among the castes; and provision of strong social, religious and economic ostracism supported by social and religious ideology to maintain the Hindu social order" (Sukhadev Thorat, "Hindu Social Order and Human Rights of the Dalits").

Dr. Ketkar defines caste as "A social group having two characteristics:

(i) Membership is confined to those who are born of members and includes all persons so born; and

(ii) The members are forbidden by an inexorable social law to marry outside the group".

Ambedkar said, "Dr. Ketkar who has done much for the elucidation of the subject. Not only is he a native, but he has also brought a critical acumen and an open mind to bear on his study of Caste. His definition merits consideration, for he has defined Caste in its relation to a system of Castes, and has concentrated his attention only on those characteristics which are absolutely necessary for the existence of a Caste within a system, rightly excluding all others as being secondary or derivative in character. With respect to his definition it must, however, be said that in it there is a slight confusion of thought, lucid and clear as otherwise it is. He speaks of Prohibition of Intermarriage and Membership by Autogeny as the two characteristics of Caste.

I submit that these are but two aspects of one and the same thing, and not two different things as Dr. Ketkar supposes them to be. If you prohibit intermarriage the result is that you limit membership to those born within the group. Thus the two are the obverse and the reverse sides of the same medal" (Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, "Castes in India"). For Ambedkar, "prohibition, or rather the absence of intermarriage—endogamy, to be concise—is the only one that can be called the essence of Caste when rightly understood". But he further says that 'Caste in India means an artificial chopping off of the population into fixed and definite units, each one prevented from fusing into another through the custom of endogamy. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that Endogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste'.

Origin of Caste

Sati or enforced widowhood and girl marriage according to Ambedkar are 'customs that were primarily intended to solve the problem of the surplus man and surplus woman in a caste and to maintain its endogamy. Strict endogamy could not be preserved without these customs, while caste without endogamy is a fake'. By sati the caste in India is created and preserved. But the question which now arises is of the genesis of the caste. Ambedkar says that he defined the origin of caste as the origin and mechanism for endogamy. Society is always composed of classes. Class and caste for Ambedkar are next door neighbours and it is only a span that separates the two. 'A caste is an enclosed class'. There is no direct answer to the question, what is the class that raised enclosure around itself. These customs as was discussed above such as *sati* are 'obtainable only in one caste, namely *Brahmins*, who occupy the highest place in the social hierarchy of the Hindu society'. In every society there is one law giver. In India, this role is played by Manu. But here Dr. Ambedkar views, "One thing I want to impress upon you is that Manu did not give the law of Caste and that he could not do so. Caste existed long before Manu. He was an upholder of it and therefore philosophized about it, but certainly he did not and could not ordain the present order of Hindu Society. His work ended with the codification of existing caste rules and the preaching of Caste Dharma. The spread and growth of the Caste system is too gigantic a task to be achieved by the power or cunning of an individual or of a class". The theory hence remained is that *Brahmins* were the creator of caste.

Ambedkar also discussed the myth prevalent among the Hindus that the Hindu Society was somehow moulded into the framework of the Caste System consciously by the *Shastras*. And *shastras* for them cannot be wrong. At the outset for Ambedkar, "The Hindu society, in common with other societies, was composed of classes and the earliest known are the (1) *Brahmin* or the priestly class; (2) the *Kshatriya*, or the military class ; (3) the *Vaishya*, or the merchant class and (4) the *Shudra*, or the artisan and menial class. Particular

attention has to be paid to the fact that this was essentially a class system, in which individuals, when qualified, could change their class, and therefore, classes did change their personnel. At some time in the history of the Hindus, the priestly class socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed-door policy became a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large, others into very minute groups. The *Vaishya* and *Shudra* classes were the original inchoate plasm, which formed the sources of the numerous castes of today. As the military occupation does not very easily lend itself to very minute sub-division, the *Kshatriya* class could have differentiated into soldiers and administrators". Ambedkar after critically examining the prevalent views on the origin of caste system said, "This sub-division of a society is quite natural. But the unnatural thing about these sub-divisions is that they have lost the open-door character of the class system and have become self-enclosed units called castes. The question is: were they compelled to close their doors and become endogamous, or did they close them of their own accord? I submit that there is a double line of answer: Some closed the door: Others found it closed against them. The one is a psychological interpretation and the other is mechanistic, but they are complementary and both are necessary to explain the phenomena of caste-formation in its entirety". Now the question which arises is why it is so that the classes closed the doors. For Ambedkar the answer to the above question is because 'the *Brahmins* were so. Endogamy or the closed-door system was fashion in the Hindu Society. Later this theory was imitated by the other classes too.

Ambedkar's study of caste problem involves around four main points: "(1) that in spite of the composite make-up of the Hindu population, there is a deep cultural unity; (2) that caste is a parcelling into bits of a larger cultural unit; (3) that there was one caste to start with; and (4) that classes have become Castes through imitation and excommunication". Ambedkar concluded by saying, "Peculiar interest attaches to the problem of Caste in India today; as persistent attempts are being made to do away with this unnatural institution. Such attempts at reform, however, have aroused a great deal of controversy regarding its origin, as to whether it is due to the conscious command of a Supreme Authority, or is an unconscious growth in the life of a human society under peculiar circumstances".

Who were the *Shudras?*

After discussing the origin of caste system Ambedkar elaborately put forward his views on the origin of *Shudras*. In His Book *Buddha and His Dharma*, Ambedkar said, "1. According to the *Brahmins*, the *Vedas* have defined what an ideal society is and the *Vedas* being infallible, that is the only ideal society which man can accept.

2. The ideal society prescribed by the *Vedas* is known by the name *Chaturvarna*.

3. Such a society, according to the *Vedas*, must satisfy three conditions.

4. It must be composed of four classes, *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaishyas* and *Shudras*.

5. The interrelations of these classes must be regulated by the principle of graded inequality. In other words, all these classes are not to be on equal level but to be one above the other, in point of status, rights and privileges.

6. The *Brahmins* were placed at the top; the *Kshatriyas* were placed below the *Brahmins* but above the *Vaishyas*; the *Vaishyas* were placed below the *Kshatriyas* but above the *Shudras* and the *Shudras* were placed at the lowest of all.

7. The third feature of *Chaturvarna* was that each class must engage itself in an occupation assigned to it. The *Brahmins*' occupation was to learn, teach and officiate at religious ceremonies. The *Kshatriyas*' occupation was to bear arms and to fight. The occupation of the *Vaishyas's* was trade and business. The *Shudras*' occupation was to do menial service for all the three superior classes.

8. No class is to transgress and trench upon the occupation of the other classes" (B. R. Ambedkar, "Buddha and His Dharma"). He said that even at this stage of the development of Hindu social order, *Shudras* still enjoyed some rights. *Shudras* has 'the right to collect food from villagers, the right to collect corn from each villager at the harvest seasons and the right to appropriate the dead animals belonging to the villagers' (B. R. Ambedkar, "The Untouchables").

In his book *Who were the Shudras*?, Ambedkar gives answers to the two questions, that is, (1) who were the *Shudras*? And (2) how they came to be the fourth *Varna* of the Indo-Aryan society? He said, "(1) The *Shudras* were one of the Aryan communities of the *Solar* race.

(2) There was a time when the Aryan society recognised only three *Varnas*, namely, *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas* and *Vaishyas*.

(3) The *Shudras* did not form a separate *Varna*. They ranked as part of the *Kshatriya Varna* in the Indo-Aryan society.

(4) There was a continuous feud between the *Shudra* kings and the *Brahmins* in which the *Brahmins* were subjected to many tyrannies and indignities.

(5) As a result of the hatred towards the *Shudras* generated by their tyrannies and oppressions, the *Brahmins* refused to perform the *Upanayana* of the *Shudras*.

(6) Owing to the denial of *Upanayana*, the *Shudras* who were *Kshatriyas* became socially degraded, fell below the rank of the *Vaishyas* and thus came to form the fourth Varna". This led to the subjugation and oppression of *Shudras*

inside the Hindu social order. It is not only *Shudras* who are being oppressed by the strict rules of *varna* system but there is one more class who is equally oppressed by *varna* system, that is, Untouchables. They are treated as outcaste by the Hindu social order.

Who were Untouchables?

Ambedkar in his book, *The untouchables – Who are They?*, discussed his thesis of the origin of untouchables. He said, "(1) There is no racial difference between the Hindus and the Untouchables;

(2) The distinction between the Hindus and Untouchables in its original form, before the advent of Untouchability, was the distinction between Tribesmen and Broken Men from alien Tribes. It is the Broken Men who subsequently came to be treated as Untouchables;

(3) Just as Untouchability has no racial basis so also has it no occupational basis;

(4) There are two roots from which Untouchability has sprung:

(a) Contempt and hatred of the Broken Men as of Buddhists by the *Brahmins*:

(b) Continuation of beef-eating by the Broken Men, after it had been given up by others.

(5) In searching for the origin of Untouchability care must be taken to distinguish the Untouchables from the Impure. All orthodox Hindu writers have identified the Impure with the Untouchables. This is an error. Untouchables are distinct from the Impure.

(6) While the Impure as a class came into existence at the time of the Dharma Sutras the Untouchables came into being much later than 400 A.D"

Ambedkar is of the view that due to the advent of Buddhism, the untouchables became the followers of the Buddha. In his book *Buddha and His Dharma*, Ambedkar discussed the views of Buddha on caste. He said, "The Buddha opposed its root and branch. He was strongest opponent of caste and the earliest and staunchest upholder of equality. There is no argument in favour of caste and inequality which he did not refute. There were many *Brahmins* who challenged Buddha on this issue. But he silenced them completely". Buddha further questioned that if at all this *chaturvarna* system is created directly by Brahma then why it is not universal in character!

Ambedkar in his book *The Untouchables: Who Were They and Why They Became Untouchables?*, says, "The Census Reports for India published by the Census Commissioner at the interval of every ten years from 1870 onwards contain a wealth of information nowhere else to be found regarding the social and religious life of the people of India. Before the Census of 1910 the Census Commissioner had a column called 'Population by Religion'. Under this heading the population was shown (1) Muslims, (2) Hindus, (3) Christians,

etc. The Census Report for the year 1910 marked a new departure from the prevailing practice. For the first time it divided the Hindus under three separate categories, (i) Hindus, (ii) Animists and Tribal, and (iii) the Depressed Classes or Untouchables. This new classification has been continued ever since". This departure from the practice of the previous Census Commissioners raises three questions. The question arises is what was the criteria adopted by Census Commissioners as a basis for this classification. "The basis adopted by the Census Commissioner for separation is to be found in the circular issued by the Census Commissioner in which he laid down certain tests for the purpose of distinguishing these two classes. Among those who were not hundred percent Hindus were included in castes and tribes and for this purpose the following tests were conducted:

(1) Deny the supremacy of the *Brahmins*.

(2) Do not receive the Mantra from a *Brahmin* or other recognized Hindu Guru.

(3) Deny the authority of the *Vedas*.

(4) Do not worship the Hindu gods.

(5) Are not served by good *Brahmins* as family priests.

(6) Have no *Brahmin* priests at all.

(7) Are denied access to the interior of the Hindu temples.

(8) Cause pollution (a) by touch, or (b) within a certain distance.

(9) Bury their dead.

(10) Eat beef and do no reverence for the cow.

Out of these ten tests some divide (separate) the Hindus from the Animists and the Tribal. The rest divide the Hindus from the Untouchables. Those that divide the Untouchables from the Hindus are (2), (5), (6), (7), and (10)". It is from here that the untouchables emerged and thereafter, they are continually existing even today.

Untouchables are oppressed, browbeaten, demoralized and completely subjugated by the higher castes. Their work was not rewarded. To the height of demoralization they are even debarred from entering into the army, and the police. They are mentally as well as physically assaulted by the higher caste Hindus. Their honour and dignity is lost due to the prevalent discrimination against them. Violence against the lower castes is the regular feature of Indian life. Even the executive and the judiciary do not favour the lower castes. The continuation of such a pathetic condition for a longer period of time, halts the growth both physically and mentally of the untouchables. Lack of education attaches their mind. They not only lose their civil rights but they also forget the art of fighting in order to protect their own civil rights. This loss of citizenship of untouchables forces Ambedkar to come forward and fight for them. Ambedkar was also from the lower caste, and therefore, he knew about the problems faced by the untouchables. He also championed the cause of

women folk, both belonging to Hindus as well as those belonging to other religions. He found that even in higher Hindu castes the condition of the women is not better than their counterpart among the untouchables. He strongly stood against the *Sati* custom prevalent in the society. He also fought for the women civil rights such as their right to inheritance in the property of the husband. He also favoured the right to education for women.

In the words of Ramesh Patange, "The social ideals of our Constitution are as important as the political ones. There was dual slavery in our country. One political and the other social. Under the social slavery it was mainly the scheduled castes which were trampled under the injustices by higher castes. They had no political or social rights. Their lowest state in society was determined by their birth. Great savants raised a relentless revolt against this social slavery prevalent in the Hindu society. Sages like Maharshi Dayanand, social reformers like Mahatma Phule, political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi and Swatantrya Veer Savarkar ceaselessly agitated against this social slavery. Ambedkar fought the final battle against the Hindu society. The struggles reflected in our Constitution" (Ramesh Patange, "Hindutva, Constitution and the Ambedkar").

For Ambedkar, no religion or *Shastras* preaches to discriminate between the human beings. The aim and objective of the true religion is the upliftment of every individual. He was the staunch supporter of liberty, equality and fraternity. Ambedkar explained here the important ingredients of social justice, that is, the unity, equality and fraternity of all human beings, the equal worth of man and women, the respect of the weak and lowly, the regard for human rights, mutual love, sympathy, tolerance and charity towards fellow beings, human treatment in all cases, the dignity of citizens, the abolition of caste distinction, education and property for all, good-will of gentleness, etc. Ambedkar was desperate for the promotion of the ideals of fraternity in India more than the political and economic justice. All kinds of justice will automatically follow from the practice of fraternity. Now the question arises is why fraternity is essential for social justice. The answer lies in the fact that India lacked social solidarity and integrity. And for securing the harmony in the society between the different sects, class and castes in India, necessity lies in the promotion of fraternity first. Unity in diversity could be made possible only in such a society which is based upon the principle of fraternity.

Social Justice

In the words of Honourable (Mrs.) Justice Gyan Sudha Mishra of the Rajasthan High Court, "Social Justice is a concept which prescribes certain ideals closely related to human society as its implementation safeguards the interests of the weaker sections of the Society and this includes removal of all unjust imbalances found between man and man so that lives of all the citizens

become improved and emancipated. As a result, every man according to his own potentiality and merit, may participate in the power and wealth of the nation and thus may avail of the opportunities for acquiring social status of his own liking and outlook...Social justice in its wider concept is opposed to injustice, violence, exploitation, suppression, discrimination, untouchability , castism, apartheid, inequality, intolerance, slavery, forced-labour, class-superiority, bonded labour and the like evils prevailing in a society and hence takes up not only the cause of the weak but also reforms and mends the strong and the rich. This way justice is the protector of individual, the maintenance of society, the weapon of State and the emancipator of humanity. Summarily, it can be stated cannot remain stable and Nation's unity and sovereignty would be jeoparadised if justice turns out to be a myth" (Gyan Sydha Mishra, "Human Rights and Social Justice"). Ambedkar wrote, "The higher-caste Hindus have deliberately prevented the lower castes who are within the pale of Hinduism from rising to the cultural level of the higher castes. I will give two instances, one of the *Sonars* and the other of the *Pathare Prabhus*. Both are communities quite well known in Maharashtra. Like the rest of the communities desiring to raise their status, these two communities were at one time endeavouring to adopt some of the ways and habits of the *Brahmins*. The *Sonars* were styling themselves as *Daivadnya Brahmins* and were wearing their '*dhotis*' with folds on and using the word *namaskar* for salutation. Both, the folded way of wearing the '*dhoti*' and the *namaskar* were special to the *Brahmins*. The *Brahmin* did not like this imitation and this attempt by *Sonars* to pass off as *Brahmins*. Under the authority of the Peshwas, the *Brahmins* successfully put down this attempt on the part of the *Sonars* to adopt the ways of the *Brahmins*. They even got the president of the councils of the East India Company's settlement in Bombay to issue a prohibitory order against the *Sonars* residing in Bombay. At one time the *Pathare Prabhus* had widow-remarriage as a custom of their caste. This custom of widow-remarriage was later on looked upon as a mark of social inferiority by some members of the caste especially because it was contrary to the custom prevalent among the *Brahmins*. With the object of raising the status of their community some *Pathare Prabhus* sought to stop this practice of widow-remarriage that was prevalent in their caste. The community was divided into two camps, one for and the other against the innovation. The Peshwas took the side of those in favour of widow-remarriage and thus virtually prohibited the *Pathare Prabhus* from following the ways of the *Brahmins*. The Hindus criticise the Mohammedans for having spread their religion by the use of the sword. They also ridicule Christianity on the score of the inquisition. But really speaking who is better and more worthy of our respect - the Mohammedans and Christians who attempted to thrust down the throats of unwilling persons what they regarded as necessary for their salvation or the Hindu who would not spread the light, who would endeavour to keep others in

darkness, who would not consent to share his intellectual and social inheritance with those who are ready and willing to make it a part of their own make-up?" The social justice requires the abolition of discrimination of the basis of caste.

For Dr. Ambedkar social justice means 'a mode of life to give every man his right place in society'. Ambedkar defines social justice as to live honourably, and to bestow respect to all. Social justice also means not to injure any one and to give every man his due. Elimination of all forms of discrimination is also a part of social justice. The measure of social justice is not merely material advancement or progress, but the abundance, profusion, production and proliferation of human values among the people.

Dr. Ambedkar elucidated this as follows: "Fraternity is another name for fellow feeling. It consists in a sentiment which leads an individual to identify himself with the good of others whereby the good of other become to him a thing naturally and necessarily to be attended to like any of the physical condition of our existence. It is become of this fellow feeling that an individual can sacrifice his self interest for the common good. In Dr. Ambedkar's view, social justice includes all sorts of justices in its scope. Social justice stands for the whole of social order which means the entire social system whereas other forms of justice stand for any one part of our social system. Whether it is a legal justice economic or political justice, it covers only one aspect and becomes an issue of a limited field of life. These justices are the part of the social order but then its implementation yields to limited results only to certain persons, whereas social justice is a broad concept of justice which includes all other types of justice."

The social justice of Ambedkar in short, consists of the following. Firstly, his main purpose of life was to preserve and protect the pride and self-respect of the untouchables in India. Secondly, he was very keen to provide education to the untouchables because he thought that only education would enhance the mental status of the untouchables. Thirdly, he was interested in withering away the strict Varna system of Hindus. For him, the traditional Hindu social order is particularly responsible for the oppression of the untouchables. Fourthly, he favoured that the person who championed the cause of the untouchables should be a person from within them alone. Fifthly, he pleaded for the annihilation of the caste. Sixthly, Ambedkar said that the government must work for the upliftment of the untouchables and the other downtrodden classes in a planned manner.

Ambedkar's work towards the Promotion of Social Justice

Dr Ambedkar while explaining his purpose in joining the Constituent Assembly said, "I entered the Constituent Assembly to safeguard the interests of the dalits". He further stated: "I did not go there to draft the Constitution.

But that responsibility came upon me for certain reasons. It is a matter of pride for me to have been associated with the architects of the Constitution."

In the words of Justice Gyan Sydha Mishra, "After independence when the reins of the country came into the hands of Indians and the new Constitution was framed, there were intellectual politicians like Pandit Nehru and Dr. Rajandra Prasad, Dr. Ambedkar and a host of others who had the honest intention to carry on the affairs of the country in the name of justice and democracy. Dr. Ambedkar was much more concerned for the upliftment of the oppressed people, he had the charisma to inspire the masses; politics to him was only means to bring about the desired change in the social economic life. He plunged into politics and became politician along with an intellectual to the core. In fact, Dr. Ambedkar's mind and intellect were closely engaged in considering the righteous relationship between man and man between man and woman on the attitude of the male towards children especially the girls who are in acute need of social justice in various fields of life. In sum and substance the main objective of Dr. Ambedkar's view of social justice was to remove man made inequalities of all shades through law, morality and public conscience. Fortunately, social justice is one of the noble objective of the Indian Constitution and the provision for justice in our Constitution certainly help us to bring about a just society in removing imbalances in social, educational, economic and political life of the people and protecting right of the weak, aged, destitutes, women, children and other under-privileged persons of the state against the ruthless treatment which is enshrined in the preamble to the Constitution itself".

Ambedkar tried to improve the condition of the oppressed classes and achieve the ideals of social justice with the help of the reservation. K.M. Munshi who was the Member of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution of India said, "In the fundamental rights, in the first clause we want to achieve the highest efficiency in the services of the State - highest efficiency which would enable the services to function effectively and promptly. At the same time, in view of the conditions in our country prevailing in the several provinces, we want to see that the backward classes, classes who are really backward, should be given scope in the State services, for it is realised that the State services give a status and an opportunity to serve the country and this opportunity should be extended to every community even among the backward people. To which, participating in the debate, Dr. Ambedkar said, "there are three points of view which it is necessary for us to reconcile if we are to produce a workable proposition which will be accepted by all. Of the three points of view, the first is that there shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens. It is the desire of many Members of this House that every individual who is qualified for the particular post should be free to apply for that post, to sit for examinations and to have his qualifications tested so as to determine whether he is fit for the post

or not and that there ought to be no limitations; there ought to be no hindrance in the operation of this principle of equality or equality of opportunity". "Another view, mostly shared by a section of the House, is that if this principle is to be operative and it ought to be operative in their judgement to its fullest extent there ought to be no reservations of any sort for any class or community at all that all citizens, if they are qualified, should be placed on the same footing of equality so far as the public services are concerned. That is the second point of view we have. Then we have a massive opinion which insists that although theoretically it is good to have the principle that there shall be equality of opportunity, there must at the same time be a provision made for the entry of certain communities which have so far been outside the administration. As I said, the Drafting Committee had to produce a formula which would reconcile these three points of view, firstly, that there shall be equality of opportunity, secondly that there shall be reservation in favour of certain communities which have not so far had a proper `look in' so to say into the administration". Therefore, Dr.Ambedkar, the Drafting Committee as well as the Constituent Assembly had given a legal sanction for the reservation whatever the philosophical interpretation about it may be brought in. This we cannot deny because a large section of people in this country – they are educationally backward, they are socially backward, they have been deprived in reaping the fruits of power — have to be given due consideration. This is one thing I would like to say" (Indra Sawhney v. Union of India AIR, 1992 SC 477).

Dr Jatav in short writes Ambedkar's principles on social justice as follows:

(i) Equality among human beings;
(ii) Every human being as an end in himself';
(iii) Right of every human being to enjoy social, economic, political and religious freedom;
(iv) To make every human being free from want and fear;
(v) To maintain liberty, fraternity and strive to secure redemption from oppression and exploitation of man by man, of class by class and of nation by nation;
(vi) To stand for a democratic society under a parliamentary system of government;
(vii) To believe in non-violence as an instrument of social change and adopt peaceful and persuasive methods to avoid class conflicts and the possibility of civil war;
(viii) To avoid any 'Issue' or any theory or dogma in its extreme aspect;
(ix) Need for spiritual discipline; and
(x) Firm foundations of universal love, equity and human brotherhood that the Buddha taught" (D.R. Jatav, "Social Philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar").

In the words of Justice Gyan Sydha Mishra, "Social justice in Indian Constitution has been certainly visualized in its multi dimensional form and adequate provisions have been made for a reasonable control and just distribution of the national economic advantage; it has been emphasized that there should be no economic exploitation, no social in-justice and no political suppression of any section of society in the name of caste, sex, race, community and means of livelihood according to their choice and liking". Article 17 of the Constitution eradicates untouchability. Article 15 guarantees that no discrimination would be allowed on the basis of religion race, caste, gender or domicile. Article 16 guarantees that the State will grant equal opportunities to all citizens. And the same Article 16 makes provision for reservations for the backward people.

Dr. Ambedkar, the modern Manu of India, gave his life towards the promotion of the social justice in India. Dr. Pylee portrays him as a 'constitutionalist'. He strongly defended the rights of the depressed classes.

Lohia on Social Justice

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia (1910 – 1967), a staunch supporter of democracy, acquired the surname Lohia because his family was dealing in the business of *Loha* (Iron). He was the most contentious figure in Indian Politics. Lohia was an extraordinarily talented and god gifted person. He had learnt almost all the literatures of social and political doctrines. He was deeply influenced by the political thinkers of the West; prominent among them was Karl Marx. Lohia was strongly impressed by the operation of the non-cooperation of Gandhi, in which millions of unarmed Indians fought the powerful and strong British. He firmly believed that the differences between the haves and the have-nots, the rich and the poor could be solved only by nonviolent means, that is, *Satyagraha*. According to him, mere change in the ownership of the means of production is not going to solve the problem of difference in the haves and have-nots. He formulated his views on democracy when he said that English is a language known by a negligible minority of India, and hence, he powerfully contended that it should no longer be used for purposes of administration in the state. In a democracy according to Lohia, the language of the people should be the language of the government. Lohia favoured Hindi as the official language of India, arguing, "The use of English is a hindrance to original thinking, progenitor of inferiority feelings and a gap between the educated and uneducated public. Come; let us unite to restore Hindi to its original glory".

According to Lohia, the emancipation of women was the foundation of social revolution; without this there can be no prosperity. Lohia's love towards democracy can be gathered by the fact that he was the first to introduce the unification of some six hundred and fifty Indian princely states together to form larger states. This idea was later adopted by the legendary Iron Man

Sardar Patel, first Home Minister of India. He was very keen to create the blend of democracy and socialism. He also said that by non-violent means we still can protest by way of civil disobedience. Lohia further argued, "*Satyagraha* without constructive work is like a sentence without a verb". Lohia is of the opinion that the public work would bring unity, integrity and a sense of awareness in the community at large. He strongly feels that it should be realised to the people of the nation about the value of democracy. He said, "The only way to make democracy live to the people would be to cut up sovereign power into as many tiny bits as possible so that the common man in the village and township can understand political affairs and make intelligent use of them". Indirectly, he favoured the decentralization of power. He was also in favour of participatory democracy, where every member of the nation must be involved in the conduct of the government. By this they will not only understand the meaning of power but they also will feel the importance of them as the important tool of government. Their sense of responsibility would increase and it would help in the development of a healthy democracy. Below we shall discuss in detail, Lohia's views on Democracy.

In the words of Yogendra Yadav, "During his life, Rammanohar Lohia paid the price for three "sins" that the opinion-making class could never forgive him for – he attacked Nehru repeatedly at a time when Nehru was god-like, he led a vigorous and voluble campaign against English and he publicly questioned upper caste dominance and advocated caste-based affirmative action. No wonder Lohia was persona non grata to the upper-caste, English-speaking elite, from Congress supporters to communists. The Nehru-left dominance of Indian academia and media ensured that a caricature of Lohia became his dominant image."

Lohia's Tools for Social Justice

Lohia on Reservation

Niranjan Ramakrishan argues, "Lohia recognized that caste, more than class, was the huge stumbling block to India's progress. Then as today, caste was politically incorrect to mention in public, but most people practiced it in all aspects of life - birth, marriage, association and death. It was Lohia's thesis that India had suffered reverses throughout her history because people had viewed themselves as members of a caste rather than citizens of a country. Caste, as Lohia puts it, was congealed class. Class was mobile caste. As such, the country was deprived of fresh ideas, because of the narrowness and stultification of thought at the top, which was comprised mainly of the upper castes, *Brahmins* and *Baniyas*, and tight compartmentalization even there, the former dominant in the intellectual arena and the latter in the business. A proponent of affirmative action, he compared it to turning the earth to foster a

better crop, urging the upper castes, as he put it, "to voluntarily serve as the soil for lower castes to flourish and grow", so that the country would profit from a broader spectrum of talent and ideas. In Lohia's words, "Caste restricts opportunity. Restricted opportunity constricts ability. Constricted ability further restricts opportunity. Where caste prevails, opportunity and ability are restricted to ever-narrowing circles of the people". In his own party, the Samyukta (United) Socialist Party, Lohia promoted lower caste candidates both by giving electoral tickets and high party positions. Though he talked about caste incessantly, he was not a casteist — his aim was to make sure that people voted for the Socialist party candidate, no matter what his or her caste was. His point was that in order to make the country strong, everyone needed to have a stake in it. To eliminate caste, his aphoristic prescription was, "*Roti* and *Beti*", that is, people would have to break caste barriers to eat together (*Roti*) and be willing to give their girls in marriage to boys from other castes (*Beti*)" (Niranjan Ramakrishan, "Remembering Ram Manohar Lohia"). In his article, *Towards the destruction of castes and classes,* he adopted the caste policy, which was adopted by the Congress Socialist Party in April, 1959. In the above article he also mentioned the poisons of the above policy. Four poisons discussed by him (Lohia) are:

(i) The one having immediate effect on men's minds;

(ii) The colossus among the low castes may appreciate the fruits of this policy without sharing them with other low castes;

(iii) Its misuse for individual advancement; and

(iv) The word may cause acrimonious exchanges between the *Sudra* and *Dvija*" (Lalit Mohan Gautam, "Caste as Policy", Hindustan Times, November 21, 1993').

Lohia on Equality

Lohia said that socialism has tried to put a meaning into equality by way of income ceilings, restricted land holdings and the like. Socialists should seek to achieve equality by achieving the specific and definite concept that they have about equality. In order to achieve general, he said that we have to start from with the particular. The general concept may be eternal, but it will have a varying particular from age to age. Without the particular, the general becomes a fraud, while the particular also without the general may end in rigidity. Therefore, interplay between the general and the particular must go on. The Europeans have achieved the ideal with actual. The Indians have totally divorced from this. "Here in lies the crisis of the human mind today". Though, Lohia said about it in 1955, it is more than true in our lives in 2010. You can see this every day in the media, in the intellectual discourse of scholars and in our parliamentary procedures blatantly exposing this naked dual behaviour without shame. This may be alluded as an Indian character inherited from Advaita as pointed out by Lohia.

Lohia was perhaps one of the earliest thinkers to recognize the problem of inequality in its totality. He said that, "equality is perhaps as high an aim of life as truth or beauty. But his aim has not been investigated in serenity. It's direct and immediate repercussions on day-to-day life, on property and income and the general ordering of society, are deep and many." He was very clear about the ideal of equality. Abstract equality for instance must continually be brought into relationship with concrete equality, and other generalizations must be treated similarly. Otherwise, the "tongue will continually spin the charkha and hands will as continually set up textile machines. The tongue will sing of non-violence and equality and hand will practice inequality and use the gun". This speaks about the hypocrisy in our public life which Lohia abhorred.

Lohia has explained the meaning of Equality much before scholars like Amartya Sen who examined it with a neo-classical and Anglo-Saxon approach. He has derided the so called ideas of the West, such as "the fatherhood of god and brotherhood of man", saying they are mere exhortations. They have no foundations with emotions of man particularly in the practices of an Anglo-Saxon. Giving an example of how an European express shock at the idea of humans pulling rickshaw, but he does not think twice before riding it (Prof. K S Chalam).

Lohia has elaborated the concept of equality in Indian situation. He has made a distinction between legal equality, political equality, economic and descent based equalities. He has used the methodology to understand the concept of equality. He said that, "the primary issue is to feel the joy of being one with the universe, of being equal with everything in it. Such a spiritual and emotional kinship appears to be a main quality of equality as a high aim of life. In family, the kinship obtains. Its foundation is built on an almost total material equality. No matter what the earnings of individual members may be, or if they do not earn anything at all, as in the case of children and old parents, the family is in food and dress a compact unit and the requirements of its members are equally met. An unblemished kinship must reign in the family". This idea of bringing equality as Kinship feeling appears to be more sublime than the Rawlson's idea of fairness as justice to bring equality. After an elaborate discussion on the concept, both in its abstract and concrete terms, Lohia has provided a philosophical meaning to it. Man must feel an inward equality between contrary conditions of pleasure and pain, heat and cold, victory and defeat. Bringing the ancient Indian wisdom of inward equanimity and outward equality as two sides of a coin as 'Samata' and 'Samatvam', Lohia has pointed out that they are already ingrained in our society.

Finally, he has concluded his piece on equality as equality must therefore be grasped in all its four meanings. "Material equality must mean the outward approximation among nations as well as the inward approximation within the nation. Spiritual equality must mean outward kinship as much as it means

inward equanimity. Only an integrated concept of these four meanings of equanimity, kinship, material equality within the nation and among nations is worthy to become a supreme aim of life and its purpose". Thus the methodology adopted by Lohia to study the Indian conditions and the ethos to formulate a theory of development based on equality is found to be genuinely original and Indian (Prof. K S Chalam).

Four Pillar State

Lohia was the only socialist who was against the abolition of the state. He said that it is not essential to abolish the state rather the state must stop performing for the welfare of the capitalist class, and instead, start performing for the welfare of the depraved class of the society, that is, Women, Labours, etc. Lohia's four pillar state consists of coordination and integrity of the (a) village, (b) the district, (c) the province and (d) the central government. The four pillar state of Lohia worked in harmonization and synchronization as functional federalism. In the words of Ram Manohar Lohia, "The four state implies the abolition of district magistracy which represents a notorious concentration of political power. Furthermore, the district village and city panchayats are to take charge of policies as well as welfare functions" (Ram Manohar Lohia, "Will to Power and Other Writings").

He was a staunch supporter of decentralization of administrative and political power. According to him, it is only in decentralized form of democracy, the real freedom of an individual is possible. People can express freely only when they are also a part of the political and administrative power. Lohia tried his level best to cut the sovereign power in to pieces so that every citizen of the country can understand the political affairs of the state, and effectively put his intellect into it. In the words of Arumugam, "Lohia's concept of four-pillar state incorporates the principle of mass participation and decentralization so as to impart dynamics into local units and work for integrated society" (N. C. Mehrotra, "Lohia, a Study").

His four-pillar state worked in two phases, that is, *democracy as a method* or process and secondly, *democracy as an effort*. In democracy, as a method, he provides *Satyagraha* as a means of peaceful social change. The democracy and its tools and institutions such as universal adult franchise, representative democracy, participation at every level of society, etc., provides an opportunity to go ahead with social change. Democracy for him is more a method to achieve the higher ideals of the society.

In the words of Niranjan Ramakrishna, "Lohia was early to recognize that Marxism and Capitalism were similar in that both were proponents of the Big Machine. It was his belief that Big Industry was no solution for the third world (he even warned Americans, back in 1951, about their lives being taken over by big corporations). He called Marxism the "last weapon of Europe against

Asia". Propounding the "Principle of Equal Irrelevance", he rejected both Marxism and Capitalism, which were often presented as the only alternatives for third world nations. Nehru too had a similar view, at least insofar as he observed to Andre Malraux that his challenge was to "build a just society by just means". Lohia had a strong preference for appropriate technology, which would reduce drudgery but not put the common man at the mercy of far away forces. As early as 1951, he foresaw a time of the "monotonic mind", with nothing much to do because the problems of living had been all addressed by technology". By democracy in action he means that by the support of the peaceful procedural revolution of non-violent civil disobedience, we can bridge the rich-poor divide, eliminate the caste, etc. He further said that with the support of democracy in action, we can tackle the bigger problems of society such as Man-Woman inequality. He banished the inequality based on colour with the help of democracy in action. He also preserved the individual privacy against encroachment of the collective.

Democracy as an effort can be seen in Russia where at that time the ideals such as right to work, right to old-age pension, etc. were in fashion. The country was working towards all those ideals of democracy hence as an effort was working towards the aim of securing the highest ideal order. Though he did not agree with the violent means used by Russian state to go ahead with the socialist ideals but, he agreed that much more is needed to be done by the democracy in order to achieve the ideal of economic equality. Lohia's state of socialist ideals, with the support of democratic means was much popularized and it gave birth to new society. The principles enshrined in his new brand of socialism, that is, decentralized socialism, are as follows: -

(1) Maximum attainable equality;

(2) Decent standard of living;

(3) Creation of World Government on the basis of accepted democratic means such as, election by universal adult franchise;

(4) No use of violent means and strict practice of civil disobedience in order to bring social change;

(5) Freedom of speech, expression and private life with reasonable restrictions; and

(6) Small Machine co-operative labour and village government (R. M. Lohia, "Aspects of socialist party").

Poverty Alleviation Policy : Step towards Social Justice

Lohia viewed orthodox and organized socialist policy as inadequate to counter the problem of poverty. He hence opted for six point plan for his new socialism. In his *Fragments of a World Mind*, in a paper "The Farmer in India", he discussed the thirteen point plan to counter poverty in the state.

1. Lowering of Prices on the basis of parity between agricultural and industrial prices.

2. Austerity and sacrifice to be shared by all so that no income or salary exceeds Rs. 1000 a month.

3. Industrialisation with the help of small-unit machines, the invention and manufacture of which to be promoted by the state.

4. Any factory running below capacity to be taken over by the state, and immediate nationalization of basic industries.

5. Anti-corruption commissioners in every state and at the centre with departments independent of the government.

6. Land to the tiller and redivision of lands – 12 ½ acres minimum and 30 acres maximum. Correction of wrong entries in Patwaris' registers.

7. Cultivation of one crore acres of new land by a state-recruited food army.

8. Decentralisation of administration and of economy so as to achieve the four-pillar state. Repeal of discriminatory laws including the criminal tribes Act.

9. Housing Programmes and other economic activity to provide full employment.

10. Establishment of Polytechnic schools and peoples' high schools and centres for youth and women for cultural activities.

11. Immediate adult franchise elections in unrepresented areas, that is, merged states and unions.

12. Pursuits of a positive policy of world peace through promoting full freedom and right for all nations; social and economic equality among a people and between nations, and a peace bloc which can dictate truce to warring power blocs.

13. Volunteer bands for agriculture irrigation, road-making and the like. (R. M. Lohia, Fragments of a World Mind", quoted from V. P. Varma, "Modern Indian Political Thought").

The work of Lohia is for the better state irrespective of ideology. That is why his new socialism was consisting of mixture of ideals. He also used democratic means to achieve the above new socialist ideals and programmes with non-violent means such as, civil disobedience. Hence, his ideals are not dependent upon or attach to any particular prevalent ideology. His democracy is broader in its working with modified means to fulfil them. Due to the above qualities, sometimes Lohia is known as a most controversial figure of Indian politics.

Conclusion

According to Yogendra Yadav, "In the world of politics, Lohia is remembered today as the originator of Other Backward Classes (OBC)

reservations; the champion of backward castes in the politics of north India (Christophe Jaffrelot's Silent Revolution); the father of non-Congressism; the uncompromising critic of the Nehru- Gandhi dynasty; and the man responsible for the politics of anti- English (Selma K Sonntag, "Ideology and Policy in the English Language"). Yogendra further said that this has of course been a function of the image of his political legatees like Mulayam Singh Yadav, Lalu Prasad Yadav and George Fernandes. The disappearance of the socialist movement from the political map of contemporary India has meant that many dimensions of his egalitarianism have been largely erased from the world of politics. Lohia's economic agenda – his campaigns against poverty, unemployment and price rise – is almost forgotten. So is his consistent and uncompromising advocacy of gender justice (Awadhendra Sharan and Ravi Kant Sharma). With "nationalism" becoming a dirty word in progressive politics, we cannot even recognise Lohia's brand of nationalism which combined a sharp response to Chinese aggression with a visionary Himalaya policy; which upheld the Indian case on Kashmir but not the unholy and undemocratic games in the Valley; which was at pains to distinguish the Pakistani rulers from ordinary Pakistanis; and which worked hard to separate the Pakistan question from that of Indian Muslims. A shallow understanding of politics has meant a collective inability to grasp Lohia's cultural politics, which included efforts to organise a Ramayan Mela; an initiative to bring Indian languages closer to one another; a plea for cleaning rivers and protecting centres of pilgrimage; and an anxiety about culturally integrating the north-east with the rest of the country. The narrow, inward gaze of contemporary politics has also meant oblivion of the international dimension of his politics – his resolute pacifism; his opposition to nuclear weapons; his protests against racial inequality; his advocacy of an Indo-Pak federacy; and his dream of a world without visas and passports (Yogendra Yadav).

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, on the other hand, be called as the champion and crusader of the rights of the backward classes. In the words of Justice Subba Rao, "In a limited sense, the right to social justice may be defined as the right of the weak, aged, destitute, poor, women, children and other underprivileged persons to the protection, of say, sought against ruthless competition of life. It seeks to give the necessary advantageous aids to the underprivileged so that they may have the equal opportunity with the more advanced in the race of life. It is a bundle of rights, in another sense it is a preserver of other rights. It is a balancing wheel between the haves and the have nots". The Constitution of India was filled with the provisions related with Social Justice only because of the earnest efforts of Ambedkar. His views on the origin of caste are worth mentioning. In short, he was a path finder for the Indian Constitution. It was Dr. Ambedkar, who carefully formulated the chapters on the fundamental rights and the directive principles of state policy detailed in the Constitution of India.

Therefore, we can conclude by saying that both Ambedkar and Lohia played a huge role in maintaining Social Justice in Indian Polity and governance. Both, though were working against the stream yet strongly faced the stream and formulated the much awaited policy for the emancipation of the downtrodden of the society.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Discuss Ambedkar's views on Social Justice.
2. Discuss Ambedkar's views on Hindu Social Order.
3. Discuss the origin of Caste.
4. Who were the *Shudras*?
5. Who were Untouchables?
6. Elaborately discuss Ambedkar's work towards the social justice.
7. Discuss the views of Lohia on Reservation.
8. What do you understand by the four pillar state of Lohia?
9. Discuss in detail the tools of Social Justice of Lohia.
10. Elaborately discuss Lohia's concept of Equality.
11. Discuss the poverty alleviation policy of Lohia as a step towards Social Justice.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bagchi, Santanu	:	Ideas on Socialism and Social Justice: A Study of Jawaharlal Nehru, Rammanohar Lohia and Asoke Mehta
Iyer, V. R Krishna	:	Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit future
Lohia, R. M.,	:	Aspects of Socialist Party
Lohia, R. M.,	:	Will to Power and Other Writings
Mehrotra, N. C.,	:	Lohia, a Study
Mukerjee, Hirendranath	:	Gandhi, Ambedkar, and the extirpation of untouchability
Rajagopalacharya, C.,	:	Ambedkar refuted
Shabbir, Mohammad	:	Ambedkar on Law, Constitution and Social Justice
Shetty, V. T Rajshekar	:	Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's three commandments
Singh, Ajay	:	Lohia: The Rebel Gandhian
Vakil, A. K.,	:	Gandhi-Ambedkar dispute
Varma, V.P,	:	Modern Indian Political Thought

12

Pandita Ramabai on Patriarchy

Pandita Ramabai

Pandita Ramabai, (1858–1922) was an extraordinary woman of her time—an educator, scholar, feminist, and social reformer, whose life was an example of how womanhood and religious identity were negotiated against the backdrop of Brahmanical culture, Christianity, and colonialism. For Hindus and Christians, her life and work, including her intellectual probings and hermeneutical clashes with Hindu social reformers and Christian missionaries, seemed to signal contradictory and confusing messages. As a learned scholar of her own tradition, she vigorously questioned the status of women within Hinduism. Later, when she became a Christian, she challenged institutionalized Christianity with its creeds, which she felt stifled the power of the gospel, and she subsequently quarreled with Bible translators for their unwitting use of Vedantic terms in the Marathi version of the Bible. She seems to have lived and worked out her life on the margins of traditions, constructing her own independent agency.

For Meera Kosambi, Ramabai was born into a Chitpavan Brahman family in Karnataka. She was the youngest child of Anant Shastri Dongre, a devout Hindu and erudite Sanskrit pundit, and his much younger wife, Lakshmibai. Contrary to the prevailing mood of the time, Anant Shastri believed in women's education and he opposed outdated customs like child marriage, having witnessed the sad fate of his daughter Krishnabai's child marriage. Ramabai had an unconventional upbringing in that she was taught at home, receiving Sanskrit education mainly from her mother, who herself was taught by her husband despite fierce opposition from their community. From an early age, Ramabai was exposed to a life of never-ending pilgrimage and the reciting of the Puranas in various locations, a traditional religious vocation, which her family undertook in order to earn a modest living. While this kind of precarious

living brought untold hardship later, it freed Ramabai from domesticity and any form of patriarchal control. Ramabai's life was marked by a series of unfortunate deaths in her family. She lost her parents, elder sister, elder brother, husband, and finally her daughter shortly before her own death. Her travels around India with her brother after her parents' demise not only offered her the opportunity to visit several important Hindu holy places, but it also enabled her to witness the plight of women, which led her to champion their cause.

It was Ramabai's visit to Calcutta in 1878 that brought a dramatic turn of events. Her knowledge of the Sanskrit language and literary and religious texts came to be widely known and appreciated, and in recognition of her Sanskrit learning the title pandita (learned) was conferred on her. She defied traditional caste norms by accepting an offer of marriage from a non-Brahman Brahmo Bengali lawyer, Bipin Behari Das, but he died within two years of their marriage, leaving her with an infant daughter, Manorama. While her early widowhood deepened her concern for women in a similar predicament, her faith in the kind of Puranic and ritualistic Hinduism in which she was raised was beginning to wear off. When she later became acquainted with other Hindu texts, such as the Dharmasastras, with a pronounced patriarchal bias, she was not convinced that Hinduism as such had any hope for women. She found, however, that her early forays into reform movements, such as the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, were fruitless as alternatives to Hinduism because in her view these movements focused more on philosophical aspects than on the plight of women.

According to Meera Kosambi, Ramabai came into contact with Christian missionaries but had no intention of becoming a Christian until much later in 1883 while she was in England, much to the dismay of Hindus back home. She was not wholly accepting Christianity at this stage. She was not willing to substitute one form of patriarchy with another. She proved to be a thorn in the flesh of Anglicans when she questioned such basic tenets as the Trinity, miracles, the divinity of Christ, and the resurrection. What is extraordinary is that Ramabai was able to make an impression in the strongly male-dominated public discourse of her time. Her highly persuasive books, both in the vernacular and in English, established her as one of the important voices of the era. The fact that she wrote *Stri Dharma Niti* (Morals for women, 1882) in order to finance her trip to England (where her hope of studying medicine never materialized), testifies that her reforming zeal preceded her attraction to Christianity. In this book she urges women to educate themselves and transform their lives, citing mythological examples of Hindu womanhood. The High Caste Hindu Woman (1887) is a trenchant feminist critique of a Brahmanical patriarchy that accords its women a low position. *United Stateschi Lokasthiti ani Pravasavritta* (The Peoples of the United States, 1889) is an account of her visit to the United States, and it reflects her feminist concerns whilst contrasting freedoms in the

United States and colonial India. A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure (1907), her last public discourse, was a pamphlet narrating a spiritual odyssey that culminated in her final acceptance of the Christian faith. The last decade of her life was spent translating the Bible into Marathi and producing Greek-Marathi and Greek-Hebrew lexicons.

Ramabai, according to Meera Kosambi, put teaching into practice. It was her early disappointment with her own community that made her turn to England and the United States to solicit help for her work among women. Realizing the importance of education for empowering women, she ran a number of vocational programmes. Sharada Sadan (Home of Learning), initially a home for high-caste child widows but later for destitute women and children of all castes, provided training and education. Although the school was initially secular in orientation, it gradually became explicitly Christian. There were allegations of conversions at Sharada Sadan, which caused a major rift between Ramabai and Hindu social reformers; although Ramabai was exonerated, the rift remained. The fact that Ramabai's commitment to Christianity coexisted with her conscious attempt to declare herself a Hindu and Indian in public discourses, continues to puzzle Hindus and Christians who would like to categorize her neatly (Meera Kosambi, "Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter: The Peoples of the United States).

In this chapter, we in detail are going to discuss the views of Pandita Ramabai on Patriarchy and how she formulated her ideas and how she against the stream of the society, went ahead and talks on extreme subjects of her times, that is, Rights of Women, plight of Women under Patriarchy, Women Reforms, etc.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a form of social organization in which a male is the head of the family and descent, kinship, and title are traced through the male line. It is a social system in which the father is the head of the family and men have authority over women and children.

To understand the views of Pandita Ramabai on Patriarchy it is essential to study her thought under the following heads.

1. Contestation of Patriarchy

The major contestation in Ramabai's educational and missionary activities was that of patriarchy. In a sense she had been complicit in such a resistance since her father's insistence on her education in Sanskrit, the 'divine language' reserved for upper-caste men (D. Spender). Thus armed, Ramabai experienced her first public encounter with the forces of patriarchy when she set up the Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882 to mobilise women, and aroused instant hostility in the conservative camp. The Kesari commented:

"In reality, it is the task of men to eradicate these and other evil customs in our society. Women cannot interfere in it for many years to come – even if they are 'panditas' and have reached the ultimate stage of reform ... Our women will have to be under the control of men for a long time to come (Kesari, 8 August 1882)."

The hostility which had initially greeted Ramabai's leadership role in the Arya Mahila Samaj surfaced also when she testified before the Hunter Commission in 1882. The conservative Anglo-Marathi paper, The Native Opinion, was generally critical of her testimony and refused to share "the urgency of supplying this desideratum [of women doctors]. We do not just now need lady doctors; but ... a class of respectable midwives (The Native Opinion (Anglo-Marathi weekly published in Bombay), 17 September, 1882,)".

Predictably, a society which valued women chiefly as mothers naturally felt a greater need for midwives than for doctors, and was content to leave women to suffer in silence. It is, therefore, significant that Pandita Ramabai contributed visibly to the cause of getting foreign medical aid as well as medical education for Indian women. This was no mean feat, because even the simple non-professional education for women as discussed by the Hunter Commission was only partially endorsed by the Western-educated conservatives. After recommending some sort of "opening of the mind" and "a habit and inclination to reason", the conservative press asserted: In educating our females our first care must be to try to make them good house-wives and good mothers ... If we want our girls to be useful they must learn to read and write, to keep accounts, to sew and above all to cook. These we think can be better taught at home than in a public school (The Native Opinion, 17 September 1882).

As the **"opening of the mind"** and the **"habit and inclination to reason"** was to lead women no further than their wife-mother-housewife role, it was inevitable that Ramabai's insistence on women's education, self-confidence and self-reliance was vehemently opposed. But if the Indian version of patriarchy was staunch, Ramabai's encounter with the patriarchy of the Anglican Church across the globe was equally harsh. It was sparked initially by Miss Beale's offer of a professorship in 1884, which would involve her teaching male students. The Bishop of Bombay was quick to protest: Above all things, pray believe that her influence will be ruined forever in India if she is known to have taught young men. Suffice it to say that it would cause scandal even among the better sort of native men, and that nothing would ever undo the harm it would do her among native women (Shah, Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai). Ramabai's prompt rejoinder was that "It surprises me very much to think that neither my father nor my husband objected [to] my mother's or my teaching young men while some English people are doing so" and that her having addressed mixed or solely male audiences in India "did not seem to take away my influence with my country people, and why should

it be so now, I cannot see (Shah, Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai)."

In the words of Meera Kosaambi, "It remained for a woman to transgress the boundaries of patriarchy through educational and religious activism and to re-inscribe women into the male discourse. This woman, Pandita Ramabai, thus enjoyed the distinction of being the sole woman champion of the women's cause in the male-dominated world of gender reform in Western India. But the distinction proved to be more symbolic than real, because she was almost totally obscured from the official histories of Western India, condemned both during her lifetime and after her death for her challenge to the Hindu, patriarchal social order of the day."

2. Widow's Plight : Patriachry's After Effect

The 'High-Caste Hindu Woman' written by Ramabai also reflects her emerging commitment to minister the India's high-caste child widows. The book delivers a heart-rending yet culturally sensitive feminist critique of the plight of these women and girls. While it is more complex than can adequately be addressed here, Ramabai presents the issue, at its base level, as such:

(i) When Brahmin women are married off as children, they usually live with their husband's family. If the husband dies young, the child widow is often blamed for the death and despised by the family, as prescribed by a particular interpretation of Hindu scriptures.

(ii) The widow must wear a single coarse garment, white, red, or brown.

(iii) The widow must eat only one meal during the twenty-four hours of a day.

(iv) The widow must never take part in family feasts and jubilees, with others.

(v) The widow must not show herself to people on auspicious occasions. A man or woman thinks it unlucky to behold a widow's face before seeing any other object in the morning. A man will postpone his journey if his path happens to be crossed by a widow.

3. The Mukti Mission

Ramabai returned to India in 1889 with a renewed sense of vision and generous financial support from the newly-formed American Ramabai Association. She soon opened the Sharada Sadan, a secular residential school for high-caste child widows. Ramabai made a point to make both Hindu and Christian texts freely available, although she conducted Bible study for those interested. The school operated for several years, until the bubonic plague epidemic of the late 1890s forced Ramabai and her students to flee to the rural village of Kedgaon. It was in Kedgaon in an unusual place with unusual circumstances that Ramabai's Christian feminist vision became fully actualized

in the Mukti (Salvation) Mission. Unlike the secular Sharada Sadan, Mukti was overtly Christian and ministered to all in need of help, eventually growing to house and educate over 2,000 girls and women. In addition to high-caste child widows, Mukti opened its doors and provided services for those who suffered from sexual abuse, famine, and disability of every caste. While presiding over the flourishing Mission until her death in 1922, she continued to write and lecture. She later had translated the entire Bible from its original Hebrew and Greek into her native Marathi, and was awarded the government's Kaiser-e-Hind gold medal in 1919.

4. Education

Pandita Ramabai had a deep concern for the education of the women. For Ramabai the plight of the women deteriorates because of the lack of education to her. She made Patriarchy responsible for the plight of the women. She further said that only education can improve the condition of the women in India and abroad. The education has a power to transform the traditional, orthodox and unreasonable customs, which made women as secondary to men.

Ramabai's reform convictions grew out of a deep personal commitment to improving the condition of Indian women. Her concerns about Indian women's "uplift" were shared by a growing number of late nineteenth-century Indian social reformers, some of whom were women—though few of these were as plain-speaking about either the problems confronting Hindu widows or the urgent need for institutional reform to ameliorate their situations (Antoinette Burton). Tarabai Shinde, the Maratha Brahman woman whose pamphlet, 'A Comparison between Men and Women', offered a blistering critique of gender relations in colonial India, was one among several women in western India contemporary with Ramabai who engaged with Hindu tradition in public before Rukhmabai's trial exploded onto the Indian newspaper scene in the mid-eighties and after. Shinde's exposition had been prompted by the case of Vijaylakshmi, the widowed daughter of a Gujarati Brahman family, who was sentenced to hang for killing her newborn, illegitimate baby daughter.

Ramabai's public pronouncements were motivated by the less sensational but equally moving instances of Indian women's suffering that she had observed in her wanderings throughout the Indian subcontinent. She told the sisters at Wantage that while traveling with her brother she had had "a good opportunity of seeing the sufferings of Hindu women" and was "much touched by their sorrows . . . This made us think of how much it was possible to improve the condition of women and raise them out of their degradation. We were able to do nothing directly to help them but in towns and villages we often addressed large audiences of people, and urged upon them the education of women and children. In order to be able to converse with the different races we were obliged to learn Hindi (as it is a general language in India) and Bengalee".

After her husband's death, she spoke at various gatherings and meetings, giving publicity to the cause of female education throughout India. Together with likeminded men and women in Poona, Ramabai also helped to found the Arya Mahila Samaj, or Aryan Women's Society, which was committed to Indian women's education and social reform.

A crusading zeal for women's education was an inheritance from her father. Having received a rigorous traditional education from her parents and having been trained in public speaking through the recitation of sacred stories, Ramabai was equipped for this career as few other women of her generation were. It was a relatively easy transition to writing books and lecturing to women on reform issues. A progressive reviewer of Ramabai's Stree Dharma Neeti found it "commendable that the task of championing the women's cause and of speaking or writing on their behalf, which used to fall to the lot of men so far, has now been undertaken by one belonging to the female sex herself (Kesari, 1 August 1882)."

Importantly, Ramabai's idea of education was comprehensive in scope. It was informed from the outset by her conviction of women's need for social awareness and self-improvement, which she propagated through the Arya Mahila Samaj. "Self-reliance" was her password for progress which ran through the Stree Dharma Neeti and formed part of the programme outlined at the end of The High-caste Hindu Woman and translated into the organisation of the Sharada Sadan and the Mukti Mission (Meera Kosambi).

5. Ramabi's own way of Reforms

In addition to defending her right to do as she chose in England, Ramabai was intent on defining her own concepts of reform in India and, more specifically, what shape her reform work there would take. She said once that that I am anxious to do away with all kinds of prejudices which deprive a woman in India of her proper place in society. She went on to ask: "Can I confine my work only to women in India and have nothing to do with men? I do not think so. To help women to come forward in the society I must first of all . . . teach men of poorer classes. Then when men are convinced of the necessity of elevating the condition of their women, I shall have access to their Zenanas (The part of a house for the seclusion of women). Unless she said I begin to have regular and pure intercourse with men, I shall in vain hope and try to help my countrywomen." Ramabai's vision of how social reform should proceed was dearly at odds with the gender-specific, gender-targeted evangelical strategies articulated by the Anglican bishops—strategies that in fact underpinned the entire ideological apparatus of evangelization in the nineteenth century. What is more, in this passage at least, her reform concerns seem, in the absence of any explicitly evangelical language, to be quite secular (Antoinette Burton).

Conclusion

Ramabai's attempts to negotiate sisterhood within the confines of imperial culture in Britain, to determine her personal role, and to respectfully differ with the terms outlined by Christian imperial and feminine authority constitute in no small measure a self-conscious reworking of an imaginative geography of the world of women. As Meera Kosambi has noted, Ramabai's motto was "self-reliance for women." It was a maxim whose value she no doubt came to appreciate at least in part because of her struggles for autonomy at Cheltenham and Wantage—struggles that dramatized the tension between her desire to bear witness to God, on the one hand, and her determination to control her own destiny, on the other. Ramabai's time in England thus demonstrates that feminist consciousness can develop not only within the context of "sisterhood," but often does so in spite of it.

Her particular history is equally compelling evidence that in the geopolitical context of imperialism, even and perhaps especially encounters between women could not, and indeed cannot, be totally free of its ideological effects. Although she may have initially believed herself to be free to wander "all over the map," she could not comfortably remain in the imperial metropolis. Imperial England proved to be inhospitable ground for Ramabai's developing female reform consciousness. The United States, where she went after England to raise money for the widows' home she established in Bombay in 1889, was more hospitable, at least where financial support for her reform projects were concerned. Her travels from Philadelphia to San Francisco to Boston continued her pilgrimage and are a part of her biography yet to be fully historicizcd. Meanwhile, this particular segment of her story is equally compelling evidence that the field of power laid out by imperial culture, whether in the metropolis or in the colonial possessions, was historically and remains today an eminently contested and continually contestable terrain (Antoinette Burton).

Pandita Ramabai's life, according to Meera Kosambi, was a narrative of parallel but discursively distinct contestations: that of a woman against male hegemony both in Hindu society and the Anglican Church, that of an Indian Christian convert against the British Anglican bishops and nuns, that of an Indian Christian missionary (in both the covert and overt phases) against the oppression of Hindu women. Following these contestations, she was marginalised both during her lifetime and the subsequent 'gate keeping of history' in retaliation for her dual interrogation of Hinduism and patriarchy. The Anglicans, however, came to accept her non-denominational Christianity and independent stance; in fact it was the Christian networks worldwide which aided her endeavours during her lifetime and have done so since.

If Ramabai transgressed the boundaries of patriarchy in her educational and missionary activities, she also paid a predictably heavy price. So complete

was her 'erasure' from the history of Western India that it is only now, three-quarters of a century after her death, that we are beginning to make a fresh appraisal of the extent of her 'transgressions' and contestations, as well as their price, and to reclaim her manifold contribution to the cause of Indian women (Meera Kosambi).

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the term Patriarchy?
2. Analytically discuss the views of Pandita Rambai on Patriarchy.
3. Who is the founder of Mukti Mission?
4. Discuss the Hindu High Caste Widow's plight in detail.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Ramabai, Pandita, : A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure

Ramabai, Pandita, : Stree Dharma Neeti

Ramabai, Pandita, : The High Caste Hindu Woman

Frykenberg, R. E., : Pandita Ramabai's America

Kosambi, Meera, : Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter: The Peoples of the United States Women

Rajan, Sunder and Rajeswari Imagined : Gender, Culture and Postcolonialism

Shah, A.B., : The Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai

Spender, D. : Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them

10

सामाजिक न्याय पर आम्बेडकर एवं लोहिया
(Ambedkar and Lohia on Social Justice)

सामाजिक न्याय पर आम्बेडकर
(Ambedkar on Social Justice)

आधुनिक भारत के निर्माता, भीमराव आम्बेडकर (1891-1956) के शब्दों में, "जिस प्रकार एक पौधे को निरन्तर पानी की आवश्यकता है उसी समान एक विचार के फैलाव की आवश्यकता होती है।" भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता के संघर्ष में आम्बेडकर एक मार्गदर्शक प्रभावशाली व्यक्ति थे। नव भारतीय संविधान के वह निर्माता तथा मसौदा बनाने वाले भी थे। वे अछूत जाति के छः करोड़ सदस्यों के नागरिक अधिकारों के समर्थक थे। वे वंचित वर्ग के निडर प्रवक्ता थे। 1950 में जब नेहरू के मन्त्रिमण्डल ने 'स्त्रियों के अधिकार' विधेयक को अस्वीकार किया तब अम्बेडकर ने कानून मन्त्रालय से अपना त्यागपत्र दे दिया था। डा० आम्बेडकर ने एक बार कहा, "सामाजिक सुधार के बिना राष्ट्रवाद की वास्तविक भावना को विकसित नही किया जा सकता।" (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, "Without social reform the true feeling of nationalism cannot be valued") । वे सामाजिक समानता के योद्धा थे। अमरीका के कोलम्बिया विश्वविद्यालय ने आम्बेडकर को भारत का मुख्य नागरिक, सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता तथा मानव अधिकार के सख्त अनुयायी के रूप में मान्यता दी। 1951 में उनके द्वारा हिन्दु कोड बिल (Hindu Code Bill) को केन्द्रीय विधानपालिका में प्रवेश देना, स्पष्ट रूप से यह दर्शाता है कि वे सम्पत्ति के अधिकार को लेकर हिन्दु स्त्रियों के प्रति मौजूदा भेदभाव को हटाने के लिए कितने आतुर थे।

आम्बेडकर ने स्वयं इस बात को स्वीकार किया कि वे स्वयं भक्ति उपासना के 'कबीर', उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी महाराष्ट्र के एक सामाजिक सुधारक 'फूले', और शोलापुर के 'शाहू महाराज' द्वारा हिन्दुओं की कट्टरवादिता के विरूद्ध संघर्ष करने की प्रेरणा से बहुत प्रभावित हुए। उनकी महत्वपूर्ण रचनाएँ 'कस्टम्स इन इण्डिया' (Customs in India–1917), 'स्माल होल्डिंग्स इन इन्डिया एण्ड देयर रेमडीस' (Small Holdings in India and their Remedies (1923), 'अनिहिलेशन् ऑफ कास्ट' (Annihilation of Caste–1938), 'फेडरेशन वरसस् फ्रीडम्' (Federation versus Freedom–1939), 'मिस्टर गाँधी एण्ड दी एमेन्सिपेशन् आफ् दी अन्टचब्ल्स', (Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables–1943), 'व्हाट कांग्रेस एण्ड गाँधी हेव इन्टू अन्टचब्ल्स' (What Congress and Gandhi have into Untouchables (1945), 'हू वेर शूद्रास्' (Who were Shudras–1946), 'दी अन्टचब्लस (The Untouchables–1948), 'थाट्स ऑन लिंगविस्टिक स्टेट्स्' (Thoughts on Linguistic States–1955), तथा 'दी बुद्धा एण्ड हिस धर्मा' (The Buddha and his Dharma–1957) ।

आम्बेडकर एक सामाजिक क्रान्तिकारी नेता थे जिन्होंने अपना सारा जीवन जाति व्यवस्था को समाप्त करने में लगा दिया। अपने बचपन में, हिन्दु समाज में व्याप्त वर्ण व्यवस्था के हाथों उन्होंने अनेक दुख झेले। इसीलिए वे वंचित वर्गों के नागरिक अधिकारों के समर्थक बने।

हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था
(Hindu Social Order)

डा० आम्बेडकर के अनुसार **हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था के दो महत्वपूर्ण संघटक** हैं, वे हैं, **जाति व्यवस्था तथा अस्प्रश्यता**। उनके अनुसार, हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था, असमानता रूपी सिद्धान्त की नींव पर रखी गयी है न कि स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा भ्रात्रत्व के सिद्धान्त की नींव पर, जो वास्तव में सार्वभौम मानव अधिकार के आधार के मूल्य हैं।

सुखदेव थोराट् कहते हैं, "सामाजिक क्षेत्र में जाति व्यवस्था में (क) सामाजिक समूहों (जातियों) में लोगों का विभाजन शामिल है; तथा इन जातियों के सदस्यों के सामाजिक, धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक तथा आर्थिक अधिकार जन्म से ही उस जाति में पूर्व निश्चित है और वह वंशानुगत है ; (ख) जाति समूहों के मध्य इन अधिकारों का असमान रूप से वितरण है; (ग) हिन्दुवाद के दर्शन द्वारा प्रदान सामाजिक व्यवस्था के औचित्य प्रतिपादन ने एक ऐसी सामाजिक व आर्थिक जाति-बहिष्कार की यंत्र रचना को जन्म दिया है जिससे इस व्यवस्था का सख्ती से पालन किया जाता है। आर्थिक अधिकार के क्षेत्र में, हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था आर्थिक वितरण की भी एक योजना प्रदान करती है, अर्थात, (क) यह जन्म से तथा वंशानुगत आधार पर निरन्तरतापूर्वक, प्रत्येक जाति के व्यवसाय को सुनिश्चित करती है; (ख) जाति समूहों के मध्य सम्पत्ति, व्यवसाय, नौकरी, वेतन, शिक्षा, आदि, जैसे आर्थिक अधिकारों का असमान रूप से वितरण करती है; (ग) सामाजिक लाँछन पर आधारित व्यवसाय की वंशानुगतता स्थापित करती है। यह विशेषताएँ इस दिशा की ओर संकेत करती हैं कि हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था तीन परस्पर संबंधित तत्वों पर आधारित है, और वे हैं, जन्म पर आधारित प्रत्येक जाति का पूर्वनिश्चित सामाजिक, धार्मिक तथा आर्थिक अधिकार; जातियों के मध्य अधिकारों का असमान तथा प्रधानता (पदसोपन) पर आधारित इन अधिकारों का विभाजन; तथा हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था को बनाए रखने के लिए सामाजिक तथा धार्मिक विचारधाराओं पर आधारित सख्त सामाजिक, धार्मिक तथा आर्थिक निर्वासन (ostracism)," (Sukhadev Thorat, "Hindu Social Order and Human Rights of the Dalits") ।

डा० केतकर (Dr. Ketkar) जाति को परिभाषित करते हुए कहते हैं कि यह "एक ऐसा सामाजिक समूह है जिसकी दो विशेषताएँ हैं :

(क) सदस्यता केवल उन तक सीमित है जो सदस्यों द्वारा जन्म दिए गए हैं तथा इस प्रकार से जन्म लिए हुए सभी लोगों को शामिल करती है; तथा

(ख) एक निष्ठुर सामाजिक कानून द्वारा समूह से बाहर विवाह करने से सदस्यों को रोका गया है।"

डा० आम्बेडकर ने कहा, "डा० केतकर ने इस विषय की व्याख्या के लिए बहुत मेहनत की। वह न केवल देशवासी है, परन्तु उन्होंने जाति रूपी विषय पर आलोचनात्मक ढंग से विवेचन करते समय अपने दिमाग को स्वतन्त्र एवं खुला रखा। इनके द्वारा दी गई परिभाषा

विचार करने योग्य है क्योंकि इन्होंने जाति को जातीय व्यवस्था के सम्बन्ध में परिभाषित किया है और केवल उन विशेषताओं पर विशेष ध्यान दिया है जो एक व्यवस्था में एक जाति को जीवित रहने के लिए अत्यधिक आवश्यक है, और अन्य सभी को द्वितीय महत्व अथवा स्वरूप में क्रत्रिम बताकर, सही रूप से वर्जित कर दिया। हालाँकि उनकी परिभाषा सरल व स्पष्ट है फिर भी इसमें कुछ मात्रा में विचारों की उलझन है। वह जाति की दो विशेषताओं को, स्वजनन (autogeny) के आधार पर सदस्यता तथा अन्तर्विवाह की मनाही, के रूप से प्रस्तुत करते है। मैं यह कहूँगा कि यह दोनों एक ही वस्तु के दो पहलू हैं, तथा यह दो अलग चीज नही है, जैसे–डा० केतकर का विश्वास है। अगर तुम अन्तर्विवाह पर रोक लगाते हो तब इसका परिणाम यह होगा कि समूह में जन्म लिए लोगों की सदस्यता को तुम सीमित करोगे। इस प्रकार यह दोनों एक ही पदक के अभिमुख (obverse) तथा पृष्ठभाग (reverse) होगें, (Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, "Caste in India") । आम्बेडकर के लिए, "मनाही अथवा अर्न्तजातीय विवाह का अभाव–संक्षिप्त में कहें तो, सजातीय विवाह–अगर सही अर्थों में समझें तब इसी को सही अर्थों में जाति कहेगें।" परन्तु वह आगे कहते है, "भारत में जाति का अर्थ, जनसंख्या को क्रत्रिम रूप से स्थिर तथा निश्चित इकाईयों में तोड़ देना तथा प्रत्येक को दूसरे के साथ विवाह की प्रथा में बंधने से रोकना है। इस प्रकार अन्त में हम यह कह सकते हैं कि इसका निष्कर्ष पूर्वनिश्चित है कि सजातीय विवाह ही जाति के लिए विचित्र विशेषता है।'

जाति की उत्पत्ति
(Origin of Caste)

डा० आम्बेडकर के अनुसार सती अथवा आजीवन विधवापन तथा कन्या विवाह ऐसी 'प्रथाएँ हैं, जिन्हें मुख्यत: एक जाति के अधिशेष पुरुष तथा अधिशेष स्त्रियों की समस्याओं को सुलझाने तथा सजातीय विवाह को बनाए रखने के लिए किया गया था। सजातीय विवाह को इन प्रथाओं के अभाव में दृढ़तापूर्वक बनाए रखना मुश्किल था और सजातीय विवाह के अभाव में जाति एक धोखा है।' परन्तु, सती प्रथा के माध्यम से भारत में जाति को उत्पन्न किया जाता है और सुरक्षित किया जाता है। परन्तु प्रश्न जो अब उभर रहा है वह जाति की उत्पत्ति का है। आम्बेडकर कहता है कि उसने जाति की उत्पत्ति को सजातीय विवाह की उत्पत्ति तथा यंत्र रचना के रूप से परिभाषित किया है। समाज हमेशा वर्गों से बना होता है। आम्बेडकर के लिए वर्ग तथा जाति अगले दरवाजे के पड़ोसी हैं और केवल नौ इंच की दूरी (span) ही इन दोनों को अलग करती है। 'जाति एक घिरा हुआ वर्ग' है। वह वर्ग कौन सा है जिसने अपने इर्दगिर्द घेरे को जन्म दिया है ? इस प्रश्न के लिए कोई प्रत्यक्ष उत्तर नही है। ऊपर वर्णित प्रथाएँ जैसे 'सती', "केवल एक ही जाति में प्रचलित है, और वह है 'ब्राह्मण', जो हिन्दु समाज के सामाजिक पदसोपान में उच्चतर स्थान को धारण किए हुए है।' प्रत्येक समाज में एक कानून दाता होता है। भारत में यह भूमिका 'मनू' निभाता है। परन्तु यहाँ डा० आम्बेडकर कहता है, "यहाँ मैं एक बात कहना चाहूँगा कि मनू ने जाति का कानून नही दिया और वह ऐसा नही कर सका। जाति मनू से बहुत पूर्व उपस्थित थी।' वह (मनू) इसका समर्थक था और इसलिए इसे दार्शनिक ढ़ग से प्रस्तुत किया परन्तु उसने हिन्दु समाज की वर्तमान व्यवस्था को निश्चित नही किया और न ही वह कर पाया। उसका कार्य वस्तुत: जाति व्यवस्था के नियमों का संहिताकरण

तथा जाति धर्म के प्रचार तक ही सीमित था। जाति व्यवस्था को प्रचारित व विकास करना इतना भीमकाय कार्य है कि इसे किसी शक्ति अथवा व्यक्ति या वर्ग की धूर्तता द्वारा प्राप्त नही किया जा सकता।" इसलिए निष्कर्ष यही रहा कि जाति को ब्राह्मणों ने ही जन्म दिया।

आम्बेडकर ने हिन्दुओं के मध्य प्रचलित मनगढ़न्त कथाओं की शास्त्रों ने हिन्दु समाज को किस प्रकार जाति व्यवस्था के ढाँचे में गठन किया है, का भी विवेचन किया है। और उनके लिए शास्त्र कभी गलत नही हो सकते। आम्बेडकर के लिए प्रारम्भ में ही, "अन्य समाजों के समान हिन्दु समाज वर्गों से बना हुआ था और सबसे पहले पहचाने गए वर्ग थे, (1) ब्राह्मण, अथवा पुरोहिती वर्ग; (2) क्षत्रीय, अथवा सैनिक वर्ग; (3) वैश्य, अथवा व्यापारी वर्ग; तथा (4) शूद्र अथवा कारीगर एवं नीच वर्ग। इस बात की तरफ विशेष ध्यान देने की आवश्यकता है कि यह विशेषकर एक वर्ग व्यवस्था है, जिसमें व्यक्ति जब योग्य हो जाए तब वह अपने वर्ग को बदल सकता है। इसलिए वर्गों ने अपने कर्मचारीगणों को बदला। हिन्दुओं के इतिहास की किसी अवस्था में, पुरोहिती वर्ग ने अपने आपको, सामाजिक रूप से, अन्य लोगों से अलग कर लिया, और एक 'बन्द-दरवाजा' नीति के द्वारा स्वयं को एक जाति बना दिया। अन्य वर्ग, चूँकि श्रम के सामाजिक विभाजन के कानून से बंधे हुए थे, इसलिए विभेदीकरण के दौर से गुज़रकर, कुछ बृहत्त समूहों में तथा कुछ अतिलघु समूहों में बदल गए। वैश्य तथा शूद्र वर्ग ही असली प्रारंभिक जीवद्रव्य (plasm) थे, जो आज की बहुसंख्यक जातियों का स्त्रोत बने। सैनिकी व्यवसाय प्राय: आसानी से अनेक छोटे उप-भागों में विभाजित नही होता, इसलिए क्षत्रीय वर्ग आसानी से योद्धा तथा प्रशासकों में विभक्त, हो गया।" जाति व्यवस्था की उत्पत्ति से सम्बन्धित विचारों के आलोचनात्मक परीक्षण के बाद आम्बेडकर ने कहा, "समाज का इस प्रकार उप-भागों में विभाजन बिल्कुल प्राकृतिक है। परन्तु इन उप-भागों में अप्राकृतिक बात यह है कि इन्होंने वर्ग व्यवस्था के 'खुले-द्वार' स्वरूप को खो दिया है तथा 'जाति' नामक 'आत्म-घेरा' टुकड़ियाँ बना ली हैं। प्रश्न उठता है : क्या वे दरवाजों को बन्द करने तथा सजातीय बनने के लिए मजबूर थे, अथवा उन्होंने स्वयं अपनी ही मर्जी से दरवाजों को बन्द कर लिया ? यहाँ मैं इसके लिए दोहरी लकीरों वाले उत्तर प्रस्तुत करूँगा। कुछ लोगों ने द्वार बन्द कर दिया; अन्य लोगों ने इच्छा के विरूद्ध उनके द्वारों को बन्द पाया। एक मनोवैज्ञानिक व्याख्या है और दूसरी यंत्रचालित है, परन्तु दोनों अनुपूरक हैं और दोनों ही जाति-निर्माण के पूर्ण दृश्य को वर्णित करने के लिए आवश्यक हैं।" अब प्रश्न यह उत्पन्न होता है कि वर्गों ने अपने-अपने द्वारों को क्यों बन्द किया ? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर देते हुए आम्बेडकर कहते है कि 'ब्राह्मणों ने क्योंकि ऐसा चाहा'। सजातीयता अथवा बन्द उनके द्वारों व्यवस्था हिन्दु समाज का एक भूषाचार (fashion) है। आगे चलकर इस सिद्धान्त की अन्य वर्गों ने भी नकल उतारी।

आम्बेडकर द्वारा जाति समस्या का अध्ययन चार मुख्य बिन्दुओं के इर्द-गिर्द तक निश्चित है : "(1) कि हिन्दु जनसंख्या की संयुक्त बनावट के बावजूद, इसमें एक गहरी सांस्कृतिक एकता है; (2) कि जाति एक बृहत्त सांस्कृतिक इकाई का टुकड़ों में संविभाजन है; (3) कि प्रारम्भ से देखा जाए तो कोई जाति नही थी; तथा (4) वर्गों कि नकल एवं बहिष्कार द्वारा जातियाँ बन गई हैं। आम्बेडकर ने अन्त में यह कहा, "आज भारत में जाति की समस्या को एक विचित्र हित जोड़ता है; जैसे इस अप्राकृतिक संस्था को समाप्त करने के लिए दृढ़ कोशिश की जा रही हैं। सुधार के ऐसे प्रयत्नों ने, इसकी उत्पत्ति को लेकर उत्तेजित किया कि क्या यह

सर्वोच्च सत्ता के सचेत आदेश का परिणाम है अथवा यह विचित्र परिस्थिति में मानव समाज के जीवन में अचेत रूप से उत्पन्न हुई है, जिसने अनेक विवादों को उत्तेजित किया है।"

शूद्र कौन थे ?
(Who were the Shudras ?)

जाति व्यवस्था की उत्पत्ति के विवेचन के पश्चात् डा० आम्बेडकर ने शूद्रों की उत्पत्ति पर अपना विचार प्रस्तुत किया। उन्होंने अपने द्वारा रचित पुस्तक "बुद्ध तथा उसका धर्म" (Budha and His Dharma), में कहा :

"1. ब्राह्मणों के अनुसार, वेदों ने एक आदर्श समाज को परिभाषित किया है, और वेद भ्रमातीत (infallible) होने के कारण, वह ही केवल आदर्श समाज हो सकता है जिसे मानव स्वीकार कर सकता है।

2. वेदों द्वारा निश्चित आदर्श समाज को 'चतुर्वर्ण' के नाम से जाना जाता है।

3. वेदों के अनुसार, ऐसे समाज को तीन शर्तें निभानी होगी।

4. इसमें ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय, वैश्य तथा शूद्र जैसे चार वर्ग होने चाहिए।

5. इन वर्गों के मध्य पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध श्रेणीकृत असमानता के नियमों पर आधारित होकर संचालित करना होगा। दूसरे शब्दों में, यह सभी वर्ग एक ही समान स्तर पर नहीं होगें, परन्तु स्थिति, अधिकार तथा विशेषाधिकार पर आधारित होकर एक के ऊपर एक होगें।

6. ब्राह्मणों को शीर्ष पर रखा गया; श्रत्रियों को ब्राह्मणों के अधीन, परन्तु वैश्यों से ऊपर, वैश्यों को क्षत्रियों के अधीन रखा गया परन्तु शूद्रों के ऊपर; तथा शूद्रों को सबसे अधीन रखा गया।

7. चतुर्वर्ण की तीसरी विशेषता यह है कि प्रत्येक वर्ग उस व्यवसाय को अपनाएगा जो उसे दिया जाए। ब्राह्मण का व्यवसाय पढ़ना, पढ़ाना तथा धार्मिक अनुष्ठान को निभाना होगा। क्षत्रीय का व्यवसाय हथियार उठाना तथा लड़ना होगा। वैश्यों का व्यवसाय व्यापार तथा कारोबार होगा। शूद्रों का व्यवसाय सभी तीनों उच्च जातियों के दासोचित सेवा करना होगा।

8. कोई भी वर्ग दूसरे वर्गों के व्यवसाय का अतिक्रमण नही करेगा तथा खाई नही खोदेगा।"

उन्होंने कहा, "हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था के विकास की इस अवस्था में भी शूद्र वर्ग कुछ अधिकारों का आनन्द उठाते थे। शूद्रों को गाँव से अन्न एकत्रिता करने का अधिकार था। फसल की कटाई के मौसम में प्रत्येक ग्रामीण से धान एकत्रित करने का अधिकार था तथा ग्रामीण वासियों के मृत जानवरों को प्राप्त करने का अधिकार था," (B.R. Ambedkar, "The Untouchables")।

वे अपनी रचना, 'शूद्र कौन है ?' (Who were the Shudras) में दो प्रश्नों का उत्तर देते हैं, वह है, (1) शूद्र कौन है ? तथा (2) वे किस प्रकार से हिन्द-आर्य समाज के चतुर्थ वर्ण बने ? डा० आम्बेडकर ने उत्तर दिया :

"1. शूद्र आर्य समुदायों में से एक सूर्यवंश से सम्बन्धित थे।

2. एक वह भी समय था जब आर्य समाज ने केवल ब्राह्मण, क्षत्रीय तथा वैश्य रूपी तीन वर्णों को ही मान्यता दे रखी थी।

3. शूद्र एक अलग वर्ण नही बना हुआ था। हिन्द-आर्य समाज के क्षत्रीय वर्ण में शूद्र को एक हिस्से के रूप से स्थान प्राप्त था।

4. शूद्र राजाओं तथा ब्राह्मणों के मध्य लगातार झगड़ा होता रहता था जिसमें ब्राह्मणों पर अनेक अत्याचार तथा अपमान हुए।

5. शूद्रों द्वारा किए गए अनेक अत्याचारों व अपमानों के कारण ब्राह्मणों ने उनके लिए उपनयना करने से इन्कार कर दिया।

6. उपनयना न किए जाने के कारण शूद्र, जो क्षत्रीय थे, वे सामाजिक रूप से निम्न कोटिकृत (पदच्युत) हुए, स्तर में वैश्य वर्ण से भी नीचे गिर गए, और इस प्रकार से वे चतुर्थ वर्ण के बन गए।" व्यवस्था में आया यह बदलाव हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था में शूद्रों पर अत्याचार तथा उनके अधीनीकरण करने की दिशा में ले गया। शूद्र ही केवल वर्ण व्यवस्था के कठोर नियमों द्वारा उत्पीड़ित नही थे, परन्तु एक और वर्ण भी था जो इसी समान वर्ण व्यवस्था द्वारा उत्पीड़ित था, और वह था "अछूत" (Untouchables)। हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था उनके साथ बहिष्कृत (outcaste) जैसा व्यवहार करती है।

अस्पृश्य अथवा अछूत कौन थे ?
(Who were Untouchables ?)

डा० आम्बेडकर ने अपनी पुस्तक 'अस्पृश्य–ये कौन हैं' ? (The untouchables—Who are They ?) में अस्पृश्य लोगों के उद्भव पर अपने शोध का विवेचन किया। उन्होंने कहा :

(1) हिन्दुओं तथा अस्पृश्य लोगों में कोई जातीय विभेद नही है;

(2) अस्पृश्यता की उत्पत्ति से पूर्व हिन्दुओं तथा अस्पृश्यों के मध्य प्रारम्भिक स्वरूप में विभेद जनजाति तथा विदेशी जनजाति के टूटे मनुष्य (अस्पृश्य व्यक्ति) का था। इन्ही टूटे मनुष्यों के साथ आगे चलकर अस्पृश्यों जैसा व्यवहार किया गया।

(3) जिस प्रकार अस्पृश्य का कोई जातीय आधार नही है, उसी समान उनके व्यवसायों का भी कोई आधार नही हैं;

(4) अस्पृश्यता दो जड़ों अथवा मूलों से उत्पन्न हुई है :

(क) बुद्धवादियों को जिस प्रकार ब्राह्मण तिरस्कार तथा नफरत से देखते हैं उसी समान टूटे मनुष्य के साथ भी होता है;

(ख) अन्य लोगों द्वारा त्यागे जाने के बाद भी टूटे व्यक्ति द्वारा गौ-मांस का सेवन करना।

(5) अस्पृश्य की खोज करते समय, अस्पृष्य तथा दूषित के मध्य विभेद को ध्यान में रखना होगा। सभी रूढ़िवादी लेखकों ने दूषित को अस्पृश्य के साथ अभिन्न समझा है। यह एक भ्रान्ति है। अस्पृश्य, दूषित से भिन्न हैं; तथा

(6) जबकि अशुद्ध लोग एक वर्ग के रूप में 'धर्म सूत्र' के समय उत्पन्न हुए, अस्पृश्य लोग सन् 400 ई० से भी अधिक के पश्चात उत्पन्न हुआ।"

डा० आम्बेडकर का विचार था कि बुद्धवाद के आगमन के कारण, अस्पृश्य लोग गौतम बुद्ध के अनुयायी बने। आम्बेडकर द्वारा रचित "बुद्ध तथा उनका धर्म" (Budha and his Dharma) में वे बुद्ध के जाति पर विचारों का विवेचन करते हैं। उन्होंने कहा, "बुद्ध ने जाति

का पूर्णत: (root and branch) विरोध किया। वह जाति का अति कठोर विरोधी था तथा समानता का सबसे पहला व सबसे निष्ठावान प्रोत्साहक था। बुद्ध ने जाति तथा असमानता के पक्ष में कोई तर्क नहीं दिया और न ही उनकी मौजूदगी से इन्कार किया है। इस विषय पर अनेक ब्राह्मणों ने बुद्ध को चुनौती दी। परन्तु, गौतम बुद्ध ने उन सबको पूर्णत: शान्त कर दिया था।" बुद्ध ने आगे प्रश्न दागा कि अगर यह चतुर्वर्ण व्यवस्था प्रत्यक्ष रूप से ब्रह्मा की देन है तब यह स्वरूप में सार्वभौमिक क्यों नहीं है।

डा० आम्बेडकर अपनी रचना, "अस्पृश्य लोग : वे कौन थे और वे अस्पृश्य क्यों बने ?" (The Untouchables : Who were they and why they became untouchables?) में लिखते हैं, "1870 से प्रत्येक दस वर्ष के अन्तराल में, भारत की जनसंख्या का जनगणना आयुक्त द्वारा जनगणना प्रतिवेदन प्रकाशित होता है। भारतीय लोगों के सामाजिक तथा धार्मिक जीवन पर जो अपार सूचना यह आयोग उपलब्ध कराता है वह किसी अन्य स्थान पर देखने को नहीं मिलती। 1910 की जनगणना से पूर्व जनगणना आयोग ने एक स्तम्भ (column) 'धर्म के द्वारा जनसंख्या' (Population by Religion) रखा था। इस शीर्ष के अधीन धर्म के आधार पर जनसंख्या को दर्शाया गया था, जैसे–(1) मुसलमान (2) हिन्दु, (3) ईसाई आदि। इस प्रकार 1910 की जनगणना प्रतिवेदन (Report) मौजुदा व्यवहार से थोड़ी हटकर (departure) बनी। पहली बार इसने हिन्दुओं को तीन अलग श्रेणियों में विभक्त किया; (*i*) हिन्दु; (*ii*) जीववादी (Animists) तथा आदिवासी अथवा जनजातीय; तथा (*iii*) दबाए हुए (depressed) अथवा अस्पृश्य लोग। उसी समय से यह नूतन वर्गीकरण चलता आ रहा है।" पूर्वकालीन जनगणना आयुक्तों के व्यवहार से विचलन ने तीन प्रश्नों को लाकर खड़ा कर दिया। जो प्रश्न उत्पन्न होता है वह यह है कि इस वर्गीकरण के आधार के लिए जनगणना आयुक्तों ने क्या मानदण्ड निश्चित किया था। "इस पृथकरण के लिए जो आधार जनगणना आयुक्तों ने अपनाया था उसे हम उस परिपत्र (circular) में देख सकते हैं जिसे जनगणना आयुक्त ने जारी किया था, व जिसमें दोनों वर्गों के मध्य विभेद करने के उद्देश्य से कुछ मापदण्ड निश्चित किए गए थे। वे जो शत् प्रतिशत् हिन्दु नहीं थे उन्हें जातियों तथा जनजातियों में वर्गीकृत किया गया और इस उद्देश्य से निम्नलिखित मापदण्ड व परीक्षण को आयोजित किया गया :

(1) ब्राह्मणों की सर्वोच्चता को अस्वीकार करना।
(2) एक ब्राह्मण अथवा अन्य मान्य हिन्दु गुरु से 'मन्त्र' स्वीकार न करना।
(3) वेद की सत्ता को अस्वीकार करना।
(4) हिन्दु भगवानों की पूजा न करना।
(5) पारिवारिक पुजारी के रूप से अच्छे ब्राह्मणों से सेवा न करवाना।
(6) ब्राह्मण पुजारियों की पूर्णत: मनाही।
(7) हिन्दु मन्दिरों के भीतरी भाग में प्रवेश पर रोक लगना।
(8) (*a*) छूने द्वारा, अथवा (*b*) एक निश्चित दूरी के भीतर प्रवेश द्वारा, प्रदूषण उत्पन्न करना।
(9) अपने मृतकों को दफनाना।
(10) गौ माँस खाना तथा उसके प्रति श्रद्धा न रखना।

इन दस परीक्षाओं द्वारा कुछ हिन्दुओं को जनजातियों तथा जीववादियों से विभाजित (पृथक) करते हैं। अन्य हिन्दुओं को अस्पृश्य लोगों से विभाजित करते हैं। जो अस्पृश्य को हिन्दुओं से विभक्त करते हैं, वे हैं (2), (5), (6), (7) एवं (10)।" यहीं से अस्पृश्य उत्पन्न हुए, और तद्पश्चात् वे निरन्तर हमारे साथ आज भी मौजूद हैं।

अस्पृश्य लोगों पर उच्च जातियाँ अत्याचार करती हैं, उन्हें धमकाती हैं, उनका उत्साह भंग करती हैं तथा उनका पूर्णत: वशीकरण करती हैं। उनके कार्यों को पुरस्कृत नही किया जाता था। उनके उत्साह को भंग करने के लिए यहाँ तक की उन्हें सेना तथा पुलिस में प्रवेश करने पर भी मनाही है। उच्च हिन्दु जाति के लोग उन्हें मानसिक तथा शारीरिक रूप से आघात पहुँचाते है। उनके विरूद्ध मौजूद विभेदीकरण के कारण उन्होंने अपनी गरिमा तथा इज्जत खो दी है। भारतीय जीवन में निम्न जाति के विरूद्ध निरन्तर हिंसा एक नियमित विशेषता है। यहाँ तक कि कार्यपालिका एवं न्यायपालिका निम्न जातियों के प्रति कृपा दृष्टि नही रखती। इस प्रकार की दयनीय परिस्थिति का अधिक समय तक निरन्तरतापूर्वक मौजूद होना, इन अस्पृश्य लोगों के दोनो, शारीरिक तथा मानसिक विकास को रोक देता है। शिक्षा का अभाव उनके मस्तिष्क पर वार करता है। वे न केवल अपने नागरिक अधिकारों को खो बैठते हैं परन्तु अपने ही नागरिक अधिकारों की रक्षा करने की कला को भी भूल बैठे है। इन अस्पृश्य लोगों की नागरिकता के लोप, ने आम्बेडकर को आगे बढ़कर उनके अधिकारों की प्राप्ति के लिए संघर्ष करने हेतु उन्हे प्रेरित किया। डा० आम्बेडकर स्वयं भी निम्न जाति से थे और इसलिए, वे अस्पृश्य लोगों द्वारा सामना किए जाने वाली समस्याओं की जानकारी रखते थे। आम्बेडकर हिन्दुओं तथा अन्य धर्मों से सम्बन्धित स्त्री जाति के अधिकारों के भी हिमायती बने। उन्होंने यह पाया कि उच्च जातियों की स्त्रियों की हालत भी अस्पृश्य जाति की स्त्रियों की हालत से कम दयनीय नही थी। समाज में प्रचलित सती प्रथा के विरूद्ध डा० आम्बेडकर का रूख कठोर था। उन्होंने स्त्रियों के नागरिक अधिकार, जैसे पति की सम्पत्ति में स्त्रियों के उत्तराधिकार के अधिकार के लिए संघर्ष किया। वे स्त्रियों को शिक्षा दिए जाने के अधिकार के भी पक्ष में थे।

रमेश पतन्गे के शब्दों में, "हमारे संविधान के सामाजिक आदर्श उतने ही महत्वपूर्ण हैं जितने कि राजनीतिक आदर्श हैं। हमारे देश में द्वि-दासता थी–एक राजनीतिक तथा दूसरी सामाजिक। सामाजिक दासता में, प्राथमिक रूप से अनुसूचित जातियाँ ही हैं जिन्हें उच्च जातियों ने अन्याय से नीचे दबा रखा था। उन्हे न राजनीतिक अधिकार प्राप्त था और न ही सामाजिक अधिकार। समाज में उनकी निम्न स्थिति जन्म द्वारा निश्चित थी। हिन्दु समाज में प्रचलित इस सामाजिक दासता के विरूद्ध महान् विद्वानों ने कठोर विद्रोह छेडा। इस सामाजिक दासता के विरूद्ध बुद्धिमान जैसे महर्षि दयानन्द, सामाजिक सुधारक जेसे महात्मा फूले, राजनीतिक नेता जैसे महात्मा गाँधी तथा स्वतन्त्र वीर सावरकर ने निरन्तर आन्दोलन छेडा। डा० आम्बेडकर ने हिन्दू समाज के विरूद्ध अन्तिम जंग लड़ी। यह संघर्ष संविधान में प्रतिबिम्बित होता हैं," (Ramesh Patange, "Hindutva, Constitution and the Ambedkar")।

आम्बेडकर के लिए, कोई भी धर्म अथवा शास्त्र मानव जाति के मध्य भेदभाव करने की सीख नही देता। सच्चे धर्म का लक्ष्य व उद्देश्य प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को सुधारना होता है। वे स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा भ्रातृत्व के निष्ठावान् समर्थक थे। आम्बेडकर ने सामाजिक न्याय के महत्वपूर्ण संघटकों का इस प्रकार से वर्णन किया : सभी मनुष्यों में एकता, समानता तथा

भाईचारा; स्त्री व पुरुष को समान महत्व; कमजोर तथा निम्नतर के प्रति सम्मान; मानव अधिकार के प्रति आदर, पारस्परिक स्नेह, दया, सहनशीलता तथा सह प्राणियों के प्रति सद्भाव; सभी संदर्भों में मानव व्यवहार; नागरिकों की गरिमा; जाति-भेद की समाप्ति; सभी के लिए शिक्षा व सम्पत्ति; भद्रता की भलाई, आदि। राजनीतिक तथा आर्थिक न्याय से अधिक, आम्बेडकर भारत में भाईचारे के आदर्श को विकसित करने के लिए इच्छुक थे। आम्बेडकर के अनुसार, भाईचारे के व्यवहार द्वारा, यन्त्रवत होकर, अन्य सभी प्रकार के न्यायों का प्राप्त होना प्रारम्भ हो जाएगा। अब प्रश्न यह उठता है कि सामाजिक न्याय के लिए भ्रातृत्व की क्या आवश्यकता है ? इस बात का उत्तर यह बनता है कि भारत में सामाजिक भाईचारा तथा अखंडता की अति आवश्यकता है। भारत में समाज के विभिन्न सम्प्रदायों, वर्गों तथा जातियों के मध्य सामंजस्य स्थापित करने के लिए, सबसे पहले यह आवश्यक है कि हम लोगों में भ्रातृत्व भाव को फैलाए। विभिन्नता में एकता उसी समाज में सम्भव है जो भाईचारे के नियम पर आधारित है।

सामाजिक न्याय
(Social Justice)

राजस्थान के उच्च न्यायालय के न्यायमूर्ति (श्रीमति) ज्ञान सिद्ध मिश्र के शब्दों में, "सामाजिक न्याय एक ऐसी अवधारणा है जो मानव समाज से निकटतम रूप से सम्बन्धित कुछ आदर्शों को निधारित करती है। उसके लागू होने से समाज के कमजोर खण्डों के हितों की रक्षा सम्भव है और इसमें मानव और मानव के मध्य मौजूद सभी अन्यायपूर्ण असन्तूलनों को दूर करना भी शामिल है, ताकि सभी नागरिकों का जीवन बेहतर तथा स्वाधीन हो सके। परिणामस्वरूप, प्रत्येक व्यक्ति अपने सामर्थ्य तथा गुण के आधार पर राष्ट्र की शक्ति व धन-सम्पत्ति में भाग ले सके और इस प्रकार से अपनी पसंद तथा दृष्टिकोण के आधार पर सामाजिक स्थिति प्राप्त करने के लिए अवसरों का लाभ उठाए.....। विस्तृत अवधारणा के रूप में सामाजिक न्याय, अन्याय, हिंसा, शोषणता, दमन, विभेदीकरण, अस्पृश्यता, जातिवाद, रंगभेद, असमानता, असहनशीलता, दासता, बेगार, वर्ग-वरिष्ठता, बन्धुवा मजदूर तथा इन्ही से मिलती-जुलती बुराईयाँ जो समाज में प्रचलित हैं, के विरूद्ध, है, और इसलिए,यह न केवल कमजोर की समस्याओं को हथियाता है परन्तु ताकतवर तथा अमीरों को सुधारता तथा उनकी मरम्मत भी करता है। इस प्रकार से न्याय व्यक्ति को सुरक्षा प्रदान करता है, समाज को अनुरक्षण प्रदान करता है, व राज्य का हथियार है तथा मानवता का उद्धारक है। संक्षिप्त में यह कहा जा सकता है कि अगर न्याय को एक मिथक मान ले तब राज्य स्थाई बनकर नहीं रह सकता और राष्ट्र की एकता जोखिम में पड़ जाएगी" (Gyan Sydha Mishra, "Human Rights and Social Rights")। आम्बेडकर ने लिखा, "उच्च-जाति के हिन्दु जानबूझ कर उन निम्न स्तरीय जातियों को उच्च जाति के सांस्कृतिक स्तर तक पहुँचने नही देते जो हिन्दुवाद के दायरे में ही आते हैं। मैं यहाँ दो उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करूँगा, प्रथम, सोनार' का तथा दूसरा 'पाथार प्रभू' का। दोनों ही महाराष्ट्र में जाने-माने समुदाय हैं। अन्य समुदायों के समान स्थिति में ऊपर उठने के विचार से, एक समय इन दोनों समुदायों ने ब्राह्मणों के कुछ व्यवहारों को अपनाने का यत्न किया था। सोनारों ने 'देवदय ब्राह्मण' जैसा व्यवहार करते हुए मुड़ी हुई धोती पहननी शुरू कर

दी थी तथा अभिवादन के लिए वे 'नमस्कार' रूपी शब्द का प्रयोग करने लगे थे। दोनों ही व्यवहार, धोति को मोड़कर पहनना तथा नमस्कार करना ब्राह्मणों की विशेष अदा थी। इस प्रकार सोनारों द्वारा नकल उतारना ब्राह्मणों को अखरने लगा। पेशवाओं के आदेश के द्वारा ब्राह्मणों ने, सोनारों के इस ब्राह्मणों की नकल उतारने के कार्य को समाप्त करवा दिया। यहाँ तक कि ब्राह्मणों ने ईस्ट इन्डिया कम्पनी की मुंबई की बस्ती की परिषद् के अध्यक्ष द्वारा मुंबई में रहने वाले सोनारो को इन प्रथाओं का न उपयोग करने के लिए एक निषेधाधिकार आदेश जारी करवा दिया। एक समय पाथार प्रभू में विधवा-विवाह रूपी प्रथा का प्रचलन रहा है। समय के बहाव के साथ इसी जाति के कुछ लोगों ने विधवा-विवाह प्रथा को हीन नज़रों से देखना शुरू कर दिया क्योंकि यह सामाजिक अधीनता को दर्शाता है क्योंकि यह ब्राह्मणों में प्रचलित प्रथाओं से भिन्न है। अपने समुदाय की स्थिति को ऊपर उठाने के विचार से, इस समुदाय के कुछ लोगों ने विधवा-विवाह को रोकना चाहा जो उनकी जाति में पहले से प्रचलित था। इस नवीनता के पक्ष व विपक्ष में इनका समुदाय दो भागों में विभक्त हो गया। पेशवाओं ने उस गुट का साथ दिया जो विधवा-विवाह चाहते थे और इस प्रकार उन्होंने इस समुदाय को ब्राह्मणों के तौर तरीकों को अपनाने से रोक दिया। हिन्दुओं ने मुसलमानों को इसलिए आलोचित किया क्योंकि उन्होंने तलवार की जोर से अपने धर्म को समाज में फैलाया। उन्होंने ईसाइयों की भी निन्दा उनके द्वारा धर्माधिकरण के लिए की परन्तु वास्तव में इन दोनों में (ब्राह्मणों तथा परिवर्तन इच्छुक लोगों) कौन हमारे द्वारा इज्जत प्राप्त करने योग्य हैं–मुसलमान तथा ईसाई, जिन्होंने अपने विचारों को अनचाहे लोगों पर इसलिए थोपना चाहा क्योंकि उसके द्वारा उनका उद्धार सम्भव है अथवा, वह हिन्दु जो कभी प्रकाश नही फैलाएगे, जो हमेशा अन्य को अन्धेरे में रखना चाहेगें, जो कभी अपनी बुद्धिमता तथा सामाजिक विरासत को उन लोगों को देने के लिए अनुमति नही देगें जो उन्हे अपना ही अंग बनाने के लिए हमेशा तैयार रहते हैं ?" सामाजिक न्याय वास्तव में जाति पर आधारित इसी असमानता को समाप्त करने की माँग करता है।

डा० आम्बेडकर के लिए, सामाजिक न्याय का तात्पर्य, 'एक ऐसी जीवन पद्धति है जिसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को समाज में उनका उचित स्थान प्राप्त हो।' आम्बेडकर के अनुसार सामाजिक न्याय का मतलब सम्मान के साथ जीना तथा सभी का आदर करना है। इसका अर्थ यह भी है कि किसी को चोट न पहुँचाई जाए तथा प्रत्येक को उसका देय दे दिया जाए। हर प्रकार के भेदभाव को दूर करना भी सामाजिक न्याय का एक अंश है। सामाजिक न्याय का अर्थ केवल भौतिक उन्नति अथवा प्रगति नही है परन्तु लोगों में मानव मूल्यों की प्रचुरता, उदारता, उत्पादन, तथा प्रचुरोद्भाव (proliferaton) पैदा करना है।

डा० आम्बेडकर ने इसे इस प्रकार से स्पष्ट किया : "सहानुभूति भ्रातृभाव का दूसरा नाम है। यह एक ऐसी भावना में मौजूद होती है जो एक व्यक्ति को दूसरों की अच्छाइयों के साथ स्वयं को अभिन्न समझने के लिए मजबूर करती है जिससे दूसरों की अच्छाई उसके लिए एक ऐसा विषय बन जाए जिस पर ध्यान देना ऐसा प्राकृतिक व आवश्यक स्वरूपीय हो जैसे हमारे जीने की किसी अन्य शारीरिक शर्त पर हम ध्यान देते हैं। आम्बेडकर के विचार में सामाजिक न्याय के विषय-क्षेत्र में हर प्रकार का न्याय शामिल है। सामाजिक न्याय समस्त सामाजिक व्यवस्था को सम्बोधित करता है जबकि अन्य प्रकार का न्याय हमारी सामाजिक व्यवस्था के किसी एक भाग से सम्बन्धित होता है। चाहे वह कानूनी, आर्थिक अथवा राजनीतिक न्याय हो, वह केवल

एक पहलू को रक्षा दे पाता है और वह जीवन के सीमित क्षेत्र का विषय बन जाता है। यह सभी न्याय सामाजिक व्यवस्था के अंग है, परन्तु इनको लागू करने से केवल चन्द लोगों को सीमित लाभ पहुँचता है जबकि सामाजिक न्याय, न्याय की एक व्यापक अवधारणा है जो हर प्रकार के न्याय को अपने में समावेश कर लेती है।"

संक्षिप्त में आम्बेडकर के अनुसार सामाजिक न्याय में यह बातें शामिल है : **प्रथम**, उनके जीवन का मुख्य उद्देश्य भारत के अस्पृश्य लोगों के आत्म-सम्मान तथा अभिमान को परिरक्षित तथा सुरक्षित करना है। **द्वितीय**, वह अस्पृश्य लोगों को शिक्षित करने के लिए इच्छुक थे क्योंकि उनके विचार में केवल ज्ञान ही अस्पृश्य लोगों की मानसिक स्थिति को विकसित करेगा। **तृतीय**, वह हिन्दुओं की वर्ण व्यवस्था का कठोरता से पूर्ण समाप्ति के पक्ष में थे। उनके अनुसार, अस्पृश्य लोगों के दमन के लिए परम्परागत हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था जिम्मेदार है। **चतुर्थ**, व्यक्ति जो उनकी समस्याओं के समाधान के लिए हिमायत करे वह अस्पृश्य समाज से ही सम्बन्धित हो। **पंचम**, उन्होने जाति प्रथा की समाप्ति के लिए याचना की। **षष्ठ**, डा० आम्बेडकर ने कहा कि सरकार को चाहिए कि वह सुनियोजित ढ़ग से अस्पृश्य लोगों तथा अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों को ऊपर उठाने के लिए आवश्यक कार्य करे।

सामाजिक न्याय के प्रोत्साहन की दिशा में डा० आम्बेडकर के कार्य
(Dr. Ambedkar's work towards the Promotion of Social Justice)

संवैधानिक सभा में प्रवेश करने के उद्देश्य को स्पष्ट करते हुए डा० आम्बेडकर ने कहा, "मैंने दलितों के हितों की रक्षा के लिए संवैधानिक सभा में प्रवेश किया"। उन्होंने आगे कहा, "मैं वहाँ संविधान के मसौदे को तैयार करने के लिए नही गया था। परन्तु, किन्हीं कारणवश वह दायित्व मेरे ऊपर आया। यह मेरे लिए गर्व की बात है कि मुझे संविधान के निर्माताओं के साथ शामिल किया गया।"

न्यायमूर्ति ज्ञान सिद्ध मिश्र के शब्दों में, "स्वतन्त्रता के पश्चात् देश की बागडोर जब भारतीयों के हाथों में आई और नए संविधान का निर्माण हुआ तब अनेक बुद्धिवादी राजनीतिज्ञ जैसे पंडित नेहरू, डा० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद, डा० आम्बेडकर तथा अनेक अन्य लोग थे जो चाहते थे कि देश के मामलों को न्याय तथा लोकतन्त्र के नाम पर इमानदारी से चलाया जाए। डा० आम्बेडकर सताए हुए लोंगो की उन्नती के लिए अधिक चिन्तित थे, उनमें लोगों को उत्तेजित करने का चमत्कारिक व्यक्तित्व था; उनके लिए राजनीतिक, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक जीवन में आवश्यक परिवर्तन लाने का केवल एक माध्यं था। दिल से बुद्धिवाद होने के बाद भी, इस उद्देश्य प्राप्ति के लिए वे राजनीति में कूद पड़े और राजनीतिज्ञ बन गए। आम्बेडकर का दिल और दिमाग पुरुष तथा पुरुष के मध्य, पुरुष और स्त्री के मध्य, बच्चों विशेषकर बालिकाओं के प्रति पुरुषों के रवैये को सूक्ष्म रूप से समझने के लिए प्रयत्नशील था क्योंकि यह सभी जीवन के अनेक क्षेत्रों में अत्यधिक सामाजिक न्याय की माँग करते हैं। डा० आम्बेडकर के सामाजिक न्याय पर विचार का भाव यह है कि वे कानून, नैतिकता तथा लोक चेतना द्वारा मानवकृत असमानताओं को उखाड़ फेंकना चाहते थे। यह सौभाग्य की बात है कि सामाजिक न्याय हमारे संविधान का एक महान् लक्ष्य है और हमारे संविधान में न्याय के लिए प्रावधान अवश्य ही एक न्यायिक समाज स्थापित करने में मदद करेगें और संविधान की उद्देशिका में लेखबद्ध लक्ष्यों की

प्राप्ति के लिए लोगों के सामाजिक, शैक्षिक, आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक जीवन की असमानता को दूर करेगें, तथा निष्ठुर व्यवहार से राज्य के कमजोर, वृद्ध, बेसहारे, स्त्रियों, बच्चों तथा अन्य शोषित लोगों को सुरक्षा प्रदान करेगे।"

आम्बेडकर ने आरक्षण के द्वारा शोषित वर्गों की स्थिति को सुधारना चाहा और सामाजिक न्याय के आदर्श को प्राप्त करना चाहा। भारतीय संविधान की मसौदा समिति (Drafting Committee) के एक अन्य सदस्य के० एम० मुन्शी (K.M. Munshi) ने कहा, "मौलिक अधिकार में, प्रथम खण्ड (Clause) के द्वारा, हम राज्य की सेवाओं में उच्च कोटि की दक्षता को उत्पन्न करना चाहते हैं–ऐसी उच्च कोटि की दक्षता जो सेवाओं को प्रभावी तथा मुस्तैदी के साथ काम करने में मदद करेगी। उसी समय, हमारे देश के अनेक प्रान्तों में मौजूद समस्याओं के कारण, हम यह देखना चाहते हैं कि वह अनेक पिछड़े वर्ग, वर्ग वास्तव में जो पिछड़े हुए हैं, को प्रान्त की सेवाओं में मौका देना चाहिए, क्योंकि यह अनुभव किया गया है कि प्रान्तीय सेवाएँ एक स्थिति प्रदान करती है तथा देश की सेवा करने का एक मौका भी देती है, और यह अवसर पिछड़े हुए लोगों के हर समुदायों को भी मिलना चाहिए। इसके लिए, इस विवाद में भाग लेते हुए डा० आम्बेडकर ने कहा, "अगर हम किसी व्यावहारिक प्रस्ताव को जन्म दें जो सभी को स्वीकार करने योग्य हो, तो यहाँ ऐसी तीन बाते हैं जिनमें सामजस्य स्थापित करना अति आवश्यक है। इन तीन बातों में **प्रथम,** के अनुसार, सभी नागरिकों के लिए अवसर की समानता होगी। इस सदन के प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की यही इच्छा है कि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति जो एक निश्चित पद के लिए योग्य है, उसे उस पद के लिए आवेदन, इम्तिहान में बैठने तथा अपनी योग्यता की परख करवाने की, कि क्या वह उस पद प्राप्ति के लिए योग्य है अथवा नही, की पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता हो, और इस कार्य के लिए उसे अनिश्चित अवसर मिलना चाहिए; और समानता के इस नियम के लागू होने पर अथवा अवसर की समानता पर कोई भी अवरोध नही होनी चाहिए। अन्य विचार (**द्वितीय**) जिससे सदन के अधिकांश लोग सहमत थे, वह था कि अगर इस नियम को लागू करना है अथवा इसे लागू करना चाहिए तब उनके अनुसार पूर्णत: किसी भी रूप में वे किसी भी प्रकार से किसी वर्ग अथवा समुदाय को आरक्षण सुविधा उपलब्ध नही होनी चाहिए, ताकि सभी नागरिक, अगर वह योग्यता रखते हैं तब जहाँ तक सार्वजनिक सेवाओं की बात है तब सभी को समानता के स्तर पर रखना चाहिए।" इसके पश्चात् हमारे पास एक और ठोस विचार है (**तृतीय**) जो इस बात पर जोर देता है, कि हालाँकि सिद्धान्तिक रूप से यह नीति उत्तम है कि अवसर की समानता होनी चाहिए, परन्तु इसके साथ ही ऐसे कुछ समुदायों को प्रवेश देने के लिए भी प्रावधान होने चाहिए जो अब तक प्रशासन से बाहर ही रहें हैं। जैसे मैने कहा, प्रारूप समिति को एक ऐसे सूत्र को जन्म देना था जो इन तीनों विचारों के मध्य सामंजस्य स्थापित कर सके; **प्रथम** कि अवसर की समानता हो, **द्वितीय,** कुछ ऐसे समुदायों के पक्ष में आरक्षण हो जिन्हें अब तक प्रशासन में प्रवेश प्राप्त न हुआ हो।" इसीलिए, प्रारूप समिति तथा संवैधानिक सभा ने बिना दार्शनिक व्याख्याओं की तरफ ध्यान दिए, आरक्षण को वैधानिक स्वीकृति प्रदान कर दी। इसकी मनाही हम नही कर सकते क्योंकि हमारे देश में लोगों के अधिकांश भाग के लिए–शैक्षिक रूप से वे पिछड़े हैं, वे सामाजिक रूप से पिछड़े हुए हैं, शक्ति के फल को प्राप्त करने से वे वंचित रहे है–उचित सोच-विचार करना होगा। यह एक

ऐसी बात है जिसे मैं आपको कहना चाहूँगा," (Indra Sawhney Vs. Union of India, 1992 SC 477)।

डा० जातव संक्षिप्त में डा० आम्बेडकर के सामाजिक न्याय पर विचार को इस प्रकार से व्यक्त करते हैं :

(*i*) मानव हस्ती (human being) के मध्य समानता;

(*ii*) प्रत्येक मानव हस्ती अपने आप में एक साध्य के रूप में;

(*iii*) प्रत्येक मानव हस्ती को सामाजिक, आर्थिक, राजनीति तथा धार्मिक स्वतन्त्रता के उपभोग का अधिकार;

(*iv*) प्रत्येक मानव हस्ती को अभाव तथा डर से मुक्ति;

(*v*) स्वतन्त्रता तथा भ्रातृत्व को बनाए रखना तथा मनुष्य को मनुष्य, वर्ग को वर्ग तथा राष्ट्र को राष्ट्र द्वारा दमन तथा शोषणता से मुक्ति दिलाने के लिए यत्न करना;

(*vi*) एक संसदीय शासन व्यवस्था के अधीन एक लोकतान्त्रिक समाज के निर्माण के लिए अडिग रहना;

(*vii*) सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाने हेतु अहिंसा को यन्त्र के रूप में स्वीकार करना और वर्ग संघर्षों तथा ग्रह युद्ध की सम्भावनाओं को रोकने के लिए शान्तिपूर्ण तथा प्रत्ययकारी (persuasive) तरीकों को अपनाना;

(*viii*) किसी भी 'विषय' अथवा कोई सिद्धान्त अथवा मत के अत्यधिक पहलू से बचना;

(*ix*) आध्यात्मिक अनुशासन की आवश्यकता; तथा

(*x*) बुद्ध के द्वारा शिक्षित सार्वभौमिक प्रेम, निष्पक्षता तथा मानव भ्रातृत्व का दृढ़ आधार," (D.R. Jatau, "Social Philosophy of Dr. Ambedkar")।

न्यायमूर्ति ज्ञान सिंह मिश्र के शब्दों में, "भारतीय समाज में सामाजिक न्याय को अवश्य ही इसके अनेक आयामी (dimensional) रूपों में कल्पित किया गया है और राष्ट्रीय आर्थिक लाभ पर आवश्यक नियन्त्रण तथा इसके न्यायोचित वितरण के लिए आवश्यक प्रावधानों को निर्मित किया गया है; और इस बात पर जोर दिया गया है कि जाति, लिंग, वंश, समुदाय तथा आजीविका के माध्यम के आधार पर कोई आर्थिक शोषण नही होगा, कोई सामाजिक अन्याय नही होगा तथा समाज के किसी भी खण्ड का कोई राजनीतिक दमन नही होगा। संविधान का **अनुच्छेद 17** अस्पृश्यता का उन्मूलन करता है। **अनुच्छेद 15** इस बात का आश्वासन देता है कि धर्म, वंश, जाति, लिंग अथवा निवास स्थान के आधार पर किसी भी प्रकार का भेदभाव नही होगा। **अनुच्छेद 16** यह आश्वासन देता है कि राज्य सभी नागरिकों को अवसरों की समानता देगा और यही **अनुच्छेद 16** पिछड़े लोगों के लिए स्थान आरक्षण का प्रावधान भी करता है।

आधुनिक भारत के मनू, डा० आम्बेडकर ने भारत में सामाजिक न्याय के विकास के लिए अपना सम्पूर्ण जीवन अर्पित कर दिया। डा० एम० वी० पैले (Dr. M.V. Pylee), अम्बेडकर को एक 'संविधानवादी' (constitutionalist) के नाम से सम्बोधित करते हैं। उन्होंने पीड़ित वर्गों के अधिकारों के लिए दृढ़तापूर्वक संघर्ष किया।

संक्षिप्त में, डा० भीम राव आम्बेडकर को पिछड़े वर्गों के अधिकारों के हिमायती तथा जिहादी (crusader) कहा जा सकता है। न्यायमूर्ति सुभाराव (Justice Subha Rao) का कहना

है, "सीमित अर्थों में सामाजिक न्याय को हम कमजोर, वृद्ध, निस्सहाय, गरीब स्त्री, बच्चे तथा अन्य शोषित जो सुरक्षा की माँग करते हैं अथवा यूँ कहिए कि जीवन के निर्दयी प्रतिस्पर्धा में सुरक्षा की माँग करते है; का अधिकार है। यह शोषितों को आवश्यक लाभदायक सहयोग देना चाहता है ताकि जीवन की दौड में वे अधिक विकसित लोगों के साथ भाग लेने के समान अवसर का लाभ उठा सकें। यह अधिकारों की पोटली है। दूसरे शब्दों में, यह अन्य अधिकारों का परिरक्षक है। यह सम्पत्तिवान तथा सम्पत्तिहीन के मध्य सन्तूलक है।" डा० आम्बेडकर के प्रयत्नों के कारण भारतीय संविधान सामाजिक न्याय से सम्बन्धित प्रावधानों से भरपूर है। जाति के उद्भव पर उनका विचार उल्लेख करने योग्य है। संक्षिप्त में, वह भारतीय संविधान का अन्वेषक (path finder) है। भारत के संविधान में वर्णित मौलिक अधिकारों तथा राज्य नीति के निर्देशक तत्वों के अध्यायों को ध्यानपूर्वक प्रतिपादित करने का श्रेय, डा० आम्बेडकर को ही जाता है।

सामाजिक न्याय पर लोहिया
(Lohia on Social Justice)

डा० राम मनोहर लोहिया (1910-1967), जो लोकतन्त्र के एक कट्टर समर्थक थे, ने 'लोहिया' नामक उपनाम इसलिए प्राप्त किया क्योंकि उनका परिवार लोहे कि धातु का व्यापार करता था। भारतीय राजनीति में वह एक अधिक कलहप्रिय आकृति था। लोहिया एक असाधारण रूप से प्रवीण तथा प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्ति थे। उन्होंने सामाजिक तथा राजनीतिक सिद्धान्त के लगभग सभी साहित्यों का अध्ययन कर लिया था। वे पश्चिम के राजनीतिक चिन्तकों से गहरे रूप से प्रभावित हुए; उनमें से प्रमुख कार्ल मार्क्स था। लोहिया गाँधी के असहयोग आन्दोलन से अत्याधिक प्रभावित हुए क्योंकि इसमें लाखों निहत्थे भारतीय शक्तिशाली अंग्रेजों के विरूद्ध लड़े थे। उनका दृढ़ विश्वास था कि धनी तथा निर्धन के मध्य तथा अमीर व गरीब के मध्य भेदभाव को अहिंसात्मक रूप से, अथवा 'सत्याग्रह' द्वारा समाप्त किया जा सकता है। उनके अनुसार, केवल उत्पादन के साधनों के स्वामित्व में परिवर्तन लाने से धनी तथा निर्धन में भेद रूपी समस्या का समाधान असम्भव है। उन्होंने लोकतन्त्र पर अपने विचार को तब प्रतिपादित किया जब उन्होंने कहा कि भारत में अंग्रेजी एक ऐसी भाषा है जिसकी जानकारी भारत के एक नगण्य अल्पसंख्यक ही रखते हैं, और इसलिए, उन्होंने शक्तिशालीपूर्वक विवाद किया कि इसे राज्य के प्रशासन को संचालित करने के लिए उपयोग में नही लाना चाहिए। लोहिया के लिए, एक लोकतन्त्र में लोगों की भाषा ही सरकार की भाषा होनी चाहिए। लोहिया ने भारत की राजकीय भाषा के लिए हिन्दी का चुनाव किया, और इसके पक्ष में कहा, "अंग्रेजी का उपयोग मूल विचार की उत्पत्ति में रूकावट है, हीन भावनाओं का प्रजनक है तथा शिक्षित तथा अशिक्षित लोगों के मध्य एक दरार है। आओ; हिन्दी को उसके प्रारम्भिक वैभव दिलाने के लिए हम सब एक हो जाएं," ("The use of English is a hindrance to original thinking, progenitor of inferiority feelings and a gap between the educated and uneducated public. Come; let us unite to restore Hindi to its original glory")।

लोहिया के अनुसार, स्त्री की मुक्ति सामाजिक क्रान्ति की नींव थी। इसके अभाव में समृद्धि असम्भव है। लोहिया का लोकतन्त्र के प्रति लगाव इस बात से अनुमानित किया जा सकता है

कि यह ही वह पहला व्यक्ति है जिसने कुछ छः सौ पचास भारतीय देशीय रियासतों में एकीकरण को जन्म देकर बृहत्त राज्यों को जन्म दिया। इस विचार को, आगे चलकर, भारत के ग्रह मन्त्री लोह पुरुष, सरदार पटेल ने अपनाया। वे लोकतन्त्र तथा समाजवाद के मिश्रण को जन्म देने के लिए अति आतुर थे। इन्होंने भी कहा था कि हम अहिंसा के सविनय अवज्ञा रूपी माध्यम के द्वारा विरोध प्रकट कर सकते हैं। लोहिया ने आगे कहा, "बिना रचनात्मक कार्य के सत्याग्रह एक क्रिया के बिना एक वाक्य के समान है।" लोहिया का विचार था कि सार्वजनिक कार्य आखिरकार समुदाय में एकता, अखण्डता तथा जानकारी की अनुभूति कराएगें। वह दृढ़ निश्चयपूर्वक यह मानते थे कि देशवासियों को लोकतत्र के मूल्यों के बारे में जानकारी देनी चाहिए। उन्होंने कहा, "लोगों में लोकतन्त्र को जीवित रखने का यही तरीका है कि प्रभुसम्पन्न शक्ति को जितना नन्हे से नन्हे टुकड़ों में काट दिया जा सके काट दिया जाए और लोगों में बाँट दिया जाए ताकि ग्रामों में तथा शहरों में साधारण लोगों को राजनीतिक मामले समझ में आ सके और उनका वह बुद्धिमता से उपयोग कर सकें। अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से, वे शक्ति के विकेन्द्रीकरण के पक्ष में थे। वे सहभागी लोकतन्त्र के भी पक्ष में थे, जिसमें राष्ट्र के प्रत्येक सदस्य को सरकार के संचालन में अवश्य शामिल किया जाए। ऐसा करने से वे न केवल शक्ति के अर्थ को समझ पाएँगे। परन्तु वे उसे सरकार के महत्वपूर्ण यंत्र के रूप में, उसके महत्व को समझ सकेगें परन्तु उनकी दायित्व की अनुभूति में वृद्धि होगी और यह स्वस्थ्य लोकतन्त्र के विकास में सहयोग देगें।

योगेन्द्र यादव के शब्दों में, "उन्होंने अपने जीवन काल में, राममनोहर लोहिया ने तीन पापों" के लिए कीमत चुकाई। विचार-निर्माण करने वाले वर्ग ने उसे कभी भुला नहीं पाएगा क्योंकि–ऐसे समय पर उसने नेहरू पर लगातार वार किया जब वह ईश्वर-नुमा थे, अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध उत्साही तथा प्रवाही मोर्चे का नेतृत्व कर रहे थे तथा लोगों के सामने उच्च वर्ग की प्रधानता पर सवाल उठा रहे थे ऐसे में उन्होंने जाति पर आधारित सकारात्मक कार्यवाही के लिए वकालत की। इसमें कोई आश्चर्य नहीं कि उच्च-जाति के लिए लोहिया अस्वीकार्य (persona non grata) थे।

भारतीय शिक्षित वर्ग तथा संचार पर नेहरू-वामपंथी प्रधानता ने यह सुनिश्चित किया कि लोहिया का व्यंग्यचित्र उसका प्रधान चित्र बने।"

सामाजिक न्याय के लिए लोहिया का औजार
(Lohia's Tools for Social Justice)

आरक्षण पर लोहिया
(Lohia on Reservation)

निरंजन रामकृष्ण कहते है, "लोहिया ने इस बात को ढूंढ निकाला था कि वर्ग से अधिक जाति ही भारत की प्रगति के मार्ग में अधिक रूकावट उत्पन्न कर रही है। तब आज जैसे, अधिक लोग, जीवन के हर पहलू में–जन्म, विवाह, सम्बन्धों तथा मृत्यु में–जाति को प्रयोग करते थे, हालाँकि सार्वजनिक रूप से इस बात को बताना राजनीतिक रूप से उचित नहीं था। यह लोहिया का ही शोध-प्रबन्ध (thesis) है कि भारत ने अपने ऐतिहासिक जीवन में हमेशा

पराजय का ही सामना किया क्योंकि लोगों ने अपने आपको एक जाति के सदस्य के रूप में देखा, एक देश के नागरिक के रूप से नहीं देखा। लोहिया के अनुसार, जाति एक जमाव किया हुआ वर्ग है। वर्ग एक सक्रीय जाति है। परिणामस्वरूप, क्योंकि ऊपरी वर्ग जो मुख्य रूप से ब्राह्मणों तथा बनियों जैसी उच्च जातियों का बना हुआ था और जिसमें ब्राह्मण बुद्धिवाद के क्षेत्र में तथा बनिये धन्धों में प्रधानता रखे हुए थे, के विचारों में संकीर्णता तथा मूर्खता ने देश में नूतन विचारों को प्रवेश नही होने दिया। चूँकि वे स्वीकारात्मक क्रिया के प्रस्ताव थे, इसलिए, उन्होंने इसे भूमि को अच्छी उपज देने का परिवर्तन बिन्दु माना और चाहा कि ऊपरी जातियाँ स्वेच्छा से, निम्न जातियों को विकसित करने व उन्नति करने के लिए, स्वयं को मिट्टी की भूमिका निभाएँ, ताकि देश क्षमता तथा विचारों के व्यापक प्रतिबिम्ब द्वारा लाभ उठा सके। लोहिया के शब्दों में, "जाति अवसरों को प्रतिबद्ध करती है। प्रतिबद्ध अवसर योग्यता को संकुचित करता है। संकुचित योग्यता अवसर को और भी संकुचित कर देती है। जहाँ जाति प्रबल होती है, वहाँ अवसर तथा सामर्थ्य, लोगों के निरन्तर संकुचित होते हुए दायरे तक प्रतिबद्ध हो जाते है।" उनके ही संयुक्त समाजवादी दल [Samyukta (United) Socialist Party] में लोहिया ने निम्न जाति के उम्मीदवारों को निर्वाचन टिकट तथा उच्च दलीय स्थितियां, दोनो को देकर, उन्हे ऊपर उठाया। हालाँकि उसने जाति के बारे में निरन्तर बात की, फिर भी वह जातिवादी नही था–उनका उद्देश्य यह था कि लोग समाजवादी दल के उम्मीदार को मतदान करे चाहे वे किसी भी जाति से सम्बन्धित क्यों न हों। उनका यह तर्क था कि देश को मजबूत बनाने के लिए, प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की उसमें साझेदारी होनी चाहिए। जाति को निकाल देने के लिए, उनका एक सूत्रकारी नुसखा था, "रोटी तथा बेटी", अर्थात्, साथ खाने के लिए (रोटी) लोगों को जातीय अवरोध को तोड़ना होगा तथा अपनी लड़कियों को दूसरी जाति के लड़के को विवाह में देना होगा (बेटी)," (Niranjan Ramakrishan, "Remembering Ram Manohar Lohia")। अपने निबन्ध 'जातियों तथा वर्गों की तबाही की ओर' ('Towards the destruction of castes and classes') में उन्होंने ऐसी जाति की नीति को अपनाया जिसे काँग्रेस सोशियलिस्ट पार्टी (Congress Socialist Party) ने अप्रैल, 1959 में अपनाया था। इस निबन्ध में इन्होंने ऊपर वर्णित नीति में मौजूद जहर का भी जिक्र किया है। चार जहर जिनका वह विवेचन करते हैं, वह है : "(i) एक वह जिसका मनुष्य के मस्तिष्क पर तुरन्त प्रभाव पड़ता है; (ii) निम्न जातियों में विशालकाय जाति इस नीति के लाभों की प्रशंसा करेगी परन्तु अन्य निम्न जातियों के साथ हिस्सा नही बाटेगी; (iii) व्यक्ति की तरक्की के लिए इसका दुरुपयोग; तथा (iv) शूद्र तथा द्विजा के मध्य यह शब्द अप्रिय झगड़ों को जन्म दे सकता हैं," (Lalit Mohan Gautam, "Caste as Policy," Hindustan Times, November 21, 1993)।

समानता पर लोहिया
(Lohia on Equality)

लोहिया ने कहा कि समाजवाद ने आय की सीमान्त, सीमित जोत-क्षेत्र, वगैरह के द्वारा समानता को परिभाषित करने का प्रयत्न किया। उनके द्वारा समानता को दी गई निश्चित तथा विशेष अवधारणा को उपलब्ध कराते हुए साम्राज्यवादियों को चाहिए कि वे समानता को स्थापित करे। हमें सामान्य की अवधारणा को प्राप्त करने के लिए, विशेष से प्रारम्भ करना

होगा। सामान्य अवधारणा शायद शाश्वत हो परन्तु युग से युग इसमें परिवर्ती विशेष सम्भव है। विशेष के बिना, सामान्य एक धोखा बन जाता है, जबकि विशेष भी बिना सामान्य के कड़ाई बन जाएगा। इसलिए, सामान्य तथा विशेष के मध्य अन्योन्यक्रिया चलती रहनी चाहिए। यूरोपवासियों ने वास्तव से आदर्श को प्राप्त किया। भारतीय इससे पूर्णत: भिन्न रूप में क्रियाशील हुए। "आज यहीं पर मानव दिमाग में संकट मौजूद है।" हालांकि 1955 में लोहिया ने कहा था, आज 2010 में यह बात सत्य से अधिक है। तुम इस नग्न द्वैत व्यवहार को स्पष्ट रूप में बिना शर्म के प्रकट करते हुए प्रत्येक दिन, संचार में, विद्वानों की बौद्धिक बहस में तथा हमारी संसदीय कार्यविधियों में देख सकते हैं। लोहिया का कहना था कि इसे शायद हम भारतीय व्यवहार कह सकते हैं जिसने अदैवता से वंशागत को प्राप्त किया है।

लोहिया शायद प्रारंभिक चिन्तकों में से एक थे जिसने असमानता की समस्या को समग्रतापूर्वक पहचाना। उसने कहा, "समानता शायद सत्य अथवा खूबसूरती के समान जीवन का एक उच्च उद्देश्य है। परन्तु उसके उद्देश्य को स्वच्छता के साथ जाँचा नहीं गया। रोज-रोज के जीवन पर, सम्पत्ति पर तथा आमदनी पर, तथा समाज को सामान्य रूप से व्यवस्थित करने पर इसकी प्रत्यक्ष व तुरन्त प्रतिक्रिया गहरी व अनेक हैं।" वह समानता के आदर्श को लेकर पूर्णत: स्पष्ट थे। उदाहरणार्थ, निरपेक्ष समानता को निरन्तर साकार समानता के सम्बन्ध में लाना चाहिए, तथा अन्य सामान्यीकरणों के साथ भी इसी प्रकार से व्यवहार करना चाहिए। अन्यत: "जीव निरन्तर चर्खे को घुमाएगी तथा हाथ भी उसी तरह वस्त्रोद्योग यन्त्र की स्थापना करता रहेगा। जीभ निरन्तर अहिंसा और समानता गाती रहेगी तथा हाथ असमानता का आचरण करता रहेगा और बन्दूक चलाता रहेगा।" यह हमारे सार्वजनिक जीवन के पाखण्ड को प्रकट करता है, जिसे लोहिया घृणित करते हैं।

लोहिया ने समानता के अर्थ को विज्ञान जैसे कि अमरत्या सेन, से बहुत पहले विवेचन कर दिया था परन्तु सेन ने उसे नव-शास्त्रीय तथा एंग्लो-सेक्सन पद्धति द्वारा विवेचन किया। इसने पश्चिम के विचारों को उपहास के रूप में लिया है, जैसे "ईश्वर का पितृत्व तथा मानव का भ्रातृत्व", को यह कहते लिया है, कि यह सब केवल उपदेश है। उनका मानव की भावनाओं के साथ विशेषकर एंग्लो-सेक्सन के व्यवहारों में, कोई बुनियाद नहीं होती। इसका एक उदाहरण देते हुए, एक यूरोपवासी को एक विचार के सुनने से ही धक्का लगता है कि मानव जाति रिक्शा खींचती है, परन्तु उस पर सवार होने से पूर्व दोबारा नहीं सोचती। (प्रो. के.एस. चलम)

लोहिया ने भारतीय स्थिति में समानता की अवधारणा का विस्तरण किया है। उसने कानूनी समानता, राजनीतिक समानता तथा आर्थिक समानता का वंश पर आधारित विभेदीकरण किया है। उसने समानता की अवधारणा को समझने के लिए इसे विधि-तन्त्र को अपनाया है। उसने कहा, "मुख्य विषय यह है कि हम इस ब्रह्माण्ड के साथ एक हैं और सबके साथ मिलकर एक हैं रूपी भावना को महसूस करके आनन्दित हों। लगता है कि ऐसी आध्यात्मिक एवं भावनात्मक सगोत्रता समानता का एक मुख्य गुण है और यह जीवन का एक मुख्य उद्देश्य सा लगता है। परिवार में सगोत्रता उत्पन्न होती है। इसकी नींव लगभग समान भौतिक समानता पर आधारित है। व्यक्ति सदस्य की चाहे कुछ भी आमदनी हो, अथवा वे चाहे कुछ भी नहीं कमाते हों, जैसा कि बच्चों व वृद्ध माता-पिता की स्थिति में होता है, खान-पान व पहनावे में परिवार

एक सुसंहत एक इकाई है और इसके सदस्यों की आवश्यकताओं की समान रूप से पूर्ति की जाती हैं। परिवार में एक बेदाग पितृवाद का बोलबाला होना चाहिए।'' समानता लाने के लिए यह विचार कि पितृवाद जैसी भावना का उत्पादन किया जाए जैसे महान विचार के स्थान पर रॉल्सन का विचार कि समानता प्राप्ति के लिए न्याय को निष्पक्षता करना है उतना महान सा प्रतीत नहीं होता। इस अवधारणा पर, दोनों इसके अमूर्त तथा मूर्त संदर्भ में, विस्तृत अध्ययन के पश्चात्, लोहिया ने इसे दार्शनिक अर्थ प्रदान किया है। मनुष्य को दो विपरीतार्थ परिस्थितियों में जैसे सुख व दुख, गर्म व सर्द, जीत व हार, में एक आन्तरिक समानता का अनुभव होना चाहिए। आन्तरिक समबुद्धि तथा बाह्य समानता को एक सिक्के के दो पहलू जैसे 'समता' तथा 'समत्वम्' जैसी प्राचीन भारतीय बुद्धिमता को लाते हुए, लोहिया ने यह संकेतिक किया है कि वे हमारे समाज में पहले से ही अधिश्लिष्ट (ingrained) है।

आखिरकार, लोहिया ने समानता से सम्बन्धित विचार के निष्कर्ष में प्रस्तुत करते हुए चार अर्थों में ग्रहण करने के लिए कहा है। ''आर्थिक समानता का तात्पर्य बाह्य रूप से सभी राष्ट्रों के मध्य सन्निकटन (approximation) और साथ-ही-साथ राष्ट्रों के मध्य भीतरी सन्निकटन होना चाहिए। आध्यात्मिक समानता का अर्थ बाह्य सगोत्रता (बन्धुत्व) होना चाहिए तथा आन्तरिक समबुद्धि होना चाहिए। केवल समबुद्धि, बन्धुत्व, आर्थिक समानता, राष्ट्रों के भीतर तथा राष्ट्रों के मध्य, रूपी चार एकीकृत भारतीय परिस्थिति का अध्ययन करने तथा लोकाचार पर आधारित व समानता पर आधारित विकास के सिद्धान्त को निर्मित करने के लिए, लगता है कि लोहिया द्वारा अपनाया गया विधि-तन्त्र विशुद्ध रूप से नूतन तथा भारतीय है (प्रो. के.एस. चलम)।

चार स्तम्भ राज्य
(Four Pillar State)

लोहिया ही केवल ऐसा समाजवादी था जो राज्य की समाप्ति के विरूद्ध था। उन्होंने कहा कि राज्य को समाप्त करना आवश्यक नही है, परन्तु राज्य को पूँजीवादी वर्ग के कल्याण के लिए कार्य करना बन्द कर देना चाहिए, और इसके विपरीत समाज के दुश्चरित्र (depraved) वर्ग, अथार्त, स्त्री, श्रमिक, आदि, के कल्याण के लिए कार्य करना प्रारम्भ कर देना चाहिए। लोहिया के चार स्तम्भ राज्य में (क) ग्राम; (ख) जिला; (ग) प्रान्त; तथा (घ) केन्द्रीय सरकार के मध्य सहयोग तथा अखंडता शामिल है। लोहिया का चार स्तम्भ राज्य, कार्यात्मक संघवाद के रूप में सामजस्यता तथा समक्रमण (Synchronization) का कार्य करता है। राम मनोहर लोहिया के शब्दों में, "चार राज्य का तात्पर्य, जिला दण्डनायक (magistracy) की समाप्ति है क्योंकि यह राजनीतिक शक्ति के केन्द्रीकरण का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है। इसके अतिरिक्त, जिला, ग्राम तथा नगर पंचायतों को नीतियों के निर्माण तथा कल्याणकारी कार्यों का भार हथिया लेना चाहिए", (Ram Manohar Lohia, "Will to Power and Other Writings")।

वह प्रशासन तथा राजनीतिक शक्ति के विकेन्द्रीकरण के पक्के समर्थक थे। उनके अनुसार, केवल विकेन्द्रीकृत लोकतन्त्र में एक व्यक्ति की वास्तविक स्वतन्त्रता सम्भव है। लोग तभी स्वतन्त्रतापूर्वक अपने आपको व्यक्त कर सकते हैं जब वे भी राजनीतिक तथा प्रशासनिक शक्ति में एक हिस्सा रखते हों। लोहिया ने प्रभुसत्ता शक्ति को टुकड़ो में तोडकर सभी लोगों में समान

बाँटने के लिए बहुत प्रयत्न किया ताकि देश का प्रत्येक नागरिक राजनीतिक गतिविधियों को समझ सके और प्रभावात्मक रूप से अपनी ज्ञान शक्ति को उस पर लगा सके। आरुमुगम (Arumugam) के शब्दों में, "लोहिया का चार स्तम्भ राज्य अपने आप में आम लोगों की सहभागिता का नियम तथा यह विकेन्द्रीकरण को समाविष्ट करता है ताकि वह स्थानीय इकाईयों में गतिशीलता प्रदान कर सके तथा समाज की अखण्डता के लिए कार्य कर सके" (N.C. Mehrotra, "Lohia, a Study")।

उनका चार-स्तम्भ राज्य दो चरणों में कार्य करता है, वह है, 'लोकतन्त्र एक पद्धति अथवा क्रिया' के रूप में, तथा दूसरा, 'लोकतन्त्र एक प्रयत्न' के रूप में। एक पद्धति के रूप में, लोकतन्त्र में वह 'सत्याग्रह' को शान्तिपूर्ण सामाजिक परिवर्तन के एक माध्यम के रूप में प्रदान करते है। लोकतन्त्र तथा इसके औज़ार तथा संस्थाएँ, जैसे सार्वभौम वयस्क मताधिकार, प्रतिनिधित्व लोकतन्त्र, समाज के हर स्तर पर भागीदारी, आदि, सामाजिक परिवर्तन के साथ आगे बढ़ने के लिए एक अवसर प्रदान करते है। उनके लिए लोकतन्त्र, समाज के उच्च आदर्शों की प्राप्ति के लिए एक माध्यम अधिक है।

निरंजन रामकृष्ण के शब्दों में, "लोहिया अति शीघ्र समझ गए थे कि मार्क्सवाद तथा पूँजीवाद समान हैं क्योंकि दोनों ही बड़ी मशीन के प्रस्तावक (proponents) हैं। उनका यह विश्वास था कि बड़े-बड़े उद्योग तीसरी दुनिया कि परेशानियों के लिए समाधान नहीं थे (उन्होंने 1951 में अमरीकनों को सचेत किया था कि उनके जीवन को बड़े-बड़े आर्थिक निगमों द्वारा हथियाया जा रहा है)। उन्होंने मार्क्सवाद को "एशिया के विरूद्ध यूरोप का आखरी हथियार कहा था। "समान असंगति सिद्धान्त" (Principles of Equal Irrelevance) को प्रतिपादित करते हुए, उन्होंने मार्क्सवाद तथा पूँजीवाद, दोनों को ही, तीसरी दुनिया के देशों के लिए जिन्हें प्रायः विकल्प के रूप से प्रस्तुत किया जाता था, अस्वीकार कर दिया। नेहरू का भी यही विचार था जब उन्होंने एन्ड्रे मालराक्स् (Andre Malraux) को कहा कि उनकी चुनौती "एक न्यायोचित समाज का न्यायोचित तरीके से निर्माण करना है", ("build a just society by just means")। लोहिया के पास उचित तकनीकी के लिए सुस्वस्थ प्राथमिकता मौजूद थी जो नीरसता को कम कर देती परन्तु सामान्य मनुष्य को दूर की ताकतों की दया पर नहीं छोड़ देती। 1951 में ही उन्होंने "एकसुरापन मन" (monotonic mind) के समय को अनुमानित कर लिया था, जिसमें किसी को कुछ करने के लिए बच नही जाता क्योंकि जीने की समस्या को तकनीकी ही निपटा देगी।" क्रियाशील लोकतन्त्र (Democracy in action) से उनका अभिप्राय यह था कि अहिंसक सविनय अवज्ञा रूपी शान्तिपूर्ण प्रक्रियात्मक क्रान्ति के सहयोग से, हम अमीर-गरीब के विभाजन के मध्य सेतु निर्मित कर देगें, जाति व्यवस्था को समाप्त कर देगें, इत्यादि। उन्होंने आगे कहा कि क्रियात्मक लोकतन्त्र द्वारा हम समाज की गम्भीर समस्यों का भी निपटारा कर देगें, जैसे स्त्री व पुरुष के मध्य असमानता की समस्या। उन्होंने क्रियात्मक लोकतन्त्र कि मदद के द्वारा रंग पर आधारित असमानता को समाप्त कर दिया। उन्होंने सामुहिक अतिक्रमण के विरूद्ध व्यक्तिगत एकान्तता को सुरक्षित रखा।

लोकतन्त्र को एक प्रयत्न के रूप से हम रूस में देख सकते हैं जहाँ उस समय काम करने का अधिकार, बुढ़ापे अनुवृत्ति (pension) का अधिकार जैसे आदर्श भूषाचार (fashion) में थे। वह देश उन सभी आदर्शों की प्राप्ति के लिए क्रियाशील था और इसलिए एक प्रयत्न के रूप में

यह एक उच्च आदर्श व्यवस्था रूपी उद्देश्य की प्राप्ति के लिए क्रियाशील है। हालाँकि वे रूस द्वारा समाजवादी आदर्शों की प्राप्ति के लिए प्रयोग में लाए जाने वाली हिंसा से सहमत नही थे, फिर भी वे इस बात से सहमत थे कि आर्थिक समानता रूपी आदर्श की प्राप्ति के लिए लोकतन्त्र को अभी और अधिक कार्य करने होगें। लोहिया का समाजवादी आदर्शों वाला राज्य जिसे लोकतान्त्रिक माध्यम का सहयोग मिला हो, को अधिक लोकप्रिय बनाया गया और यह एक नव समाज के निर्माण का वचन देता है। उनके द्वारा प्रतिपादित समाजवाद की नव-छाप (brand), यर्थात विकेन्द्रीकृत समाजवाद की मुख्य विशेषताएँ निम्नलिखत हैं :

(1) अधिकतम प्राप्त समानता;

(2) जीवन निर्वाह का उचित स्तर;

(3) स्वीकृत लोकतन्त्रीय माध्यम जैसे सार्वभौम वयस्क मतदान के आधार पर विश्व सरकार की उत्पत्ति;

(4) सामाजिक परिवर्तन लाने हेतु सविनय-अवज्ञा को व्यवहार में लाया जाए और हिंसात्मक तरीके का प्रयोग न किया जाए।

(5) तर्कसंगत रोक के साथ विचार, अभिव्यक्ति तथा निजी जीवन की स्वतन्त्रता;

(6) लघु यन्त्र, सहकारी श्रम तथा ग्रामीण सरकार, (Ram Manohar Lohia, "Aspects of Socialist Party")।

गरीबी उपशमन नीति
(Poverty Alleviation Policy)

लोहिया का विचार था कि गरीबी की समस्या का निवारण करने के लिए परम्परागत तथा सुसंगठित समाजवादी नीति अपर्याप्त है। इसलिए उन्होंने अपने नवीन समाजवाद के लिए छः बिन्दु योजना को चुना। उन्होंने अपनी रचना, 'फ्रेग्मेन्ट्स आफ् ए वर्ल्ड माइन्ड' (Fragments of a World Mind) के एक लेख "द फार्मर इन् इन्डिया" (The Farmer in India) में राज्य में गरीबी को रोकने के लिए निम्नलिखित तेरह बिन्दु योजना का विवेचन किया;

(1) कृषक तथा औद्योगिक कीमतों के मध्य समता के आधार पर कीमतों को गिराना;

(2) सभी के द्वारा संयम तथा त्याग को आपस में बाँटा जाए ताकि कोई भी आय अथवा वेतन रूपया 1,000 प्रति माह पार न करे;

(3) राज्य द्वारा लघु-इकाई यन्त्रों की मदद से औद्योगीकरण, आविष्कार तथा उत्पादन को जन्म दिया जाए;

(4) कोई भी कारखाना जो हैसियत से नीचे परिचालित है, उसे राज्य हथिया ले, तथा बुनियादी उद्योगों का राष्ट्रीकरण तुरन्त हो;

(5) प्रत्येक राज्य में भ्रष्टता-विरोधी आयुक्त की नियुक्ति हो तथा कम-से-कम केन्द्र में विभागों को सरकार से स्वतन्त्र नियुक्त किया जाए;

(6) भूमि, जोतने वाले को दी जाए तथा भूमि का पुनर्विभाजन हो–कम-से-कम 12½ एकड़ तथा अधिक-से-अधिक 30 एकड़ हो। पटवारियों के रेजिस्टरों में गल्त प्रविष्टियों (entries) को सुधारना;

(7) एक करोड़ एकड़ नई भूमि को जोतने के लिए बेरोजगारों को भर्ति करना;

(8) प्रशासन तथा अर्थव्यवस्था का विकेन्द्रीकरण ताकि चार-स्तम्भ राज्य की स्थापना सम्भव हो। अपराधी जनजाति अधिनियम तथा भेदमूलक कानूनों को निरस्त किया जाए।

(9) पूर्ण रोजगारी देने के लिए घृह निर्माण कार्यक्रम तथा अन्य आर्थिक गतिविधियों को हथियाना;

(10) बहुशिल्प (Polytechnic) पाठशालाओं, लोगों के लिए उच्च पाठशालाओं, तथा सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों के लिए युवाओं तथा स्त्रीयों के केन्द्र की स्थापना करना;

(11) विलीन किए गए राज्यों तथा संघों में, जिन्हें अब भी प्रतिनिधित्व प्राप्त नही है वहाँ तुरन्त वयस्क मतदान द्वारा चुनाव करवाया जाए;

(12) सभी राष्ट्रों में पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता तथा अधिकारों को प्रोत्साहित करते हुए विश्व शान्ति की स्थापना के लिए सकारात्मक नीति का अनुसरण करना; लोगों में तथा राष्ट्रों के मध्य सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानता; तथा एक शान्ति गुट जो परस्पर विरोधी शक्ति गुटों के मध्य विराम-सन्धि करने के लिए आदेश दे सके; तथा

(13) कृषि, सिंचाई, सड़क-निर्माण, आदि जैसे कार्यों के लिए ऐच्छिक टोलियों का निर्माण। (quoted fromV.P. Verma's "Modern Indian Political Thought")।

विचारधारा पर ध्यान दिए बिना लोकतन्त्र पर लोहिए के विचार पर घ्यान दें तब हम पाएगें कि इनकी रचना एक उत्तम राज्य की स्थापना के लिए है। इसीलिए उनके नवीन समाजवाद में आदर्शों का मिश्रण देखने को मिलता है। ऊपर वर्णित समाजवादी आदर्शों की प्राप्ति तथा कार्यक्रमों के आयोजन के लिए उन्होंने लोकतान्त्रिक अहिंसक माध्यम, जैसे, सविनय अवज्ञा का प्रयोग किया। इसी कारणवश उनका आदर्श राज्य किसी अन्य विचारधारा पर निर्भर नही है और न ही यह किसी प्रचलित विचारधारा से जुड़ा हुआ है। उनके द्वारा प्रस्तुत लोकतन्त्र क्रियाशीलता में अति विस्तृत है और उसकी पूर्ति के लिए सुधारे हुए माध्यमों को प्रदान करता है। ऊपर वर्णित गुणों के कारण कभी-कभी राम मनोहर लोहिया को लोग भारतीय राजनीति की एक विवादग्रस्त आकृति के रूप से पहचानते हैं।

महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न
(Important Questions)

1. सामाजिक न्याय पर डा० आम्बेडकर के विचारों का विवेचन कीजिए।
   Discuss Dr. Ambedkar's views on Social Justice.
2. हिन्दु सामाजिक व्यवस्था पर डा० आम्बेडकर के विचारों का विवेचन कीजिए।
   Discuss Dr. Ambedkar's views on Hindu Social Order.
3. जाति की उत्पत्ति का विवेचन कीजिए।
   Discuss the origin of Caste.
4. शूद्र कौन थे ?
   Who were the *Shudras ?*
5. अस्पृश्य लोग कौन थे ?

political consciousness in India are now also being expressed effectively in several Indian languages and their literature. A great future for India seems to lie ahead in the sphere of global intellectual activity.

II
ANCIENT INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Ancient Indian political thought is popularly known as Hindu political thought. The tradition of Hindu political thought is spread over centuries, from its beginnings in the Vedic period around the second millennium B.C. to the consolidation of Muslim rule in the fourteenth century A.D. Major tenets of Hindu political thought originate from the ancient concept of *Ṛta* or the Cosmic Order. It implies the harmony that underlies all objects of the universe. It is different from man-made laws which can be created and altered at will. In other words, it denotes the natural order found in the entire cosmos — the order which governs the material world, all living beings, all heavenly bodies as well as all primary elements (earth, water, fire, wind and space). It is therefore an all-pervading order behind all natural phenomena as well as human acts. Like the Western concept of the Natural Law (*i.e.* the law inherent in the nature itself), *Ṛta* can be discovered by a human being through his own spiritual experience, *i.e.* his own intuition. Its realization involves his identification with the Sublime.

Since human society is an integral part of the universe, it tends to replicate the cosmic order in its own organization. It follows that the social order so established is as sacrosanct and 'unalterable' as the cosmic order itself. The social order so created is identified as *Dharma* which embodies the spirit of what is right or what is in conformity with truth. It directs all men to accept their predetermined status and the role assigned thereto. Hence, *Dharma* entails a system of duties which comprehends the individual's social obligations.

Adherence to *Dharma* is therefore instrumental to the realization of virtue. But there are other important virtues which along with *Dharma* comprise a set of cardinal virtues. Hindu social philosophy rccognized four *Purusharthas*, that is the principal objects of human life. In Hindu scriptures, the four *Purusharthas* have been universally recognized. These include: (*a*) *Dharma*, *i.e.* the virtue promoted by performing one's duty as prescribed by the sacred law (sometimes translated as 'religion' which does not express its underlying idea adequately); (*b*) *Artha*, *i.e.* the virtue promoted by attaining wealth and material prosperity, and probably power also; (*c*) *Kama*, *i.e.* the virtue promoted by the gratification of desires, and sensual enjoyments including the act of deriving aesthetic pleasure through art and culture; and finally (*d*) *Moksha*, *i.e.* the final liberation or emancipation of soul to be attained through penance.

Now the genesis of Hindu political thought is closely linked with the pursuit of these virtues. In the first place, it is argued that while the behaviour of natural objects as well as animals is fully governed by the law of the cosmic order, human beings have the capacity to think and will. They are likely to be swayed by certain

evil tendencies (particularly by lust, anger, greed, delusion and arrogance). So some men may be inclined to depart from the path of righteousness, *i.e. Dharma*, and turn to the wrong path. They may create insecurity for others — physically attack them, snatch their possessions or otherwise terrorize them. In order to keep them to the path of rectitude, the Creator of the Universe invented the *Danda*. *Danda* literally means a rod which is the symbol of power, *i.e.* the ability for the use of force. Incidentally, it also means punishment; hence it is also a symbol of power to punish the offenders. The person authorized to wield the *Danda* was designated as *Dandadhara* (*i.e.* the bearer of the rod). *Dandadhara* is also a synonym of the King (the ruler who wears a crown), or the Sovereign.

According to ancient Indian accounts, before the advent of the Sovereign, the world was afflicted with *Matsya Nyaya* which approximates the law of the jungle. Literally, *Matsya Nyaya* means behaving like fishes in a sea where each fish is swallowed by a bigger fish, and the bigger one is swallowed by a still bigger fish. So there is no sense of security for anybody under such conditions. Under the circumstances, the King appears on the scene who establishes his control over everybody by means of the power of *Danda*. The science of politics and the art of government was widely described as *Dandaniti* (*i.e.* the tactics involving the proper use of *Danda*).

The term *Dandaniti,* in this sense, frequently occurs in various treatises like *Manusmriti*, *Mahabharata* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Kautilya identified four purposes of *Dandaniti*: (*a*) Acquisition of the unacquired; (*b*) Preservation of the acquired; (*c*) Augmentation of the preserved; and finally, (*d*) Fair distribution of the resources so acquired, preserved and augmented. So *Danda* is not only a device of control of errant elements, it is also an instrument of acquisition, preservation, and augmentation of the wealth and power of the ruler who is duty-bound to ensure fair distribution of the resources. It was conceded that only a strong and disciplined prince could effectively achieve these purposes.

In Kautilya's view, power is an essential concomitant of material prosperity. Hence, the pursuit of *Artha*, the second principal object of human life, comes into play. That is why the science of polity was also described as *Arthashastra* (*i.e.* the guide to the acquisition and control of material prosperity and power). This science was also described as *Rajadharma* which refers to the set of rules concerning the duties of the ruler. In short, establishment of an efficient and effective government was the primary goal of the science of polity.

It was further asserted that an efficient government was a necessary condition to enable the people to pursue the first three *Purusharthas* (*Dharma*, *Artha, and Kama*), and the accomplishement of these three was, again, a necessary condition for the accomplishment of the fourth *Purushartha* (*Moksha*). In short, the science of polity comprised the supreme discipline. This view is very close to Aristotle's famous dictum : *Politics is the master science*. Broadly speaking, *Manusmriti* represents the *Dharmashastra* tradition of ancient Indian political thought while Kautilya represents the *Arthashastra* tradition. Then *Mahabharata* represents the link between *Dharmashastra* and *Arthashastra* traditions.

Dimensions of the Science of Polity in Ancient India

Dandaniti : the tactics involving proper use of power
Arthashastra : the guide to the acquisition and control of material prosperity and power
Rajadharma : the set of rules concerning the duties of the ruler

Apart from the *Dharmashastra* and *Arthashastra* traditions of ancient Indian political thought, Buddhist tradition focused on the ethical foundations of individual conduct and political institutions. Its account of the origin of the state subscribes to the contractual basis of state power and elective nature of high political offices. It was the first to introduce the concept of man-made law for the benefit of the larger society.

III
MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

ADVENT OF THE INDIAN RENAINSSANCE

Broadly speaking, the origin of modern Indian political thought coincides with the advent of the Indian Renaissance in early nineteenth century. Indian Renaissance refers to a sort of awakening among Indian intellectuals and other enlightened sections who were keenly perturbed by the widespread ignorance and apathy then prevailing in Indian society. It also comprehends their determination and plans to overcome these problems.

It may be recalled that the strong empire established in India by the Mughal King, Akbar the Great, in the sixteenth century had disintegrated in the eighteenth century after the death of Aurangzeb. It was the period of cultural decline when the urge for creative thinking and learning had dried up. People had become the slaves of old, irrational dogmas and superstitions. The Hindu caste system had become particularly oppressive. Its worst manifestation came in the form of Untouchability (the evil practice of treating certain outcaste Hindus as untouchable by the caste Hindus, refusing them entry into temples and sharing of the common services). The situation was aggravated by the prevalence of certain retrograde customs like the child marriage, polygamy, and some inhuman practices like the female infanticide, *sati* (the practice of burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband as a token of her lifelong chastity), and the deplorable condition of widows. Other symptoms of ignorance include the taboo on sea voyage and the use of foreign things including medicines and methods of treatment. Under the circumstances, the opportunities of acquiring new knowledge and experience were rapidly dwindling.

In early nineteenth century, many great men appeared on the scene who were inspired by the rediscovery of India's glorious past, and who aspired to revive its

glory. They sought to identify the sources of Indian consciousness, and undertook the task of leading the Indian society from the prevailing darkness to light. Some of these great men were benefited by the English education introduced under the British rule. However, the spirit of the Indian Renaissance was born out of the sentiment of admiration of Indian culture. The impact of the West did provide the *occasion* for the national awakening; it was by no means the *cause* of this awakening. For example, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), who is regarded the prophet of national awakening in India, did admire the English culture, but he had launched his crusade against crude idolatory, polytheism and the custom of *sati* before he took up the study of English language and literature. His call for the reform of Hinduism was originally based on his insistence on the revival of the teachings of *Upanishads*: his appeal to the Western values of liberalism and rationalism was included in his message at a later stage. Again, some of the prominent personalities who made substantial contribution to the Indian Renaissance, such as Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83) and Ramakrishna Param Hans (1836-86), were totally ignorant of English. Obviously, they could not have been influenced by the Western value-system. Only their prominent followers like Lala Rajpat Rai (1865-1928) and Swami Vivekanand (1863-1902) respectively sought to combine some Western ideas with their teachings.

In due course the task of reform of Hinduism was taken over by some institutions. Thus Brahmo Samaj was set up by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828 at Calcutta (now Kolkata). Its branch was established by Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-84) in 1864 at Bombay (now Mumbai) as Prarthana Samaj. Another branch of Brahmo Samaj was later set up at Madras (now Chennai) as Veda Samaj.

Then Swami Dayanand Saraswati established Arya Samaj in North India in 1875 which sought to revive the gospel of Vedas and to liberate Hindu religion from the practice of idolatory, to repudiate polytheism and false teachings of certain priests, based on the distorted interpretation of *Puranas*. Arya Samaj also undertook the task of social reform. It rejected the rigid caste system based on birth and sought the removal of Untouchability. It promoted education of women in order to secure their emancipation. It consistently opposed the widespread superstitions and blind faith.

Swami Vivekanand, the illustrious disciple of Ramakrishna Param Hans, established Ramakrishna Mission at Belur in 1896. Ramakrishna believed that there are many ways to the realization of God; the service to humanity, particularly in the form of help to the poor and the distressed, was the best way of these. Following his mentor's footsteps, Vivekanand insisted on the basic oneness of all religions. He severely attacked casteism, communalism, Untouchability and the prevailing superstitions. For the purpose of social service, it established charitable schools, hospitals, orphanages, libraries, etc. throughout the country.

Another important institution, the Theosophical Society, was originally established in the United States. In 1882, its headquarters were shifted to Madras (now Chennai) in India. Here it was led by Mrs. Annie Besant (1857-1933), an English lady, who had a strong faith in the value system of Hinduism. The primary goal of this institution was to motivate middle-class Hindus to appreciate their

spiritual and national heritage.

The process of religious and social reform among Muslims was initiated by their illustrious leader, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98). He severely attacked the prevalent ignorance and superstitions among Muslims and promoted scientific thinking among them. He deprecated the tendencies of bigotry, fanaticism and narrow-mindedness. He argued that a close mind was the symptom of intellectual backwardness. He advocated the emancipation of women, promotion of women's education, and the abolition of the practice of veiling by women. In his view, polygamy and instantaneous divorce were unethical. His efforts to promote scientific and rational education culminated in the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University (originally founded as the Anglo-Oriental College in 1877).

Other prominent communities of India, *viz.* Sikhs, Christians and Parsis (Zoroastrians) were not afflicted with any major evil practices or superstitions. Hence no major movements for their religious or social reform are visible.

BROAD STREAMS OF MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Apart from the ideas concerning religious and social reform, modern Indian political thought includes the ideas evolved during India's national movement, independence movement, and the vision of Indian intellectuals concerning its reconstruction. Broadly speaking, we may identify the following streams of Indian political thought in this sense: (*a*) Liberal stream; (*b*) Idealist stream: (*c*) Humanist stream : (*d*) Socialist stream; (*e*) Feminist stream; and (*f*) the Critics of Hindu Caste System.

Indian liberal thinkers were largely inspired by the principles of British liberalism. This view favours a social order that would enable the individual to realize his full potential. In its view, the progress of a society is directly related to the amount of freedom and self-determination accessible to the individual in that society. Indian liberals argued that in the Indian tradition, relation between the individual and society was not founded on rational grounds; here individual was subordinated to society. This had led to the decline of the glorious civilization of India. Hence, reconstruction of society on rational foundations was a necessary condition of the revival of India.

The liberals felt that the cause of India's subjugation for centuries was inherent in its social system. Most of the liberals saw the advent of the British rule in India as an occasion to promote its social reconstruction. They regarded the British as the messengers of modernity, and the British rule as an instrument of its modernization. They favoured a policy of seeking the help of the British government in liberating India from its widespread ignorance, superstitions, and evil social practices. They hoped to achieve the goal of social reconstruction of India by arousing a sense of justice among the British rulers.

The prominent Indian liberals include: Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772- 1833), Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901), and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). These brilliant intellectuals erred in hoping that

they would achieve India's emancipation with the help of foreign rulers who had come here to exploit our natural and human resources.

Indian Idealists include a wide range of thinkers. Most of them were exponents or ardent champions or Indian nationalism. Broadly speaking, Indian Idealists were different from Indian Liberals in the sense that the former were not inspired by the European tradition of idealism. However, in some respects their approach is similar to that of European idealists. In the first place, they believed in the primacy of consciousness over the material world. Secondly, like the European idealists, they eulogized the Nation. Similarly, they held that each social institution was the manifestation of a particular idea on which it was founded. They argued that as the existence of the spirit is responsible for infusing life into the body, so each Nation is enlivened by its consciousness. Consciousness of a Nation comprised of the collective consciousness of the individuals who comprised it.

On this logic, the Indian Idealists contended that India was a Nation. Its consciousness was manifested in its rich heritage and culture which lent it an independent personality. It was necessary to preserve this personality, otherwise the natural order of the universe would be disturbed. In short, the Indian Idealists sought to focus on India's national identity and to restore its due place in the world. They were determined to promote national movement around the idea of India's national identity. The primary aim of this movement was to revive the glory of ancient Indian culture. The Indian Idealists sought to arouse national consciousness among Indians and to mobilize them to achieve independence from the foreign rule. They argued that it was a folly to expect the British government to enforce genuine social reforms in India. In this sense, Indian Idealists were far ahead of the Indian Liberals in promoting the national awakening.

The prominent Indian Idealists include Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83), Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932), Sri Aurobindo (1873-1950) and Veer Savarkar (1883-1966). Swami Dayanand sought to reconstruct Indian education, administration, and religious beliefs (particularly among Hindus) in conformity with the ideals and value system enshrined in the Vedas. In his view, these represented the most rational foundations of the great Aryan civilization, which had been distorted in the intervening centuries. That is why he founded Arya Samaj in 1875 to serve as a vehicle of this consciousness.

Lala Lajpat Rai was an adherent of Arya Samaj who had received English education, and was fairly familiar with the Western ideas and institutions. He tried to convert the social ideals of Swami Dayanand into a consistent national consciousness. He sought to pave the way for modernization of India through a judicious combination of rational elements of the Indian origin with those of the Western origin. Rai was a prominent social reformer and freedom fighter. He was an ardent champion of Indian nationalism. He argued that as the followers of one religion have no right to interfere with other religions, so no nation on earth has the right of interfere with the independence of any other nation, howsoever forward or backward any one of them might be.

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Sri Aurobindo were the apostles of Indian nationalism. It was Tilak who declared: "Freedom is my birth-right". It was Pal who created the image of 'Bharat Mata' (Mother India) to eulogize the personality of the Indian Nation. The idea of 'Bharat Mata' inspired many patriots and freedom fighters, including Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964). It continues to inspire us even today in our efforts for national consolidation. Sri Aurobindo sought to build the edifice of nationalism on the foundations of spiritualism. He made nationalism a matter of faith. In his view, devotion to the Nation was equivalent to the devotion to God. Then Veer Savarkar sought to achieve national solidarity around the ideal of 'Hindutva' — a controversial issue in the context of composite culture of India. In a nutshell, Indian Idealists played a unique role in promoting Indian national movement.

As regards the Humanist stream of modern Indian political thought, it may be noted that the basic tenets of Indian humanist thought are somewhat similar to those of the Western humanism. However, it was developed further by the Indian philosophers and brought to its logical conclusion. In short, humanism in the general sense refers to the principle, viewpoint or life-pattern which accords primacy to human dignity and value of human life over any other advantage or value. It holds that human being as such is endowed with Reason which enables him or her to attain self-realization. In this respect, all human beings are equal irrespective of variations in their sex, race, religion or nation. Each human being is regarded an end-in-itself. In modern Indian social and political thought, Swami Vivekanand (1863-1902), Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and M.N. Roy (1886-1954) are regarded the chief exponents of humanism.

Swami Vivekanand was a hermit philosopher and humanist thinker who did not participate in politics directly. However, his views on the value of freedom inspired many Indians to join the independence movement. His belief in oneness of all religions was brilliantly articulated at the Parliament of Religions in 1893 at Chicago. Following the teachings of his mentor Ramakrishna Pararm Hans, Vivekanand argued that the spiritual bliss cannot be attained by an individual through meditation in isolation from the rest of humanity; it can be achieved only through rendering service to humanity. He equated the service to human beings — particularly to the poor and the distressed — as service to God. In 1896, he established Ramakrishna Mission at Belur for the service to humanity which is now spread all over India, and doing a good deal for the benefit of the poor, uneducated, ignorant and sick people. In short, Vivekanand's humanism also comprehended the sentiment of humanitarianism.

Rabindranath Tagore insisted on positive freedom of individual which can be attained through self-realization. He argued that the individual's freedom is first realized through nationalism, but it reaches its logical conclusion in the spirit of internationalism. Tagore's concept of humanism was eventually developed into his unique concept of synthetic universalism. Tagore held that when people evolve their political organization into different nations, rivalry between these nations tends to obstruct their mental and spiritual development. Each nation resorts to regimentation of thought of its people with a view to consolidating its power and

glory. In order to obviate this destructive tendency and to achieve constructive ends, each individual should strive to develop his or her talents by rising above narrow nationalism and entering into relationship with the whole humanity. For this, he or she should get in touch with world literature, art, religions, philosophy, social symbols and etiquette, and thereby feel at one with all human beings.

Then M.N. Roy developed the idea of humanism into a new form which he described as 'new humanism', 'scientific humanism' or 'radical humanism'. In a nutshell, it is based on the belief that science can and should be used to enhance human dignity and secure human emancipation. Roy argued that the urge for human freedom requires the realization of creative faculties of man. Man is essentially a rational being. His innate nature is not to believe, but to question, to inquire and to know. But he falls victim to ignorance which is the biggest obstacle to human freedom. When he gropes in the darkness of ignorance, he remains a helpless victim of superstitions, and the fear of extra-terrestrial powers. He holds a blind faith in the forces beyond his comprehension and control until scientific knowledge illuminates his path. It liberates him from the time-honoured prejudices about the essence of his being and the purposes of his life. When the light of truth makes his innate rationality more manifest, he tends to discard old hypotheses based on ignorance. After Roy, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), Indian statesman-philosopher, advanced another version of scientific humanism. Nehru argued that the power gained through the progress of science and technology should be directed to the service of humanity, and not toward private profit and exploitation of others. It is important to note that the critics of Hindu caste system were also inspired by the spirit of humanism. Major critics of the Hindu caste system include Mahatma Jyotiba Phule (1827-90), B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) and Periar (E.V. Ramaswami Naicker) (1879-1973). They showed the way to restore human dignity by focusing on the emancipation of the depressed classes of India. They could reasonably be clubbed with Indian Humanist thinkers.

Then Indian Socialist thought is founded on the basic tenets of socialism as prevalent in the West. However, Indian Socialists have shown some ingenuity in working out the modalities for its application to the Indian conditions. Like European socialists, Indian Socialists were chiefly concerned with the protection of the interests of the working class. Similarly, they favoured social ownership and control of major means of production to facilitate social-economic reconstruction. However, while European socialists were largely wedded to material values, Indian Socialists were inclined to pursue material as well as spiritual values in keeping with the Indian value system. Among Indian Socialists, the prominent thinkers include: Acharya Narendra Dev (1889-1956), Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-79), and Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-68). Besides these, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) believed in socialism, but Nehru's vision was so broad that it cannot be bound with a particular school of thought.

Narendra Dev is regarded the pioneer of Indian Socialist thought. He sought to evolve a new identity of Indian socialism by combining the Marxian principles of materialism, class struggle and scientific socialism with the Gandhian principles of moralism and non-violence as well as the goals of anti-imperialist struggle in

India. Then Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan — popularly called JP — started as a Marxist, but he rejected the authoritarian and totalitarian models of communism established in the Soviet Union and China in the name of Marxist ideology. JP favoured a humane and democratic form of socialism which should fit into the framework of Indian culture and value system. In his later career, JP devoted himself to the pursuit of Gandhian ideals, spiritual values and true democracy.

Finally, Lohia dwelled on the Asian context of socialism. He argued that the Asian civilization had arisen from a long tradition of despotism and feudalism. Rigid religious dogmas prevailing in Asian societies had given rise to narrow-mindedness and sectarianism. The development of bureaucracy and technocracy in modern times had complicated the style of Asian politics. Leadership in Asia largely thrived on demagogy and emotional exploitation of people. In order to rectify this situation, Lohia projected a model of a just social order based on decentralization of powers, functional federalism and promotion of cottage industries. He hoped that this system would first be adopted at the national level throughout Asia, and it would reach its logical conclusion in the evolution of a World Parliament and World Government.

Feminist thought is largely concerned with the plight of women and the way to their emancipation. It is difficult to identify a separate feminist stream of modern Indian political thought. A large number of modern Indian political thinkers have shown a deep concern with the problems of women as a part of their programme of social reform. These include Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Swami Dayanand, Swami Vivekanand, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Mahatma Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar and Ram Manohar Lohia. However, Pandita Rambai (1858-1922) may be distinguished as solely devoted to thought and work concerning emancipation of women. She may be treated as the chief representative of the feminist stream of modern Indian political thought.

Apart from these discrete schools of thought, Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) made a unique contribution to political philosophy in their respective spheres. Gandhi sought to rebuild moral foundations of politics through his principles of purity of means, adherence to truth and non-violence, civil disobedience and *Satyagraha*, *Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya*. Nehru, on the other hand, sought modernization of India through promoting scientific temper, nation-building, economic regeneration, and social justice.

Ancient Indian Political Thought

Ancient Indian political thought was chiefly concerned with regulating people's conduct in order to ensure smooth functioning of society and to secure welfare of all individuals. In this respect we may identify two major traditions of this thought: (*a*) *Dharmashastra* tradition deals with the regulation of social conduct of individuals as well as higher authorities; and (*b*) *Arthashastra* tradition deals with the regulation of civic life, the problem of governance as well as judicial procedure. These two traditions were by no means mutually exclusive; in some cases they dealt with common problems. Broadly speaking, Manu, the ancient law-giver, is regarded the chief exponent of *Dharmashastra* tradition, while Kautilya, an epitome of ancient wisdom on the science of polity, is regarded the chief exponent of *Arthashastra* tradition.

The existence of these two traditions also shows that in ancient India, particularly among Hindus, the spheres of regulation of social and moral life of individuals on the one hand, and their civic and political life on the other, were largely kept separate. As Rabindranath Tagore (*Swadeshi Samaj*; 1904) observed: "In our country it was the king who was comparatively free; and on the people was cast the burden of their civic obligations. The king warred and hunted—whether he spent his time in attending to matters of states, or to his personal pleasures — was a matter for which he might to accountable to *Dharma*, but on which the people did not believe their communal welfare to depend."

This state of affairs may be distinguished from ancient Greek tradition where all aspects of people's life — their civic as well as moral life, mode of worship, education, training, sports, and so on were regulated by the state. That is why ancient Greek political thought was so developed, and ancient Indian political philosophy was concerned with a limited sphere. On the other hand, Indian social philosophy was thoroughly developed in ancient India.

3

Aristotle on Citizenship

In the ancient city-states of Greece only those few people were called citizens who directly took part in the administrative process of the country. In those days the method of representative government was unknown to the people. People had direct democracy. The citizens assembled at a certain place and discussed all problems. In their system labourers and women were deprived of the rights of citizenship because there it was considered that they did not possess enough common sense to comprehend the difficult problems of the state. But it was wrong on their part to have thought in that manner but the facts reveal contrary to their belief. In fact, citizenship was granted to those who were qualified to conduct the business of government, physically fit enough to participate in the defence of the state and to those who had ample of free time to discharge different duties towards the state.

After the period of Greek city-states, the Roman Empire was born. In the Roman Empire, the society was divided into two classes of 'independent' and 'non-independent' people. The condition of non-independent individuals was like slaves and the rest of independent people were again divided into two classes, of which one class had only the right to trade and marriage, and the other class, besides possessing these two rights, also had the right to vote, occupy office and to prosecute the others. Individuals belonging to this last group were known as citizens.

In the medieval period, citizenship was given to feudal lords and to those who belonged to privileged class, and after industrial revolution, this right was bestowed upon the traders and capitalists. The development of education and spread of knowledge, intellectual renaissance and the socio-economic struggle bestowed right to franchise to all other common masses and thus provided even to them the status of citizenship in the society.

In the modern times, there are two kinds of people in a state. One, the natives (the citizens); and two, people belonging to other countries (the aliens). The natives do not have only the territorial affinity but they also have a personal

and permanent relationship. Therefore, all the people generally and permanently living in a country, whether it be in cities, village or forests, are called as citizens.

The present context of citizenship is influenced more by Aristotle who rediscovered citizenzhip in his own time. Aristotle (384 - 322 BC), was a great Greek philosopher, logician, and scientist. Alongwith his teacher Plato, Aristotle is generally regarded as one of the most influential ancient thinkers in a number of philosophical fields, including political theory. Aristotle was born in Stagira in northern Greece, and his father was a court physician to the king of Macedon. As a young man he studied in Plato's Academy in Athens. After Plato's death he left Athens to conduct philosophical and biological research in Asia Minor and Lesbos, and he was then invited by King Philip II of Macedon to tutor his young son, Alexander the Great. Soon after, Alexander succeeded his father, consolidated the conquest of the Greek city-states, and launched the invasion of the Persian Empire. Aristotle returned as a resident alien to Athens, and was a close friend of Antipater, the Macedonian viceroy. At this time (335-323 BC) he wrote, or at least worked on, some of his major treatises, including the Politics. When Alexander died suddenly, Aristotle had to flee from Athens because of his Macedonian connections, and he died soon after. Aristotle's life seems to have influenced his political thought in various ways: his interest in biology seems to be expressed in the naturalism of his politics; his interest in comparative politics and his sympathies for democracy as well as monarchy may have been encouraged by his travels and experience of diverse political systems; he criticises harshly, while borrowing extensively, from Plato's Republic, Statesman, and Laws; and his own Politics is intended to guide rulers and statesmen, reflecting the high political circles in which he moved.

Aristotle pursued his theoretical work assuming that the polis or self-governing political community was normative, and that the trend toward great territorial states was an aberration. And again like Plato, he believed that the city-state encompassed more than forms of deliberation, administration, and the official exercise of power; it included an entire pattern of living, including intellectual production, cultural output, and religious values. Both men were convinced that individuals found the highest level of human flourishing (eudemonia) as active, rational participants of the polis, not as rights-bearing individuals who asserted personal freedoms against the state, nor as subjects of large and powerful empires. Indeed for Aristotle, human beings living outside of the city-state were potentially the worst type of wild beasts, always guided by selfish instinct. Ironically, the very citizenship that Aristotle held to be essential to the flourishing life of the city-state was denied to him as an outsider living in Athens (Stephen Everson, "Aristotle, The Politics and the Constitution of Athens")

According to Spellman, "In the Politics, his major work on government and constitutions, he continued the Platonic project by claiming that the state was similar in many ways to the family unit. Just as the family was the first form of association instituted to meet our survival needs, and as the village represents the interests of multiple households, so the polls cultivates human potential at the highest level." Distinguished from the animals by the ability to exercise reason, the very spark of the divine within them, Aristotle believed that humankind's purpose or teleology consisted of intellectual activity in community with others (Jonathan Barnes). To be fully human, one must exercise the power of speech to debate the collective choices that every community must make. But he also recognized that most persons were driven oftentimes by ambition and greed, resentment of others' prosperity, and fear (Rayan K Balot, "Greek Political Thought"). Key to ameliorating these tendencies was education in general, and knowledge of justice in particular. As social animals, humans look to the state, and in particular the *polis,* as the natural instrument for promoting the worthwhile life and common welfare - the greater good of human beings. Where he parted ways with his teacher. Aristotle did so in an effort to achieve the same end: the formation of the good society under the leadership of rational political actors.

In this chapter, we have to analyse Aristotle's view on Citizenship theme extensible, as he has approached this theme all together differently.

Nature and Justification of Slavery

Aristotle rejects the view of Plato that the State is the bigger size of household. He says that the difference between the State and the household is not merely of degree but of kind. He says that in State only one kind of relationship exists that is; the ruler and the ruled; whereas; in household three kinds of relationships exist such as, husband and wife, parents and children, and master and slave. Aristotle justified the institution of slavery and says, "Property is a part of the households, and therefore, the art of acquiring property is a part of the art of managing the household; for no man can live well, or indeed live at all, unless he be provided with necessaries." (Aristotle's, "Politics" Book I). For Aristotle, slaves are animate instruments and hence can be used as domestic servants to do menial type of works in a family. According to Barker, "it is clear from this conception that the slavery which Aristotle contemplates is one which has lost half its sting. It is slavery in which the slave is admitted into the life of family and in which he becomes inclined with the tone and character of the family in which he lives, within the circle of the family the slave is a person. He is a member of this lesser association sharing it its full moral life, as a real part, and not as a mere condition". Aristotle's definition of citizen excludes slaves. Aristotle had to define the meaning and status of citizens and slaves because most of his time he spent analysing the

working of the constitutions. For Aristotle, Slave was a man in subjection, whereas the citizens of the State were in subjection of their rulers.

Who is a Citizen ?

Citizenship is being touted to have originated in Greece, which originated from the concept of democracy. Greek citizenship, though, was strict, stringent and severe, it was granted by birth together with a double affirmation, one by the mother, and another by the Assembly member. If the latter opposed it, the infant was killed. 451 BC saw the passing of even stricter citizenship laws, which proposed that offspring between Greek male citizens and foreign women could not become citizens, reason being that this move would help curb the numbers of the exploding population numbers. 'Citizenship', it is claimed, 'is as old as settled human community's with groups and tribes in specific territories developing rudimentary social contracts for mutual benefit'.

Charlotte Witt argues that to ask who is a citizen is to ask about the identity, individuality, uniqueness or nature of a citizen. In Aristotle's hands, this is to ask who deserves to be a citizen or who merits the political good of citizenship. Aristotle begins his investigation by saying what will not qualify someone for citizenship :

(*a*) Not place or location;
(*b*) The capacity to sue and be sued;
(*c*) Not birth;
(*d*) Ancestry; or
(*e*) Blood.

Rather, a citizen is one who participates in ruling and judging. One who rules and is ruled in turn; one who shares in the judicial and deliberative offices of a polity. Place, legal capacity, birth, and parentage—as static qualities and/or markers of status—do not demonstrate desert in Aristotle's view. What distinguishes the formulations, Aristotle approves, is their emphasis on activity : "sharing in a constitution", to use Malcolm Schofield's phrase, qualifies one for citizenship (Malcolm Schofield, "Equality and Hierachy in Aristotle's Thought"). Aristotle's emphasis on activity has a curiously tautological or self-contained quality. Practicing citizenship, Aristotle seems to be saying, makes someone a citizen. As Delba Winthrop puts it, a "citizen is a citizen in being a citizen" (Delba Winthrop, "Aristotle and Political Responsibility"). This circularity is a feature not only of Aristotle's understanding of citizenship but of all activity. Activity, he says, is that which has "in itself its own end". There is no "citizening", or carrying out one's citizenship, in a vacuum. Indeed, there can be no citizen *qua* (is not a) citizen prior to the regime of which that citizen is a part. And so Aristotle pursues his investigation of citizenship by asking who is a citizen of a democracy or of an oligarchy. Being a citizen is regime-dependent not least because what it means to share in a constitution largely

depends on the laws, education, and other social and political institutions of that particular constitution. These "externalities" all contribute to the making of citizens.

Citizenship, suggests, a complex combination of doing on the part of citizen practitioners and making on the part of social and political institutions. At the start of his inquiry into citizenship however, Aristotle says that it is important to leave to one side "those who have been made citizens and those who have obtained the name citizens in any other accidental way". This sentence is key. It carves out what, for philosophical reasons, Aristotle thinks ought not to be included in an inquiry into the identity or nature of a citizen. To be excluded, as already noted, are those who are "made" citizens by the accidents of birth, ancestry or parentage. That is clear enough. But, against the backdrop of Aristotle's ready acknowledgment of the role of social and political institutions in the making of citizens, how are we to understand Aristotle's apparently sweeping exclusion of all "made citizens" ? A brief consideration of the examples he offers points to a third kind of making, distinct from the accidents of birth and ancestry (which are irrelevant to the question of citizen identity) and distinct from the kind of citizen-making that results from the guidance of a regime's institutions (which play a key role in the determination of citizen identity). Citizens are marked as citizens not only by their particular or individual activities but also by sharing in a constitution, in other words, by their collective activity. Citizen activity produces the social and political institutions that contribute to the making of citizens in the first place. If it is the job of citizens to act as citizens then they do so not only in their singular activities but also in their collective action by which they make for themselves the social and political institutions, which also help make them.

According to Aristotle, all those live in a particular territory are not citizens. Aristotle was in favour of excluding certain classes from the definition of citizen. He further supported his argument of excluding certain classes from citizenship by saying that "citizenship is the privilege of a few members of society". Aristotle states, "the political and lawgiver is wholly occupied with the city-state, and the constitution is a certain way of organizing those who inhabit the city-state." His general theory of constitutions is set forth in *Politics III.*

He begins with a definition of the citizen (*politics*), since the city-state is by nature a collective entity, a multitude of citizens. Citizens are distinguished from other inhabitants, such as resident aliens and slaves; and even children and seniors are not unqualified citizens (nor are most ordinary workers). After further analysis he defines "the citizen as a person who has the right (*exousia*) to participate in deliberative or judicial office". In Athens, for example, citizens had the right to attend the assembly, the council, and other bodies, or to sit on juries. The Athenian system differed from a modern representative democracy

in the sense that the citizens were more directly involved in governing due to less population. Although full citizenship tended to be restricted in the Greek city-states (with women, slaves, foreigners, and some others excluded), the citizens were more deeply enfranchised than in modern representative democracies because they were more directly involved in governing. This is reflected in Aristotle's definition of the citizen. Further, he defines the city-state as a multitude of such citizens, which is adequate for a self-sufficient life.

Conditions for Citizenship

Aristotle had given certain conditions of Citizenship. Aristotle's political theory, as expressed in "The Politics", shares elementary division between citizen and non-citizen. His explanation and description of citizenship is very qualified. Some persons he called are naturalized citizens; and youth and old age are disqualities for citizenship. Aristotle had not defined Citizenship by residence in the city, nor by the exercise of certain rights (such as, to sue or be sued). With resolute determination, Aristotle defines the citizen as "a man who shares in the administration of justice and in the holding of office". Citizenship is essentially defined by Aristotle as the capacity to publicly act. But, this definition of citizenship would apply only to a democracy and may or may not apply to other forms of government. This definition of citizenship and the definition of the state, that is, "a body of such persons (citizens) adequate in number for achieving a self-sufficient existence" is mutually comprehensive, inclusive, harmonizing, complementary, and reinforcing. The citizen, as a contributor, member and participant in numerous political relationships of the polis, would exist only for the sake of the polis.

The fundamental distinction between citizen and non-citizen is important to Aristotle's conception of democracy because it determines who does and who does not grasp authority in the community. Only the citizen is able to have an effect on the course, direction, future and prospect of the community because only the citizen is able to participate and contribute in the political life of the city-state. Aristotle's theory discloses that his central or core values in this plan are the state's efficiency and competence, a mutual cooperation and assistance among the citizenry for the advantage of the entire society, and the predominance of the polis in the identity of the citizen.

Equality among and between the citizenry is very important and essential condition to the continued life of the polis because, according to the master/slave model, the whole relation can only function so well as its individual parts function and "All things derive their essential character from their function and their capacity". But Aristotle did not believe all persons to be equal.

Aristotle says that the "right to participate in judicial functions and in office" defines a citizen, where office encompasses those jobs, which are

indeterminate in length, definition of a citizen as required by the specific constitution of a state. Each constitution necessitates that certain people be involved in the governing, conversely extending the sense of pseudo-citizenship to whichever classes of people are not granted full partnership in a state. He explains that under some constitutions children were only citizens if both of their parents had citizenship, implying that only the descendants of the founders of a state would be citizens. In this case, a son born of a citizen father and a foreign mother would not be a citizen, or could be called, at best, a permanent pseudo-citizen, as opposed to children, who need only time to attain the status of full citizenship. Aristotle also notes that some states use the opposite policy, which requires only one parent to be a citizen. Obviously, this would open the door for every resident, even non residents and complete strangers. After a few generations, any and everyone otherwise restricted from participation would be sheltered under the ever-increasing umbrella of citizenship. It is noted that this type of policy would only exist in a state which suffered from under population.

According to Nicholas Anthony Russo, "Aristotle generalizes that deviations in citizenship policy tend to come from constitutions, which find themselves in odd circumstances. As regards his search, these are extenuating circumstances, which are not to be considered. Aristotle wants to know only who should be called a citizen, not who has at one time been a citizen. With the definition of citizen stated and qualified, Aristotle asks whether a good citizen is necessarily a good person. Necessarily, he first looks to define the excellence of a citizen. He says a citizen is a partner in a community, which is the constitution. Therefore, the goodness of a citizen is dependent on the constitution under which he lives. In opposition, the goodness of a man does not depend on the government nor the current economy. The claim is that the goodness of a man is measured on an absolute scale, not relative to the type of constitution. Thus it follows that it is possible to be a good citizen without necessarily being a good man. He explains as a further example that the existence of a state whose members are all good citizens is plausible, whereas a state consisting solely of good men is ludicrous. There are classes of workers necessary to the good state whose members do not have the leisure time to pursue moral goodness. It is sufficient and optimal for them to strive for excellence only in their prescribed duty to the state". Hence, such a state with only good citizens would have a majority of men not classified as 'good', thus it would be impossible to equate good citizen with good man. Following the detrivialization of a 'good man', it is obvious to seek out what special citizen might possess the qualities of both a good citizen and a good man. Aristotle notes that a good ruler is virtuous and wise, and that citizens fulfil their position if they act wisely with regards to politics. Nicholas Anthony Russo further argues, "Without any more direct evidence, Aristotle concludes that only the

ruler is good in a fashion, which inherently implies his goodness as a human. At this point, Aristotle has answered the two main questions, which he proposed. He finds that citizens are those who actually take part in the governing of the state. He then finds that the only citizen whose goodness implies a general goodness is the ruler, as the measure of goodness for any other member of society is relative to his task".

Citizen's Virtues

Aristotle wrote that shame, embarrassment, adios, would affix to the man who failed to play and participate his part; that we are not "solitary pieces in a game of chequers" (Politics); but civil society was not for him a buttress against government but something to be understood in high political terms. Aristotle set out the ancient virtues that are the bed-rock of civil society : justice; wisdom; temperance; courage; magnanimity; tolerance; munificence; prudence and gentleness.

Some virtues according to Aristotle are best exercised in political activity, and this can be seen from their definitions. Courage, for example, for Aristotle, is a disposition toward a particular behaviour in battle. "Properly the courageous man might be said to be fearless of noble death and all that suddenly brings death, most especially in war". States, not individuals, go to war; so only people who live in or act with states could be properly courageous. Likewise, Aristotle declares that political justice or, apparently equivalently, simple justice is "found in a life lived in an association for the sake of self-sufficiency", that is, in a state. In particular, he defines distributive justice as "the distribution of honours, wealth, or whatever can be divided among those who share in the political system". Edward Halper says that for Aristotle, distributive justice is clearly the task of a political leader. Rectificatory justice is an attribute of someone who can restore equality in private exchanges, namely, a judge. So the paradigmatic exercises of courage and justice, at least, occur in performing tasks of governance. Moderation would seem to be a more pursuit, but Aristotle's paradigm of immoderation is a king. Since those who exercise political authority are most able to gratify their desires for pleasure, they exercise the greatest degree of moderation in choosing not to do so. Among the so-called social virtues of book IV, magnanimity and proper pride are realized by attaining some suitable position of superiority, and though he does not quite say so, Aristotle surely has in mind positions of political leadership. In short, Aristotle clearly thinks the paradigmatic exercises of courage and justice are in political activities and hints, at least, that the greatest exercise of moderation as well as the exercise of magnanimity and proper pride also occur in the exercise of political power" (R.G. Mulgan, "Aristotle's Political Theory : An Introduction for Students of Political Theory").

Edward Halper in his essay "Aristotle's Political Virtues" argues that there are some virtues that seem private for Aristotle: friendliness, wittiness, generosity, and moderation in respect of sex. But the first three, at least, also have public expressions that would seem greater in respect of their greater scope than private virtues. As for moderation, I have already suggested that the position of a ruler offers him opportunities for indulging in his desires that make his proper exercise of desire all the more laudable. Hence, even the exercise of seemingly private virtues is dwarfed by their more public manifestations". The virtues of citizens are many but Aristotle discusses essential virtues elaborately. As Aristotle puts it in the beginning of the Nicomachean Ethics, the good of the state is "more noble and divine" than the good of any individual; "to secure and preserve" is "greater and more complete". So, too, the aptitude to safeguard the good for the state is more noble, gracious and divine than the ability to secure the good for oneself : political virtue is more noble than private.

Friendship, Aristotle considered as the virtue. He asserts friendship as an expression of justice, and what counts as justice depends on the state. Each person, according to him, should give to the other his due; the friend, because of his moral virtue, deserves more than others; he deserves the close association of those of like virtue. Thus, friends follow and practice virtue together, but the nature and character of the virtues pursued must depend on the state. Hence their activity of friendship is not just part of the state, but positively beneficial to it.

From the above, it follows that in Aristotle's ideal state; there cannot be altruism, selfishness or egoism, for to act in the interest of one person. Indeed, the more I benefit another or myself, the more I increase the exercise of my or the other's virtue, and so the more I, benefit all. The best friendship promotes virtues in the friends, but their best exercise of these virtues promotes the common interest.

In the end, Aristotle says that the high-quality life must be lived in a state because it is the life of virtue and virtue, or at least moral virtue, is best exercised in governing the state. He claims that the polis exists by nature because, among other reasons, a person is not self-sufficient outside of it. What he means is hardly clear in its context; but if the foregoing analysis is correct, a person can realize his nature in the ideal polis because, in governing it, he exercises, to greatest possible degree, the human virtues. The citizens for Aristotle must

14

नागरिकता पर अरस्तू के विचार
(ARISTOTLE'S VIEWS ON CITIZENSHIP)

अरस्तू एक ग्रीक राजनीतिक दार्शनिक था। वह एक बहुमुखी प्रतिभाशाली व्यक्ति था जिसने विभिन्न विषयों पर अपनी रचनायें लिखी जैसे धर्मशास्त्र, आध्यात्मिकता, नैतिकता, सौन्दर्यशास्त्र, राजनीति, अर्थशास्त्र, भौतिकी, मनोविज्ञान आदि। राजनीतिशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित उसकी रचनायें विशेष महत्त्व रखती है। इस सन्दर्भ में उसकी सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण रचनाऐं थीं अपने समय के 150 नगर राज्यों के संविधानों का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन जिनमें से केवल ऐथेन्स का संविधान ही उपलब्ध है। राजनीतिशास्त्र से सम्बन्धित उसकी लोकप्रिय पुस्तक *Politics* है।

जैसा कि नागरिकता के अध्याय में स्पष्ट किया गया, नागरिकता आरम्भ से ही एक सामाजिक मानवीय आवश्यकता रही है। यह उतनी ही पुरानी है जितनी मानवीय सभ्यता। यह इस बात का निश्चय करती है कि किसी भी सामाजिक/राजनीतिक समुदाय का सदस्य कौन है और कौन नहीं है। वे सामाजिक और राजनीतिक सूत्र जो किसी व्यक्ति को समुदाय के साथ बांध कर रखते हैं, नागरिकता के मूल आधार माने जाते हैं। नागरिकता व्यक्ति तथा राज्य के बीच पारस्परिक सम्बन्ध है जिसके अनुसार व्यक्ति राज्य का आज्ञापालन करने की प्रतिज्ञा करता है तथा राज्य उनकी सुरक्षा की गारन्टी देता है। नागरिकता की धारणा ग्रीक राज्यों द्वारा आरम्भ की गई तथा पिछले 2500 सालों में रोमन, मध्ययुगीन तथा आधुनिक राष्ट्र-राज्यों की बदलती परिस्थितियों में इसे कई बार परिभाषित तथा पुनः परिभाषित किया गया। यह ग्रीक राज्यों की नितान्त आवश्यकता थी जो आन्तरिक स्तर पर अमीर-गरीब वर्गों के झगड़ों तथा बाह्य स्तर पर आपसी युद्धों के कारण अत्याधिक बंटे हुये थे। इन राज्यों के सामने सबसे बड़ी समस्या यह थी कि राज्य में शांति कैसे स्थापित की जाये– अर्थात् राज्य के शासन तथा प्रशासन की शक्ति क्या कुछ विशिष्ट व्यक्तियों तक सीमित रखी जाये या इसे व्यापक स्तर पर आवन्टित

किया जाये। जहाँ प्लेटो ने शासन की निरंकुश शक्ति को विशिष्ट-वर्ग तक सीमित रखने का सिद्धांत दिया वहाँ अरस्तू ने नागरिकता का विकास किया तथा इसे राजनीतिक चिन्तन की महत्त्वपूर्ण धारणा बना दिया।

नागरिकता पर अरस्तू के विचार (Aristotle's Views on Citizenship)

अरस्तू के समय ग्रीक नगर राज्यों की जनसंख्या कुछ विशिष्ट समुदायों में बंटी हुई थी जैसे– नागरिक, दास, नारी जाति, विदेशी नागरिक, निम्न वर्ग आदि। अरस्तू के अनुसार व्यक्ति एक राजनीति प्राणी है और वह अपने व्यक्तित्व की सम्पूर्ण क्षमताओं का विकास केवल नगर राज्य के कार्यों में हिस्सा ले कर ही कर सकता है। अतः प्रश्न यह है कि नगर राज्य के कार्यों में हिस्सा कौन ले सकता है। अरस्तू के अनुसार नागरिक वह व्यक्ति है जो राज्य के वैधानिक तथा न्यायिक पदों पर सुशोभित होने का अधिकार रखता है, वे व्यक्ति जो शासन करने तथा शासित होने का ज्ञान तथा योग्यता रखते हैं।

नागरिकता के बारे में चर्चा करने से पहले अरस्तू इस बात पर बल देता कि नागरिकता **क्या नहीं है**। उसके अनुसार केवल राज्य में निवास करने से नागरिकता प्राप्त नहीं हो जाती। विदेशी तथा दास नगर-राज्य में रहते हैं परन्तु वे नागरिक नहीं कहलाते। इसी तरह किसी पर मुकदमा चलाने का कानूनी अधिकार भी किसी व्यक्ति को नागरिक नहीं बना सकता और न ही व्यक्तिगत सुरक्षा का अधिकार उसे नागरिक की श्रेणी में लाता है क्योंकि ये सुविधायें दासों को भी प्राप्त हैं। किसी नागरिक दम्पत्ति की सन्तान होना भी कोई आवश्यक शर्त नहीं है। इन सबके विपरीत नागरिकता को केवल कार्यों के सन्दर्भ में ही परिभाषित किया जा सकता है और वे कार्य जो किसी व्यक्ति को नागरिक बनाते हैं, वे हैं राज्य के सार्वजनिक कार्यों तथा न्यायिक कार्यों में भागेदारी। अरस्तू के अनुसार, 'नागरिक वह व्यक्ति है जो किसी राज्य के वैधानिक अथवा न्यायिक प्रशासन के कार्यों में हिस्सा लेने की योग्यता रखता है... तथा सामान्यतः नगर राज्य नागरिकों का समूह है जिनके जीवन का उद्देश्य आत्मनिर्भरता है।' नागरिक कार्य सारे समाज के मुक्तिदाता के रूप में कार्य करता है। यह समुदाय ही उनका संविधान है तथा किसी भी नागरिक के गुण उस संविधान के साथ सापेक्षिक होते हैं जिनका वह सदस्य होता है। राज्य के न्यायिक कार्यों में भागेदारी के लिये व्यक्ति न्यायाधीश अथवा किसी ज्यूरी का सदस्य बन सकता है, प्रशासनिक कार्यों के लिए वह विधानमण्डल का सदस्य बन सकता है। इस सन्दर्भ में यह स्पष्ट कर देना आवश्यक है कि ग्रीक राज्यों के प्रशासन तथा न्यायपालिका में हिस्सा लेने के लिये अधिकतर सार्वजनिक चुनाव प्रणाली का सहारा लिया जाता था, ज्यूरी के सदस्यों का चुनाव

बारी-2 (Rotation) से होता था, विधानमण्डल की अवधि अपेक्षाकृत छोटी होती थी ताकि सभी नागरिकों को सेवा करने का अवसर मिल सके। विधानमण्डल सभी नागरिकों का लोकप्रिय सदन होता था जिसकी वर्ष में एक बैठक अवश्य होती थी। विधानमण्डल का सदस्य होने के नाते ऐथेन्स के सभी नागरिक राज्य की सर्वोच्च शक्ति का भागीदार होने की शक्ति रखते थे। संक्षेप में, नागरिकता का अर्थ केवल विधानमण्डल तथा कार्यकारिणी के सदस्यों का चुनाव करना नहीं था बल्कि राज्य की विधि-निर्माण प्रक्रिया तथा न्यायिक कार्यों में प्रत्यक्ष तौर पर सक्रिय हिस्सा लेना भी था। नागरिकता **का अर्थ था राज्य की सर्वोच्च शक्ति में सक्रिय भागेदारी।**

नागरिक कौन हो सकता है और कौन नहीं (Who can and Who cannot be a Citizen)

यदि नागरिकता का अर्थ है राज्य की सर्वोच्च शक्ति में हिस्सा लेना तो महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रश्न है इस सर्वोच्च शक्ति का प्रयोग करने का अधिकार किसे दिया जाये। अरस्तू के अनुसार इस प्रश्न का कोई सर्वमान्य उत्तर नहीं है क्योंकि विभिन्न प्रकार की सरकारों जैसे– राजतन्त्र, कुलीनतन्त्र, प्रजातन्त्र, में ये व्यक्ति भिन्न हो सकते हैं। परन्तु एक बात स्पष्ट है– किसी भी राज्य में यह शक्ति दासों, औरतों तथा विदेशी निवासियों को नहीं दी जा सकती। परन्तु इनके साथ-2, अरस्तू ने श्रमिकों तथा कारीगरों को भी नागरिकता की श्रेणी से बाहर कर दिया और इसके लिये उसने कुछ ठोस तर्क दिये। अरस्तू के अनुसार राज्य के वैधानिक/न्यायिक कार्यों में हिस्सा लेने के लिए उच्च स्तरीय नैतिक तथा बौद्धिक श्रेष्ठता की आवश्यकता होती है जिसे वह 'सद्गुण' (virtue) का नाम देती है। यह सद्गुण राज्य के सभी निवासियों में कभी नहीं होता। दास वर्ग नागरिकता की श्रेणी में नहीं आ सकता क्योंकि उसमें चिन्तन की क्षमता नहीं होती। औरतें नागरिक नहीं हो सकती क्योंकि उनमें नागरिक जैसे सद्गुण नहीं होते। विदेशी निवासी भी नागरिक नहीं हो सकते क्योंकि वे किसी अन्य राज्य के नागरिक होते हैं। श्रमिक तथा कारीगर भी नागरिक नहीं हों सकते क्योंकि वे भी नीच जीवन यापन करते हैं। इसी तरह खेतिहर किसान भी नागरिक नहीं हो सकते क्योंकि उनके पास **'फुरसत'** (Leisure) का समय नहीं होता जो नागरिकता का मूल आधार है। इस सन्दर्भ में अरस्तू मानवीय गतिविधियों को दो भागों में बांटता है—पहला, वे कार्य जो किसी अन्य कार्य को पूरा करने के लिये किये जाते हैं अर्थात् जो आत्म-संरक्षण के लिये किंये जाते हैं जैसे खेती करना, कपड़े सीना, खानों में कार्य करना, मकान बनाना आदि। ये सभी कार्य लाभदायक परन्तु आवश्यक कार्य हैं। अरस्तू इन गतिविधियों को राज्य की आवश्यक शर्तें (necessary conditions) का नाम देता है। दूसरा, व्यक्ति कुछ अन्य कार्य भी करता है जो उसके जीने के लिये आवश्यक नहीं होते परन्तु जिन्हें इसलिये किया जाता है क्यों कि वे करने योग्य हैं और जो किसी साध्य के लिये साधन नहीं होते, जैसे कविता लिखना, चित्रकारी

T T - P A C K A R D

करना या सत्यम्, शिवम्, सुन्दरम जैसे उच्चतर मूल्यों की खोज। ऐसी गतिविधियों को अरस्तू 'फुरसत' (leisure) की गतिविधियाँ कहता है अर्थात् ये कार्य केवल वही लोग कर सकते हैं जिन्हें रोटी, कपड़ा, मकान जैसी रोजमर्रा की गतिविधियों की चिन्ता नहीं होती। **राजनीति इन फुरसत की गतिविधियों में से एक है** अर्थात् शासन करने तथा सामाजिक सेवा सम्बन्धित कार्यों को सम्पन्न करने की क्रिया जो अपने लिये नहीं दूसरों के लिये की जाती है। ऐसी कुछ अन्य क्रियायें हैं युद्ध करने की क्रिया जिसमें साहस अथवा वीरता जैसी गुणों की अभिव्यक्ति होती है, सामाजिक सामन्जस्य स्थापित करने जैसी क्रिया जिनमें संयम अथवा उदारता जैसे गुणों में वृद्धि होती है, खेल-कूद प्रतियोगितायें, नाटक मन्चन, धार्मिक गतिविधियाँ, विज्ञान तथा दर्शनशास्त्र का अध्ययन आदि। इन गतिविधियों को अरस्तू 'राज्य का अंग' (part of the state) का नाम देता है। ये कार्य केवल वही लोग कर सकते हैं जिनके पास इन्हें करने की फुरसत (Leisure) है। ये राज्य के अभिन्न अंग (integral part) होते हैं, बाकी सभी वर्ग राज्य की आवश्यक शर्तें (necessary conditions) होते हैं जिनका कार्य ऐसा वातावरण प्रदान करना होता है जिसमें राज्य के सक्रिय नागरिक दिन-प्रतिदिन की चिन्ताओं से ऊपर उठकर ये कार्य सम्पन्न कर सकें। इस सन्दर्भ में अरस्तू ने श्रमिक वर्ग को नागरिकता से वैसे ही वंचित रखा जैसे दासों अथवा नारी वर्ग को। दोनों वर्ग इस दृष्टिकोण से समान हैं क्योंकि वे राज्य के अस्तित्व की आवश्यक शर्त है, इसके अभिन्न अंग नहीं। जैसा अरस्तू अपनी पुस्तक *Politics* में लिखते हैं, : 'नागरिक को व्यापारियों अथवा मिस्त्रियों जैसा जीवन नहीं बिताना चाहिए क्योंकि यह अधम जीवन है तथा सद्गुण का दुश्मन है, और न ही उन्हें किसान होना चाहिए क्योंकि सद्गुण की प्राप्ति तथा राजनीतिक कर्त्तव्यों को निभाने के लिए 'फुरसत' का होना अति आवश्यक है।' अतः एक आदर्श राज्य ऐसे लोगों को नागरिकता नहीं देगा और यदि वह ऐसा करता है तो 'नागरिकता के सद्गुण' (virtues of citizen) की परिभाषा प्रत्येक नागरिक के ऊपर लागू नहीं होगी।

नागरिक के गुण
(Virutes of Citizen)

नागरिकता के संदर्भ में अरस्तू के नागरिक के गुणों की तरफ ध्यान दिलाया। नागरिक को दो बातों का ज्ञान अवश्य होना चाहिए—**शासन कैसे किया** जाता है तथा **आज्ञापालन कैसे किया जाता है**। अरस्तू के अनुसार सामान्य धारणा यह है कि शासक तथा शासितों की शिक्षा अलग-2 होनी चाहिए अर्थात् शासकों का काम केवल शासन करना होता है और प्रजा का काम आज्ञा पालन। इसके विपरीत नागरिक वह है जिसे दोनों का ज्ञान हो तथा दोनों का कर्त्तव्य निर्वाह करे। नागरिक वह है जो शासन के नागरिक जीवन तथा शासित होने के नियम दोनों को बखूबी निभाता है अर्थात् जिनके पास शासक तथा शासित दोनों के लिए आवश्यक ज्ञान तथा क्षमता है। "अरस्तू का

मानना था कि वह व्यक्ति जिसने आज्ञा का पालन नहीं सीखा, कभी भी एक अच्छा कमान्डर नहीं बन सकता।' एक अच्छे नागरिक में शासन करने तथा आज्ञापालन करने के दोनों गुण होने चाहिए। एक शासक में संविधान की आज्ञाओं का पालन करने की क्षमता होनी चाहिए, वैसे ही जैसे एक सैनिक आज्ञाओं का पालन सेनापति के अधीन काम करके सीखता है।

अरस्तू की नागरिकता की धारणा आर्थिक चिन्ताओं से मुक्त एक ऐसे विशिष्ट व्यक्ति की थी, जो अनुभवी हो, शिक्षित हो, तथा जिसके पास सार्वजनिक कार्यों के लिए फुरसत है। इसके अतिरिक्त अरस्तू की इच्छा थी कि शासन के कार्यों में सभी नागरिकों को बारी-2 से समान शासन करने तथा शासित होने का अवसर मिलना चाहिए। अर्थात् सभी नागरिकों को समानता के दृष्टिकोण से देखा जाना चाहिए। कोई भी सरकार जो न्याय के इस आधार की अवज्ञा करती है, अधिक देर तक नहीं चल सकती। इनकी शिक्षा भी समान होनी चाहिए। इसके अतिरिक्त शासक वर्ग को सम्पत्तिशाली भी होना चाहिए क्योंकि वे राज्य के नागरिक हैं और नागरिक होने के नाते आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से सम्पन्न होना स्वभाविक है। सद्गुण रहित श्रमिक अथवा कारीगर वर्ग राज्य के नागरिक नहीं हो सकते। किसी भी राज्य में सम्पत्तिहीन वर्ग सम्पत्तिशाली वर्ग की सेवा के लिये होता है।

संक्षेप में, अरस्तू के अनुसार नागरिकता के तीन महत्त्वपूर्ण तत्त्व हैं–

(i) नागरिक वह व्यक्ति है जो सार्वजनिक कार्य करता है,

(ii) इन सामाजिक कार्यों में महत्त्वपूर्ण कार्य सरकार के कार्य हैं, तथा

(iii) इन कार्यों के लिये योग्य व्यक्ति बहुत सीमित होते हैं। नागरिकता उन लोगों में एकता का सूत्र है जो इन सार्वजनिक कार्यों का निर्वाह करते हैं और एक ऐसा विशेषाधिकार है जिसे लोग बड़े ध्यान से संरक्षित करते हैं। यह कोई ऐसा अधिकार नहीं है जिसका प्रत्येक व्यक्ति दावा कर सके, न ही यह कोई ऐसी पदवी है जो किसी को भी दी जा सकती है। नागरिकता वास्तव में अधिकार कम और जिम्मेवारी अधिक थी जिसका ग्रीक नगर-राज्यों के नागरिक गर्व के साथ वहन करते थे। यह एक ऐसा विशेषाधिकार था जिसे वंशानुगत रूप में प्राप्त किया जा सकता था और जो कानून निर्माण तथा प्रशासन में हिस्सा लेने तक सीमित था।

प्लेटो से तुलना
(Comparison with Plato)

अरस्तू के नागरिकता से सम्बन्धित विचार प्लेटो तथा अपने ही समय के स्टोईक्स के विचारों से भिन्न थे। जहाँ प्लेटो ने आदर्श राज्य में शासक (Ruling), उत्पादक

(Producers) तथा पूरक (auxiliary) जैसे वर्गों का वर्णन किया, वहाँ अरस्तू ने अपने आदर्श राज्य में केवल नागरिकों को महत्त्व दिया। इसके अनुसार राज्य केवल नागरिकों के लिए ही होता है। इसके अतिरिक्त नागरिकता केवल समान लोगों के बीच एकता का सूत्र है जो स्वेच्छा से किसी न्यायपूर्ण सरकार के प्रति (न किसी निरंकुश सत्ता) अपनी स्वामीभक्ति व्यक्त करते हैं। परन्तु ध्यान देने योग्य बात यह है कि अरस्तू की यह समानता की धारणा केवल नागरिकों तक ही सीमित है अर्थात् 'नागरिक के रूप में समान'। अरस्तू की नागरिकता की धारणा प्लेटो के रक्षक (Guardian) वर्ग तक ही सीमित है। इसके अनुसार धन तथा सम्पत्ति के उत्पादक राज्य के लिए एक साधन मात्र होते हैं, वे राज्य के पूर्ण सदस्य नहीं होते। राज्य की जनसंख्या को नागरिक तथा गैर-नागरिकों के बीच विभाजित करके अरस्तू के कुछ (few) लोगों की आत्मनिर्भरता के लिए समाज की एकता को न्यौछावर कर दिया। व्यापार तथा उद्योग में रत लोगों को नगर राज्य के नागरिक जीवन में भाग लेने के अधिकार से वंचित करके अरस्तू ने नगर राज्यों के एक महत्त्वपूर्ण लाभ को नकार दिया। जब भी अरस्तू नगर राज्य की चर्चा करता है उसका अभिप्राय: केवल नागरिकों से था जो वैधानिक तथा न्यायिक कर्तव्यों का निर्वाह करते हैं। इसके विपरीत तथा इसके समानान्तर ग्रीक दर्शनशास्त्र की एक अन्य शाखा स्टोईक्स (stoics) ने नागरिकता का दूसरा पक्ष प्रस्तुत किया। इनके अनुसार व्यक्ति तथा ईश्वर दोनों बुद्धि सम्पन्न हैं। व्यक्ति ईश्वर का बेटा है तथा विवेक का अंश सभी व्यक्तियों में समान होने के कारण मालिक अथवा दास, अमीर अथवा गरीब, उच्च अथवा नीच सभी समान हैं। नागरिकता की केवल एक ही योग्यता होनी चाहिए और वह है बुद्धि अथवा विवेक तथा इस संसार में सभी व्यक्तियों में बौद्धिक शक्ति का विकास करने की क्षमता है। इसलिये नागरिकता सर्वव्यापक होनी चाहिए। अत: समग्र रूप में अरस्तू की नागरिकता की धारणा अपेक्षाकृत संकीर्ण थी।

□□□

1

Distinctive Features of Indian Political Thought

I

THE BACKGROUND

In the history of political thought, it is important to note that the tradition of Indian political thought precedes the tradition of Western political thought. In India, well-organized monarchies and republics did exist prior to the existence of various forms of Greek city-states. Indian sages and intellectuals had systematically dwelled on the purposes of the state and the art of government even before the appearance of eminent Greek political philosophers like Socrates (469-399 B.C.), Plato (427-347 B.C.), and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). Again, the tradition of Indian political thought was revived in the modern times. *In the contemporary scenario, Indian political thinking is on its way to become an integral part of the global heritage of political thought.*

Broadly speaking, we may identify two streams of Indian political thought: (*a*) Ancient Indian political thought: and (*b*) Modern Indian political thought. Ancient Indian political thought which is very rich in its content, is the product of indigenous talents and embodies a response to Indian conditions and its culture. However, modern Indian political thought is largely the product of the Indian Renaissance of early nineteenth century and the national movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It sought to absorb the heritage of the ancient tradition, and social reform movement of late medieval times that roughly flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, as well as the impact of brilliant Western political ideas like those of scientific temper and progress, nationalism and universalism, freedom, equality and justice, etc. Most of the Western ideas were derived by the Indian intellectuals through English education, introduced during the British colonial rule. This tradition has been steadily flourishing even after India's independence in 1947. A lot of ideas born out of the rising social and

political consciousness in India are now also being expressed effectively in several Indian languages and their literature. A great future for India seems to lie ahead in the sphere of global intellectual activity.

II
ANCIENT INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Ancient Indian political thought is popularly known as Hindu political thought. The tradition of Hindu political thought is spread over centuries, from its beginnings in the Vedic period around the second millennium B.C. to the consolidation of Muslim rule in the fourteenth century A.D. Major tenets of Hindu political thought originate from the ancient concept of *Ṛta* or the Cosmic Order. It implies the harmony that underlies all objects of the universe. It is different from man-made laws which can be created and altered at will. In other words, it denotes the natural order found in the entire cosmos — the order which governs the material world, all living beings, all heavenly bodies as well as all primary elements (earth, water, fire, wind and space). It is therefore an all-pervading order behind all natural phenomena as well as human acts. Like the Western concept of the Natural Law (*i.e.* the law inherent in the nature itself), *Ṛta* can be discovered by a human being through his own spiritual experience, *i.e.* his own intuition. Its realization involves his identification with the Sublime.

Since human society is an integral part of the universe, it tends to replicate the cosmic order in its own organization. It follows that the social order so established is as sacrosanct and 'unalterable' as the cosmic order itself. The social order so created is identified as *Dharma* which embodies the spirit of what is right or what is in conformity with truth. It directs all men to accept their predetermined status and the role assigned thereto. Hence, *Dharma* entails a system of duties which comprehends the individual's social obligations.

Adherence to *Dharma* is therefore instrumental to the realization of virtue. But there are other important virtues which along with *Dharma* comprise a set of cardinal virtues. Hindu social philosophy recognized four *Purusharthas*, that is the principal objects of human life. In Hindu scriptures, the four *Purusharthas* have been universally recognized. These include: (*a*) *Dharma*, *i.e.* the virtue promoted by performing one's duty as prescribed by the sacred law (sometimes translated as 'religion' which does not express its underlying idea adequately); (*b*) *Artha*, *i.e.* the virtue promoted by attaining wealth and material prosperity, and probably power also; (*c*) *Kama*, *i.e.* the virtue promoted by the gratification of desires, and sensual enjoyments including the act of deriving aesthetic pleasure through art and culture; and finally (*d*) *Moksha*, *i.e.* the final liberation or emancipation of soul to be attained through penance.

Now the genesis of Hindu political thought is closely linked with the pursuit of these virtues. In the first place, it is argued that while the behaviour of natural objects as well as animals is fully governed by the law of the cosmic order, human beings have the capacity to think and will. They are likely to be swayed by certain

evil tendencies (particularly by lust, anger, greed, delusion and arrogance). So some men may be inclined to depart from the path of righteousness, *i.e. Dharma*, and turn to the wrong path. They may create insecurity for others — physically attack them, snatch their possessions or otherwise terrorize them. In order to keep them to the path of rectitude, the Creator of the Universe invented the *Danda*. *Danda* literally means a rod which is the symbol of power, *i.e.* the ability for the use of force. Incidentally, it also means punishment; hence it is also a symbol of power to punish the offenders. The person authorized to wield the *Danda* was designated as *Dandadhara* (*i.e.* the bearer of the rod). *Dandadhara* is also a synonym of the King (the ruler who wears a crown), or the Sovereign.

According to ancient Indian accounts, before the advent of the Sovereign, the world was afflicted with *Matsya Nyaya* which approximates the law of the jungle. Literally, *Matsya Nyaya* means behaving like fishes in a sea where each fish is swallowed by a bigger fish, and the bigger one is swallowed by a still bigger fish. So there is no sense of security for anybody under such conditions. Under the circumstances, the King appears on the scene who establishes his control over everybody by means of the power of *Danda*. The science of politics and the art of government was widely described as *Dandaniti* (*i.e.* the tactics involving the proper use of *Danda*).

The term *Dandaniti,* in this sense, frequently occurs in various treatises like *Manusmriti*, *Mahabharata* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. Kautilya identified four purposes of *Dandaniti*: (*a*) Acquisition of the unacquired; (*b*) Preservation of the acquired; (*c*) Augmentation of the preserved; and finally, (*d*) Fair distribution of the resources so acquired, preserved and augmented. So *Danda* is not only a device of control of errant elements, it is also an instrument of acquisition, preservation, and augmentation of the wealth and power of the ruler who is duty-bound to ensure fair distribution of the resources. It was conceded that only a strong and disciplined prince could effectively achieve these purposes.

In Kautilya's view, power is an essential concomitant of material prosperity. Hence, the pursuit of *Artha*, the second principal object of human life, comes into play. That is why the science of polity was also described as *Arthashastra* (*i.e.* the guide to the acquisition and control of material prosperity and power). This science was also described as *Rajadharma* which refers to the set of rules concerning the duties of the ruler. In short, establishment of an efficient and effective government was the primary goal of the science of polity.

It was further asserted that an efficient government was a necessary condition to enable the people to pursue the first three *Purusharthas* (*Dharma, Artha, and Kama*), and the accomplishement of these three was, again, a necessary condition for the accomplishment of the fourth *Purushartha* (*Moksha*). In short, the science of polity comprised the supreme discipline. This view is very close to Aristotle's famous dictum : *Politics is the master science*. Broadly speaking, *Manusmriti* represents the *Dharmashastra* tradition of ancient Indian political thought while Kautilya represents the *Arthashastra* tradition. Then *Mahabharata* represents the link between *Dharmashastra* and *Arthashastra* traditions.

Dimensions of the Science of Polity in Ancient India

Dandaniti	:	the tactics involving proper use of power
Arthashastra	:	the guide to the acquisition and control of material prosperity and power
Rajadharma	:	the set of rules concerning the duties of the ruler

Apart from the *Dharmashastra* and *Arthashastra* traditions of ancient Indian political thought, Buddhist tradition focused on the ethical foundations of individual conduct and political institutions. Its account of the origin of the state subscribes to the contractual basis of state power and elective nature of high political offices. It was the first to introduce the concept of man-made law for the benefit of the larger society.

III
MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

ADVENT OF THE INDIAN RENAINSSANCE

Broadly speaking, the origin of modern Indian political thought coincides with the advent of the Indian Renaissance in early nineteenth century. Indian Renaissance refers to a sort of awakening among Indian intellectuals and other enlightened sections who were keenly perturbed by the widespread ignorance and apathy then prevailing in Indian society. It also comprehends their determination and plans to overcome these problems.

It may be recalled that the strong empire established in India by the Mughal King, Akbar the Great, in the sixteenth century had disintegrated in the eighteenth century after the death of Aurangzeb. It was the period of cultural decline when the urge for creative thinking and learning had dried up. People had become the slaves of old, irrational dogmas and superstitions. The Hindu caste system had become particularly oppressive. Its worst manifestation came in the form of Untouchability (the evil practice of treating certain outcaste Hindus as untouchable by the caste Hindus, refusing them entry into temples and sharing of the common services). The situation was aggravated by the prevalence of certain retrograde customs like the child marriage, polygamy, and some inhuman practices like the female infanticide, *sati* (the practice of burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband as a token of her lifelong chastity), and the deplorable condition of widows. Other symptoms of ignorance include the taboo on sea voyage and the use of foreign things including medicines and methods of treatment. Under the circumstances, the opportunities of acquiring new knowledge and experience were rapidly dwindling.

In early nineteenth century, many great men appeared on the scene who were inspired by the rediscovery of India's glorious past, and who aspired to revive its

glory. They sought to identify the sources of Indian consciousness, and undertook the task of leading the Indian society from the prevailing darkness to light. Some of these great men were benefited by the English education introduced under the British rule. However, the spirit of the Indian Renaissance was born out of the sentiment of admiration of Indian culture. The impact of the West did provide the *occasion* for the national awakening; it was by no means the *cause* of this awakening. For example, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), who is regarded the prophet of national awakening in India, did admire the English culture; but he had launched his crusade against crude idolatory, polytheism and the custom of *sati* before he took up the study of English language and literature. His call for the reform of Hinduism was originally based on his insistence on the revival of the teachings of *Upanishads*: his appeal to the Western values of liberalism and rationalism was included in his message at a later stage. Again, some of the prominent personalities who made substantial contribution to the Indian Renaissance, such as Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83) and Ramakrishna Param Hans (1836-86), were totally ignorant of English. Obviously, they could not have been influenced by the Western value-system. Only their prominent followers like Lala Rajpat Rai (1865-1928) and Swami Vivekanand (1863-1902) respectively sought to combine some Western ideas with their teachings.

In due course the task of reform of Hinduism was taken over by some institutions. Thus Brahmo Samaj was set up by Raja Ram Mohan Roy in 1828 at Calcutta (now Kolkata). Its branch was established by Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-84) in 1864 at Bombay (now Mumbai) as Prarthana Samaj. Another branch of Brahmo Samaj was later set up at Madras (now Chennai) as Veda Samaj.

Then Swami Dayanand Saraswati established Arya Samaj in North India in 1875 which sought to revive the gospel of Vedas and to liberate Hindu religion from the practice of idolatory, to repudiate polytheism and false teachings of certain priests, based on the distorted interpretation of *Puranas*. Arya Samaj also undertook the task of social reform. It rejected the rigid caste system based on birth and sought the removal of Untouchability. It promoted education of women in order to secure their emancipation. It consistently opposed the widespread superstitions and blind faith.

Swami Vivekanand, the illustrious disciple of Ramakrishna Param Hans, established Ramakrishna Mission at Belur in 1896. Ramakrishna believed that there are many ways to the realization of God; the service to humanity, particularly in the form of help to the poor and the distressed, was the best way of these. Following his mentor's footsteps, Vivekanand insisted on the basic oneness of all religions. He severely attacked casteism, communalism, Untouchability and the prevailing superstitions. For the purpose of social service, it established charitable schools, hospitals, orphanages, libraries, etc. throughout the country.

Another important institution, the Theosophical Society, was originally established in the United States. In 1882, its headquarters were shifted to Madras (now Chennai) in India. Here it was led by Mrs. Annie Besant (1857-1933), an English lady, who had a strong faith in the value system of Hinduism. The primary goal of this institution was to motivate middle-class Hindus to appreciate their

spiritual and national heritage.

The process of religious and social reform among Muslims was initiated by their illustrious leader, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98). He severely attacked the prevalent ignorance and superstitions among Muslims and promoted scientific thinking among them. He deprecated the tendencies of bigotry, fanaticism and narrow-mindedness. He argued that a close mind was the symptom of intellectual backwardness. He advocated the emancipation of women, promotion of women's education, and the abolition of the practice of veiling by women. In his view, polygamy and instantaneous divorce were unethical. His efforts to promote scientific and rational education culminated in the establishment of Aligarh Muslim University (originally founded as the Anglo-Oriental College in 1877).

Other prominent communities of India, *viz.* Sikhs, Christians and Parsis (Zoroastrians) were not afflicted with any major evil practices or superstitions. Hence no major movements for their religious or social reform are visible.

BROAD STREAMS OF MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Apart from the ideas concerning religious and social reform, modern Indian political thought includes the ideas evolved during India's national movement, independence movement, and the vision of Indian intellectuals concerning its reconstruction. Broadly speaking, we may identify the following streams of Indian political thought in this sense: (*a*) Liberal stream; (*b*) Idealist stream: (*c*) Humanist stream : (*d*) Socialist stream; (*e*) Feminist stream; and (*f*) the Critics of Hindu Caste System.

Indian liberal thinkers were largely inspired by the principles of British liberalism. This view favours a social order that would enable the individual to realize his full potential. In its view, the progress of a society is directly related to the amount of freedom and self-determination accessible to the individual in that society. Indian liberals argued that in the Indian tradition, relation between the individual and society was not founded on rational grounds; here individual was subordinated to society. This had led to the decline of the glorious civilization of India. Hence, reconstruction of society on rational foundations was a necessary condition of the revival of India.

The liberals felt that the cause of India's subjugation for centuries was inherent in its social system. Most of the liberals saw the advent of the British rule in India as an occasion to promote its social reconstruction. They regarded the British as the messengers of modernity, and the British rule as an instrument of its modernization. They favoured a policy of seeking the help of the British government in liberating India from its widespread ignorance, superstitions, and evil social practices. They hoped to achieve the goal of social reconstruction of India by arousing a sense of justice among the British rulers.

The prominent Indian liberals include: Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772- 1833), Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901), and Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915). These brilliant intellectuals erred in hoping that

they would achieve India's emancipation with the help of foreign rulers who had come here to exploit our natural and human resources.

Indian Idealists include a wide range of thinkers. Most of them were exponents or ardent champions or Indian nationalism. Broadly speaking, Indian Idealists were different from Indian Liberals in the sense that the former were not inspired by the European tradition of idealism. However, in some respects their approach is similar to that of European idealists. In the first place, they believed in the primacy of consciousness over the material world. Secondly, like the European idealists, they eulogized the Nation. Similarly, they held that each social institution was the manifestation of a particular idea on which it was founded. They argued that as the existence of the spirit is responsible for infusing life into the body, so each Nation is enlivened by its consciousness. Consciousness of a Nation comprised of the collective consciousness of the individuals who comprised it.

On this logic, the Indian Idealists contended that India was a Nation. Its consciousness was manifested in its rich heritage and culture which lent it an independent personality. It was necessary to preserve this personality, otherwise the natural order of the universe would be disturbed. In short, the Indian Idealists sought to focus on India's national identity and to restore its due place in the world. They were determined to promote national movement around the idea of India's national identity. The primary aim of this movement was to revive the glory of ancient Indian culture. The Indian Idealists sought to arouse national consciousness among Indians and to mobilize them to achieve independence from the foreign rule. They argued that it was a folly to expect the British government to enforce genuine social reforms in India. In this sense, Indian Idealists were far ahead of the Indian Liberals in promoting the national awakening.

The prominent Indian Idealists include Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-83), Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920), Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932), Sri Aurobindo (1873-1950) and Veer Savarkar (1883-1966). Swami Dayanand sought to reconstruct Indian education, administration, and religious beliefs (particularly among Hindus) in conformity with the ideals and value system enshrined in the Vedas. In his view, these represented the most rational foundations of the great Aryan civilization, which had been distorted in the intervening centuries. That is why he founded Arya Samaj in 1875 to serve as a vehicle of this consciousness.

Lala Lajpat Rai was an adherent of Arya Samaj who had received English education, and was fairly familiar with the Western ideas and institutions. He tried to convert the social ideals of Swami Dayanand into a consistent national consciousness. He sought to pave the way for modernization of India through a judicious combination of rational elements of the Indian origin with those of the Western origin. Rai was a prominent social reformer and freedom fighter. He was an ardent champion of Indian nationalism. He argued that as the followers of one religion have no right to interfere with other religions, so no nation on earth has the right of interfere with the independence of any other nation, howsoever forward or backward any one of them might be.

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Sri Aurobindo were the apostles of Indian nationalism. It was Tilak who declared: "Freedom is my birth-right". It was Pal who created the image of 'Bharat Mata' (Mother India) to eulogize the personality of the Indian Nation. The idea of 'Bharat Mata' inspired many patriots and freedom fighters, including Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964). It continues to inspire us even today in our efforts for national consolidation. Sri Aurobindo sought to build the edifice of nationalism on the foundations of spiritualism. He made nationalism a matter of faith. In his view, devotion to the Nation was equivalent to the devotion to God. Then Veer Savarkar sought to achieve national solidarity around the ideal of 'Hindutva' — a controversial issue in the context of composite culture of India. In a nutshell, Indian Idealists played a unique role in promoting Indian national movement.

As regards the Humanist stream of modern Indian political thought, it may be noted that the basic tenets of Indian humanist thought are somewhat similar to those of the Western humanism. However, it was developed further by the Indian philosophers and brought to its logical conclusion. In short, humanism in the general sense refers to the principle, viewpoint or life-pattern which accords primacy to human dignity and value of human life over any other advantage or value. It holds that human being as such is endowed with Reason which enables him or her to attain self-realization. In this respect, all human beings are equal irrespective of variations in their sex, race, religion or nation. Each human being is regarded an end-in-itself. In modern Indian social and political thought, Swami Vivekanand (1863-1902), Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), and M.N. Roy (1886-1954) are regarded the chief exponents of humanism.

Swami Vivekanand was a hermit philosopher and humanist thinker who did not participate in politics directly. However, his views on the value of freedom inspired many Indians to join the independence movement. His belief in oneness of all religions was brilliantly articulated at the Parliament of Religions in 1893 at Chicago. Following the teachings of his mentor Ramakrishna Pararm Hans, Vivekanand argued that the spiritual bliss cannot be attained by an individual through meditation in isolation from the rest of humanity; it can be achieved only through rendering service to humanity. He equated the service to human beings — particularly to the poor and the distressed — as service to God. In 1896, he established Ramakrishna Mission at Belur for the service to humanity which is now spread all over India, and doing a good deal for the benefit of the poor, uneducated, ignorant and sick people. In short, Vivekanand's humanism also comprehended the sentiment of humanitarianism.

Rabindranath Tagore insisted on positive freedom of individual which can be attained through self-realization. He argued that the individual's freedom is first realized through nationalism, but it reaches its logical conclusion in the spirit of internationalism. Tagore's concept of humanism was eventually developed into his unique concept of synthetic universalism. Tagore held that when people evolve their political organization into different nations, rivalry between these nations tends to obstruct their mental and spiritual development. Each nation resorts to regimentation of thought of its people with a view to consolidating its power and

glory. In order to obviate this destructive tendency and to achieve constructive ends, each individual should strive to develop his or her talents by rising above narrow nationalism and entering into relationship with the whole humanity. For this, he or she should get in touch with world literature, art, religions, philosophy, social symbols and etiquette, and thereby feel at one with all human beings.

Then M.N. Roy developed the idea of humanism into a new form which he described as 'new humanism', 'scientific humanism' or 'radical humanism'. In a nutshell, it is based on the belief that science can and should be used to enhance human dignity and secure human emancipation. Roy argued that the urge for human freedom requires the realization of creative faculties of man. Man is essentially a rational being. His innate nature is not to believe, but to question, to inquire and to know. But he falls victim to ignorance which is the biggest obstacle to human freedom. When he gropes in the darkness of ignorance, he remains a helpless victim of superstitions, and the fear of extra-terrestrial powers. He holds a blind faith in the forces beyond his comprehension and control until scientific knowledge illuminates his path. It liberates him from the time-honoured prejudices about the essence of his being and the purposes of his life. When the light of truth makes his innate rationality more manifest, he tends to discard old hypotheses based on ignorance. After Roy, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), Indian statesman-philosopher, advanced another version of scientific humanism. Nehru argued that the power gained through the progress of science and technology should be directed to the service of humanity, and not toward private profit and exploitation of others. It is important to note that the critics of Hindu caste system were also inspired by the spirit of humanism. Major critics of the Hindu caste system include Mahatma Jyotiba Phule (1827-90), B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) and Periar (E.V. Ramaswami Naicker) (1879-1973). They showed the way to restore human dignity by focusing on the emancipation of the depressed classes of India. They could reasonably be clubbed with Indian Humanist thinkers.

Then Indian Socialist thought is founded on the basic tenets of socialism as prevalent in the West. However, Indian Socialists have shown some ingenuity in working out the modalities for its application to the Indian conditions. Like European socialists, Indian Socialists were chiefly concerned with the protection of the interests of the working class. Similarly, they favoured social ownership and control of major means of production to facilitate social-economic reconstruction. However, while European socialists were largely wedded to material values, Indian Socialists were inclined to pursue material as well as spiritual values in keeping with the Indian value system. Among Indian Socialists, the prominent thinkers include: Acharya Narendra Dev (1889-1956), Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan (1902-79), and Ram Manohar Lohia (1910-68). Besides these, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) believed in socialism, but Nehru's vision was so broad that it cannot be bound with a particular school of thought.

Narendra Dev is regarded the pioneer of Indian Socialist thought. He sought to evolve a new identity of Indian socialism by combining the Marxian principles of materialism, class struggle and scientific socialism with the Gandhian principles of moralism and non-violence as well as the goals of anti-imperialist struggle in

India. Then Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan — popularly called JP — started as a Marxist, but he rejected the authoritarian and totalitarian models of communism established in the Soviet Union and China in the name of Marxist ideology. JP favoured a humane and democratic form of socialism which should fit into the framework of Indian culture and value system. In his later career, JP devoted himself to the pursuit of Gandhian ideals, spiritual values and true democracy.

Finally, Lohia dwelled on the Asian context of socialism. He argued that the Asian civilization had arisen from a long tradition of despotism and feudalism. Rigid religious dogmas prevailing in Asian societies had given rise to narrow-mindedness and sectarianism. The development of bureaucracy and technocracy in modern times had complicated the style of Asian politics. Leadership in Asia largely thrived on demagogy and emotional exploitation of people. In order to rectify this situation, Lohia projected a model of a just social order based on decentralization of powers, functional federalism and promotion of cottage industries. He hoped that this system would first be adopted at the national level throughout Asia, and it would reach its logical conclusion in the evolution of a World Parliament and World Government.

Feminist thought is largely concerned with the plight of women and the way to their emancipation. It is difficult to identify a separate feminist stream of modern Indian political thought. A large number of modern Indian political thinkers have shown a deep concern with the problems of women as a part of their programme of social reform. These include Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Swami Dayanand, Swami Vivekanand, Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Jyotiba Phule, Mahatma Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar and Ram Manohar Lohia. However, Pandita Rambai (1858-1922) may be distinguished as solely devoted to thought and work concerning emancipation of women. She may be treated as the chief representative of the feminist stream of modern Indian political thought.

Apart from these discrete schools of thought, Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) made a unique contribution to political philosophy in their respective spheres. Gandhi sought to rebuild moral foundations of politics through his principles of purity of means, adherence to truth and non-violence, civil disobedience and *Satyagraha*, *Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya*. Nehru, on the other hand, sought modernization of India through promoting scientific temper, nation-building, economic regeneration, and social justice.

Ancient Indian Political Thought

Ancient Indian political thought was chiefly concerned with regulating people's conduct in order to ensure smooth functioning of society and to secure welfare of all individuals. In this respect we may identify two major traditions of this thought: (*a*) *Dharmashastra* tradition deals with the regulation of social conduct of individuals as well as higher authorities; and (*b*) *Arthashastra* tradition deals with the regulation of civic life, the problem of governance as well as judicial procedure. These two traditions were by no means mutually exclusive; in some cases they dealt with common problems. Broadly speaking, Manu, the ancient law-giver, is regarded the chief exponent of *Dharmashastra* tradition, while Kautilya, an epitome of ancient wisdom on the science of polity, is regarded the chief exponent of *Arthashastra* tradition.

The existence of these two traditions also shows that in ancient India, particularly among Hindus, the spheres of regulation of social and moral life of individuals on the one hand, and their civic and political life on the other, were largely kept separate. As Rabindranath Tagore (*Swadeshi Samaj*; 1904) observed: "In our country it was the king who was comparatively free; and on the people was cast the burden of their civic obligations. The king warred and hunted—whether he spent his time in attending to matters of states, or to his personal pleasures — was a matter for which he might to accountable to *Dharma*, but on which the people did not believe their communal welfare to depend."

This state of affairs may be distinguished from ancient Greek tradition where all aspects of people's life — their civic as well as moral life, mode of worship, education, training, sports, and so on were regulated by the state. That is why ancient Greek political thought was so developed, and ancient Indian political philosophy was concerned with a limited sphere. On the other hand, Indian social philosophy was thoroughly developed in ancient India.

9

स्वराज्य पर तिलक एवं गाँधी
(Tilak and Gandhi on Swaraj)

बाल गंगाधर तिलक
(Bal Gangadhar Tilak)

बाल गंगाधर तिलक (1856-1920) का जन्म जुलाई 23, 1856 को रत्नागिरि जिले में हुआ था, और स्वतन्त्रता से पूर्व के वर्षों के दौरान, वह राजनीतिक भारत के सबसे तेज नेताओं में से एक माने जाते थे। उन्हें 'लोकमान्य' कहा जाने लगा था। पूना डेक्कन कॉलेज से स्नातक का प्रमाण-पत्र लेने के साथ ही उन्होंने पूना में एक नई अंग्रेजी पाठशाला की स्थापना के द्वारा अपने सार्वजनिक व्यवसाय की शुरुआत की। 1891 में भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस में शामिल होने के बाद, इन्होंने उसी वर्ष के वार्षिक सम्मेलन में शस्त्र अधिनियम प्रस्ताव को रखा, जिसका उद्देश्य उन प्रस्तावों में संशोधन लाना था जो सेना में भारतीयों की भागीदारी और बंदूक निषेध से संबंधित थे।

बाल गंगाधर तिलक का व्यक्तित्व बहुमुखी था। उन्हें 'भारतीय असंतोष' का पिता भी माना जाता है। वह भारतीय इतिहास, गणित, खगोल विज्ञान और हिन्दू धर्म के विद्वान थे। बाल गंगाधर तिलक ने अपने पिता गंगाधर रामचन्द्र तिलक, जो एक संस्कृत विद्वान और एक प्रसिद्ध शिक्षक भी थे, से मूल्यों, संस्कृति और बुद्धिमत्ता का आत्मसात किया था। दस साल की उम्र में, बाल गंगाधर, अपने परिवार के साथ पुणे चले गए थे, क्योंकि उनके पिता को वहाँ स्थानान्तरित कर दिया गया था। पुणे में वह एक एंग्लो-वर्नाकुलर (अंग्रेजी-मातृभाषी) पाठशाला में शिक्षित हुए। कुछ वर्षों के पश्चात् उन्होंने अपनी माता को खो दिया और सोलह वर्ष की आयु में अपने पिता को भी खो दिया, जिसके उपरांत उन्होंने एक दस वर्षीय सत्यभामा नामक लड़की से शादी कर ली और उस समय वे मैट्रिक में अध्ययन कर रहे थे। 1877 में, तिलक ने अपनी पढ़ाई पूरी की, और कानून के अध्ययन को जारी रखा।

स्वराज्य (होम रूल) पर बाल गंगाधर तिलक
[*Bal Gangadhar Tilak on Swaraj* (Home Rule)]

भारत के युवाओं को भारतीय संस्कृति और राष्ट्रीय आदर्शों के बारे में शिक्षा प्रदान करने के उद्देश्य के साथ, तिलक ने आगरकर और विष्णु शास्त्री के साथ मिलकर 'डेक्कन एजुकेशन सोसाइटी' की स्थापना की। इसके बाद शीघ्र ही तिलक ने दो साप्ताहिक, 'केसरी' व 'मराठी' प्रारम्भ की, जिनके द्वारा उन्होंने भारतीयों की दुर्दशा पर प्रकाश डाला। उन्होंने गणपति महोत्सव और शिवाजी जयंती जैसे समारोहों को प्रारम्भ किया ताकि इनके मध्य एक-दूसरे के

निकट आएँ और अंग्रेजों के विरुद्ध राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन में शामिल हों। लोगों की परेशानियों के लिए संघर्ष करने के कारण दो बार उन्हें कारावास की सजा सुनाई गई थी।

तिलक को 1897 में 18 महीनों के लिए व 1908 में छः वर्षों के लिए जेल भेजा गया था, और उस अवधि के दौरान उन्होंने, भगवद् गीता पर अपने विचारों को व्यक्त करते हुए गीता रहस्य की रचना की। इन्होंने भारत की माँगों को आगे बढ़ाने के लिए 1916 में होम रूल लीग (Home Rule League) की भी स्थापना की। उसी साल इन्होंने कांग्रेस और मुस्लिम लीग के नेताओं के बीच लखनऊ संधि कायम करने में मदद की थी। इन्होंने गांधी के कार्यक्रमों में भी मदद की थी जिसमें 'असहयोग आन्दोलन' भी शामिल था। 1919 के अमृतसर कांग्रेस अधिवेशन में इन्हीं के प्रयासों के कारण प्रशासन के साथ 'जिम्मेदार सहयोग पर सुधार अधिनियम' पर एक प्रस्ताव पारित हो पाया था।

तिलक ने लाला लाजपत राय और विपिन चन्द्र पाल के साथ जुड़कर एक तिकड़ी, 'लाल, बाल, पाल' का गठन किया जो स्वदेशी, राष्ट्रीय शिक्षा, विदेशी उत्पादों का बहिष्कार और स्वराज (होम रूल) का गठन, आदि को प्रोत्साहित करते थे। 'स्वराज्य मेरा जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार है, और इसे तो मैं लेकर ही रहूँगा' रूपी नारे के साथ तिलक जुड़े हुए थे। तिलक के लिए, स्वराज का अर्थ है–

1. बुरे शासकों को हटाना, लोगों का दैविक अधिकार है।
2. लोगों और शासकों के पास एक समान देश, जाति अथवा धर्म होना आवश्यक है।
3. लोगों के कल्याण के लिए बनाई गई एक अच्छी तरह शासित प्रणाली, जो उन्हीं के द्वारा बनाई गई हो, और केवल उन्हीं के प्रति जवाबदेह हो।
4. कानून व व्यवस्था यंत्र से अधिक हो।
5. आर्थिक जीवन की आवश्यकताओं अथवा सुखद जीवन की विलासिता प्रदान करने की तुलना करने में अधिक हो।

तिलक के अनुसार, 'स्वराज' केवल एक राजनीतिक अधिकार नहीं रखता है, इसका आध्यात्मिक महत्व इसमें है कि वह स्वयं में केन्द्रित है और स्वयं पर निर्भर जीवन का नेतृत्व करता है। इसका महत्व केवल इस जीवन तक ही सीमित नहीं है अपितु, आने वाले जीवन में भी इसका महत्व बढ़ता है। तिलक के राष्ट्रवाद की अवधारणा भारत के अतीत पर उसके गर्व से और उस पर पश्चिमी शिक्षा और विज्ञान के प्रभाव से प्रभावित थी। उनको एक ऐसे राजनीतिक आन्दोलन की आवश्यकता जो सभी बाधाओं के पार जाकर देश को एकजुटता प्रदान करे और अंग्रेजों के अधीन भारतीयों के शोषण के अहसास ने भी इनकी राष्ट्रीयता के लिए महत्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया। सत्य तो यह है कि उनकी अवधारणा ने वेदांत आदर्शों की आध्यात्मिक एकता और पश्चिमी विचारकों द्वारा प्रतिपादित राष्ट्रवाद को एक रूप प्रदान कर दिया।

उन्होंने देश की विरासत और एकता में गर्व के रूप में, राष्ट्रवाद की प्रेरणा शक्ति की पहचान की कि एक समान धर्म और भाषा लोगों में एकता की भावना को बढ़ावा देती है और इस एकता को अनेक प्रतीकों के द्वारा जैसे कि त्यौहारों को मनाना, आदि के द्वारा मजबूत बनाया जा सकता है। तिलक ने अपने प्रकाशनों के माध्यम से अनेक राष्ट्रीय भावनाओं को जगाया, क्योंकि पश्चिमी शिक्षा ने उसे प्रेस की स्वतन्त्रता, व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता, स्वतन्त्र

राजनीतिक अभिव्यक्ति और संगठन जैसे मूल्यों को सिखाया था। बाल गंगाधर तिलक, आधुनिक भारत के मुख्य वास्तुकारों में से एक थे और वे अब भी करोड़ों भारतीयों के दिलों में निवास करते हैं।

अपने होमरूल के माध्यम से बाल गंगाधर तिलक स्वराज्य की स्थापना करना चाहते थे। तिलक एक कुर्सी पर बैठकर विचार करने वाले विचारकों में से नहीं थे, और न ही वे शैक्षिक अर्थों में एक राजनीतिक दार्शनिक थे। वह एक व्यावहारिक राजनीतिज्ञ थे और उनका मुख्य कार्य भारत की राजनीतिक मुक्ति था। तिलक का राजनीतिक दर्शन भारतीय परम्परा में निहित था लेकिन उन्होंने कभी भी उन सभी को अस्वीकार नहीं किया जो पाश्चात्य था। वे प्राचीन भारतीय आध्यात्मिक और दार्शनिक अध्ययनों से अधिक प्रेरित थे। इस प्रकार से उन्होंने, अपने **स्वराज** की अवधारणा को एक आध्यात्मिक अर्थ प्रदान किया था।

स्वराज (होम रूल) बिना अंग्रेजों से विच्छेद किए एक राजनीतिक व्यवस्था का संकेत देता है। इसके अतिरिक्त, **स्वराज** में व्यक्तियों का प्रबुद्ध आत्म-नियंत्रण निहित है जो उन्हें उनके कर्तव्यों को पृथक करके प्रदर्शन करने की प्रेरणा देता है। तिलक ने महसूस किया कि भौतिकवाद मानव जीवन को भ्रष्ट कर देता है और उसे पशु के स्तर तक उतार देता है। तिलक चाहता था कि मनुष्य पशु-स्तरीय सुख से, आत्म-अनुशासन और स्वयं के प्रयासों के द्वारा ऊपर उठे और अपनी इच्छाओं को परिशुद्ध करके सच्चे सुख को प्राप्त करे। इसलिए, तिलक का मानना था कि मानव जीवन की पूर्ति केवल अधिकारों का आनन्द लेने में नहीं है, अपितु निस्स्वार्थ होकर अपने कर्तव्यों के प्रदर्शन में भी है। मनुष्य को अधिकार की आवश्यकता अपने कर्तव्यों को पूरा करने के लिए पड़ती है न कि पशु-इच्छाओं के पीछे स्वार्थी रूप से भागने के लिए है। मनुष्य को अपने खुद के लिए, अपने परिवार के लिए, अपने स्वजनों के लिए और अपने साथी प्राणियों और देशवासियों के लिए भी कर्तव्य है। उसे उन सभी के नैतिक, आध्यात्मिक और भौतिक भलाई के लिए कार्य करना होता है, और यह उसका कर्तव्य है। बहरहाल, यह सब तभी सम्भव हो सकता है जब पुरुष एवं महिलाएँ, सभी प्रकार के प्रभुत्व और नियंत्रण से मुक्त होंगे। इस स्वराज की प्राप्ति के लिए, तिलक ने पाश्चात्य उदार संस्थाओं और अवधारणाओं, जैसे कि संवैधानिक सरकार, कानून का शासन, व्यक्तिगत स्वतन्त्रता, व्यक्ति की गरिमा, आदि की उपयुक्तता को स्वीकार किया है। इस प्रकार से, तिलक का राजनीतिक दर्शन प्राचीन भारतीय मूल्य प्रणाली और पाश्चात्य उदार संस्थाओं के एक रोचक मिश्रण का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है।

तिलक के लिए राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन का अंतिम लक्ष्य स्वराज था। तथा बड़े पैमाने पर आंदोलन में जनता को शामिल करने के लिए, तिलक ने स्वराज के लक्ष्य की धार्मिक संदर्भ में व्याख्या की और इस बात पर जोर दिया कि स्वराज हमारी धार्मिक आवश्यकता है। उनके अनुसार धर्म और वेदांत का दर्शन, आध्यात्मिक स्थिति और प्रत्येक व्यक्ति के भाग्य पर समान जोर देता है। इस प्रकार से वह किसी भी प्रकार के बंधन के विरुद्ध थे, और इसलिए उनका मानना था कि स्वराज, प्रत्येक व्यक्ति और समुदाय के लिए एक नैतिक और धार्मिक आवश्यकता है। अपनी नैतिक पूर्ति के लिए और अपने धार्मिक कर्तव्यों के पालन के लिए, मनुष्य को स्वतन्त्र होने की आवश्यकता है। राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता के बिना उच्च स्वतन्त्रता असम्भव है। इसलिए, स्वराज ही हमारा धर्म है।

हालांकि, गांधीजी के लिए स्वराज की धारणा पूर्ण रूप से भिन्न थी। राष्ट्रीय आन्दोलन के संदर्भ में स्वराज की अवधारणा, पर चर्चा जिस प्रकार तिलक ने की, इससे बड़े पैमाने पर जनता ने स्वराज (होम रूल) को दोबारा पाने के लिए अत्यंत उपकरणों का प्रयोग प्रारम्भ कर दिया था।

स्वराज्य पर गाँधी
(Gandhi on Swaraj)

मोहन दास कर्मचंद गाँधी का जन्म 2 अक्टूबर, 1869 को पोरबंदर नामक स्थान में हुआ। उन्होंने लन्दन के महाविश्वविद्यालय से कानून का ज्ञान प्राप्त किया तथा 1891 में उन्होंने ब्रिटिश बार में दाखिला ले लिया था। उसके बाद गाँधी जी वापिस भारत आए और उन्होंने मुम्बई में वकालत करना शुरू की परन्तु वहाँ उन्हें विशेष सफलता प्राप्त नहीं हुई। दो वर्ष के पश्चात् एक मुकदमें की पैरवी के सिलसिले में वे दक्षिण अफ्रीका गए। वहाँ उन्होंने पहली बार यह अनुभव किया कि उनके साथ, गौरे रंग के लोग, निम्न जाति के सदस्य के रूप में दुर्व्यवहार कर रहे हैं। इस मजबूर करती हुई स्थिति ने गाँधी जी को भारतीयों के मूल अधिकारों के लिए संघर्ष में कूद पड़ने के लिए जोर दिया। अधिकारों के लिए संघर्ष करते समय गाँधी जी अनेक बार जेल भी गए। 1896 में, वे रूस के लेखक लियो टाल्स्टाय (Leo Tolstoy) तथा अमरीका के हेनरी डेविड थोरू (Henry David Thoreau) की पुस्तकों से अत्याधिक प्रभावित हुए जिसके पश्चात् गाँधी ने लोगों को निष्क्रिय विरोध तथा सविनय- अवज्ञा की नीति के बारे में शिक्षा देनी प्रारम्भ कर दी। वे 1914 में भारत लौट आए। भारत में उन्होंने ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशी शासन के विरूद्ध चलने वाले उपनिवेशी युद्ध में सक्रिय तौर से भाग लिया। इस प्रक्रिया के दौरान उन्होंने स्वराज्य, समाज, अर्थशास्त्र, सभ्यता, शिक्षा, इत्यादि से सम्बन्धित अपने अनोखे सिद्धान्त को भी विकसित किया। उन्होंने राजनीति में नैतिकता के नियमों का अति गंभीर रूप से प्रयोग किया। उनके विचारों में हम पूर्वी तथा पाश्चात्य स्वस्थ्य राजनीतिक विचारों के खुबसूरत मिश्रण को प्राप्त कर सकते थे।

इस अध्याय में हम गांधी जी की 'स्वराज्य' रूपी अवधारणा पर विचारों का विस्तारपूर्वक विवेचन करेगें। हिन्द स्वराज्य में तीन निरन्तर उत्पन्न होने वाले मूलविषय हैं : उपनिवेशवादी साम्राज्यवाद, औद्योगिक पूँजीवाद तथा तर्कवादी भौतिकवाद। उन्होंने उपनिवेशवादी साम्राज्यवाद का भारतीय समाज तथा इसकी संस्कृति पर प्रभाव का भी विवेचन किया तथा वकीलों, डाक्टरों तथा रेलवे का विशेषकर, भारतीय परम्परागत जीवन पर प्रभाव पर भी प्रकाश डाला। तद्पश्चात् उन्होंने तर्कवादी भौतिकवाद का विवेचन किया और कहा कि तकनीकि के प्रयोग पर हमें रोक लगानी होगी। उन्होंने आगे कहा कि हम तकनीकि का मानव जाति को और अधिक सुख व आराम देने के लिए प्रयोग कर रहे हैं।

तपन राय चौधरी के शब्दों में, "गाँधी जी ने अपने द्वारा रचित हिन्द स्वराज्य द्वारा भारतीय समस्या के आधारभूत कारणों को निकालकर प्रस्तुत किया और कहा कि यह आधुनिक सभ्यता की देन है। यह मनुष्य के मूल्यों की हर अच्छाईयों के लिए चुनौती है और यह भारत सहित सभी अन्य राज्यों के लिए चुनौती बन गया है। ब्रिटिश स्वयं इस महामारी के शिकार थे जिसके लिए उन्हें दोषी ठहराना उचित नही होगा परन्तु हम उन्हें दया के पात्र अवश्य कह सकते हैं।

मुख्य कारण जाति अथवा राष्ट्र न होकर वह आधुनिक सभ्यता स्वयं है, जिससे भारतीय मोहित हुए और उसने उन्हे उत्पीड़ित किया। दरअसल मनुष्य की यह सोच कि उसकी हर सोच की अन्धाधुंध पूर्ति में सभ्यता का विकास निर्भर करता है, गलत सोच थी। परन्तु इस सोच का लाभ पूँजीपतियों ने भरपूर मात्रा में लिया और लोगों की इच्छा को और उत्तेजित किया। धीर-धीरे समस्त व्यवस्था की माँग में वृद्धि एक आवश्कता बन गई और इसने प्रकृति के विरूद्ध हिंसा को वैधानिकता प्रदान की और जीवन के अर्थ व उद्देश्य को केवल इच्छाओं की अनन्त पूर्ति तक ही सीमित करके रख दिया। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ कि इस आत्मा को तबाह कर देने वाली चाहतों ने स्वायत्तता को नष्ट कर डाला तथा व्यक्ति व व्यक्ति के मध्य पारस्परिक शंका, हिंसा तथा शोषणता को जन्म दे दिया। श्रमिक तथा उपभोगता दोनों के रूप में मनुष्य यंत्रों (मशीनों) का दास बन गया। ऐसी सभ्यता के लिए साम्राज्यवाद तथा जातिवादिता एक अनिवार्यता है। इसके ऊपरी सिरे से दिखने वाले लाभ भी अधिक संदिग्ध स्वरूपीय थे। आधुनिक औषधि निर्भरता के साँचे को जन्म देती है जो बहुत ही अप्राकृतिक है तथा आधुनिक परिवहन, जीवन को सरल व आसान बनाने के स्थान पर वास्तव में बीमारियों को फैलाने में मदद्गार है। आधुनिक समाज ने बुद्धिमता को शक्ति की प्राप्ति के ज्ञान तक सीमित कर डाला है और नैतिकता का प्रबुद्ध आत्म-हित की सिद्धि तक सीमित कर डाला है। पश्चिम की अधिक गर्वित गतिशीलता बुद्धिहीन सक्रियता से कुछ अधिक मात्रा में है। आधुनिक सभ्यता के नैतिक महत्त्व को गाँधी जी ने केवल दो बिन्दुओं पर कुछ मात्रा में स्वीकार किया है। गाँधी जी ने उसमें उपस्थित सत्य की खोज की वास्तविक वैज्ञानिक जिज्ञासा की भावना की सराहना की। उन्होने पाश्चात्य जीवन के संगठनात्मक पहलू से अनेक बातों को सीखने योग्य भी पाया, जैसे, अनुशासन तथा सहयोग के नैतिक गुणो द्वारा नागरिक गुणों का निर्माण करना है," (Bhikhu Parikh, "Gandhi's Political Philosophy", quoted in Tapan Raychaudhuri's, "Perceptions, Emotions, Sensibilities : Essays on India's Colonial and Post-colonial Experiences) ।

गाँधीजी ने अपने द्वारा रचित 'हिन्द स्वराज्य' में स्वराज्य से सम्बन्धित अपने विचारों का विवेचन किया है। गाँधीजी का हिन्द स्वराज्य आधुनिकता के द्वारा मुक्ति दिलाने वाले योगदान की केवल सार्वजनिक भर्त्सना अथवा त्याग नही है। उन्होंने तत्वों की परम्परा की पुनर्व्याख्या के साथ एकीकरण के लिए भी प्रयत्न किया। उन्होंने कभी भी सरासरी रूप से पाश्चात्य सभ्यता को आलोचित करने की कोशिश नही की परन्तु उसकी परम्परा के अन्तर्गत सुधार करने के विचार कि निन्दा की। उन्होंने अपने हिन्द स्वराज्य के द्वारा बाह्य विश्व के साथ दो तरीकों से सम्पर्क स्थापित किया। **प्रथम,** उन्होंने पाश्चात्य सभ्यता की निन्दा की, तथा **द्वितीय,** उन्होंने एक आदर्श राज्य की स्थापना के लिए अपना विचार दिया। तपन राय चौधरी के लिए "गाँधी जी का हिन्द स्वराज्य आधुनिक पाश्चात्य सभ्यता की दृढ़ आलोचना है और वह भारतीय संस्कृति के मूल्यों पर आधारित है, जिस पर उनका पूर्ण विश्वास था। इस लेख में उन्होंने कहीं भी यह नही दर्शाया कि हम हीन भावना का अनुभव करे और उसकी क्षतिपूर्ति करने के लिए हमें आत्म-आश्वासन की आवश्यकता पड़ेगी। इसमें कोई शक नही कि उन्होंने कुछ सामग्री प्राचीन आत्म-निर्भर ग्रामीण समुदायों के प्रतिमानो से ली है जिसे उन्होंने अपना आदर्श बनाया था। परन्तु सारांश में वे एक ऐसे भावनात्मक एवं वैचारिक प्राथमिकता को दर्शाते हैं जो एक परम्परागत भारतीय परिवार में उनके जीवन अनुभव पर आधारित है।" तपन राय चौधरी इसे

एक परिकल्पना के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते है जिसकी पुष्टि करना अति मुश्किल नही है। वे भारतीय जीवन शैली के साथ भावनात्मक रूप से जुड़े होने के कारण उन मूल्यों को सांस्कृतिक मूल्यों के रूप में पाश्चात्य भारतीयों के सामने अवधारित करना चाहते थे। वह भारतीय लोग जो यूरोप के प्रभाव से आकर्षित हो रहे थे, वे भी पाश्चात्य जीवनी के अर्न्त-मानवीय सम्बन्धों में गुणात्मक मूल्यों के अभाव का अनुभव कर रहे थे। गाँधीजी के इस कथन पर कि भारतीय सभ्यता श्रेष्ठ है, कोई भी गाँधीजी के बारे में यह अनुमान लगा सकता है कि वे एक विशेष प्रकार के सामाजिक पारस्परिक (भारतीय) सम्बन्धों के साथ कितना लगाव रखते थे जो व्यक्ति को अन्य मानवीय महत्वाकांक्षाओं की प्राप्ति के लिए नहीं उकसा पाता।

स्वराज्य की अवधारणा
(Concept of Home Rule)

गाँधी जी ने कहा, "यह सम्भव है कि हम स्वराज्य रूपी शब्द को वही अर्थ न दे पाएँ..... जिस स्वराज्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए सभी भारतीय आतुर हैं, परन्तु अब तक हम इस शब्द से अश्वस्थ नही हैं कि दरअसल यह है क्या ? अंग्रेजो को भारत से भगा देने के विचार को अनेक मुखों से सुना, परन्तु लगता नही कि अनेक लोग ऐसा क्यों किया जाए का उत्तर जानते हैं।" इसके अतिरिक्त वे एक और प्रश्न दागते हैं, "अगर हम जो भी चाहते हैं वह मिल जाए तब क्या यह आवश्यक है कि हम अंग्रेजों को देश से भगा दे ?" गाँधी ने अनेक अन्य प्रश्न भी पूछे, जैसे, भारत से अंग्रेजों के जाने के बाद भारतवासी क्या करेंगें ? अगर वे हमारा रूपया-पैसा नहीं ले जाते, स्वभाव से सरल हो जाते हैं और हमें उत्तरदायी पदवियाँ सौपें, तब भी क्या भारतीय उनकी उपस्थिति को नुकसानदायक समझेगें ? अगर हम कनाडा तथा दक्षिण-अफ्रीका के समान स्व-शासन प्राप्त कर लेते है तब क्या वह पर्याप्त होगा ? आदि। तब गाँधीजी ने कहा, "लोगों ने तस्वीर सही खींची है। वास्तव में इसका अर्थ यह है कि हमें अंग्रेजों के बिना अंग्रेजी शासन चाहिए। हमे चीता नही, चीते की प्रकृति चाहिए। इसका कारण यह हुआ कि हम भारतीय अंग्रेज को निर्मित करेगें और जब वह अंग्रेज बन जाएगा, तब वह हिन्दुस्तान नहीं इंग्लिश्तान कहलाएगा। इस प्रकार का स्वराज्य मुझे नही चाहिए।" गाँधीजी ने स्पष्ट रूप से कहा कि जिसे हम स्वराज्य समझते हैं वह वास्तव में स्वराज्य नही है।

टोम वेबर (Tom Weber) के अनुसार, "गाँधी जब भी स्वराज्य के बारे में बात करते हैं, अथवा स्वतन्त्रता अथवा मुक्ति की बात करते हैं, जिसकी ब्रिटिश शासन से भारतीय राष्ट्र की मुक्ति के रूप से प्राय: व्याख्या की जाती है। फिर भी, गाँधी की राजनीतिक क्रियाशीलता में इसकी एक अधिक तात्विक भूमिका रही है। गांधी शिक्षा के महत्व को अधिक मान्यता देते थे। उनके अनुसार शिक्षा आत्माओं को प्रशिक्षित करती है तथा व्यक्तियों के चरित्र को विकसित करती है। ताकि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति उसके द्वारा प्रवीणता प्राप्त कर सके। स्वराज्य का अर्थ है 'स्व-शासन' और उसे केवल राजनीतिक स्व-शासन तक सीमित करके, हम एक बहुत बड़ी भूल कर बैठेगें। तीन अभियान राजनीतिक गतिविधि के तीन अलग-अलग भाग नही है, परन्तु स्वराज्य के जीवन भर की खोज के उदाहरण हैं, जिसे अस्थाईपूर्वक बृहत्त स्तर पर केन्द्रित किया गया है।" स्वराज्य का तात्पर्य अंग्रेजों को भारत से भगाना नही है। गाँधीजी के लिए, स्वराज्य एक पवित्र तथा व्यापक शब्द है जिसमें अनेक अंशों का समावेश है।

गाँधीजी के स्वराज्य पर विचार का विवेचन करने से पूर्व, हम उनके सभ्यता पर विचारों का विवेचन करेगें।

सभ्यता
(Civilization)

गाँधीजी ने कहा, "एक महान अंग्रेजी लेखक ने 'सभ्यता: इसके कारण तथा उपचार' (Civilization : Its cause and Cure) नामक एक कृत को लिखा। उसमें उन्होंने उसे एक रोग के रूप से सम्बोधित किया है।" उन्होंने आगे कहा, "जो आधुनिक सभ्यता के नशे में उत्तेजित हैं वे इसके विरूद्ध लिखने की स्थिति में नही है। वे इस सभ्यता को उचित मानकर, अचेतित अवस्था में प्रयत्न करेगें कि ऐसे तथ्यों तथा तर्कों को खोज निकाला जाए जिससे इसे अपनाए जाने के लिए सहयोग प्राप्त हो सके। जब एक व्यक्ति सपना देखता है तब वह अपने सपने में विश्वास करता है। उसे निद्रा से जगाने के बाद ही वह वास्तविकता को समझता है। सभ्यता के विषाक्त में श्रम करने वाला एक व्यक्ति स्वप्न देखने वाले व्यक्ति के समान होता है। जो प्राय: हम पढ़ते हैं वह आधुनिक सभ्यता के प्रशंसकों द्वारा लिखा होता है, जो बेशक अपने प्रशंसकों में अधिक बुद्धिमान एवं कुछ बहुत अच्छे लोगों का भी समावेश कर लेते है। उनके लेख हमें वशीभूत कर लेते हैं, और इसलिए, एक के बाद एक, हम सब उनके बवंडर में खिचे चले जाते हैं।" इस ऊपर वर्णित परिकल्पना के लिए गाँधीजी ने अनेक उदाहरण दिए हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि आधुनिक सभ्यता केवल शारीरिक सुख के लिए ही कार्य कर रही है। उनका मुख्य उद्देश्य अच्छे घरों में रहना है तथा अच्छा भोजना खाना है। लोगों के अनुसार आधुनिक सभ्यता की वास्तविक परख इस बात से की जाती है कि क्या वह हमें हर प्रकार के शारीरिक सुख पहुँचा पाते हैं अथवा नहीं। "पूर्वकाल में, केवल चन्द लोग बहुमूल्य पुस्तकों की रचना करते थे। वर्तमान समय में, कोई भी कुछ भी लिख देता है और लोगों के दिमाग को विष से भर देता है। पूर्वसमय में लोग छकड़े में यात्रा किया करते थे। वर्तमान में रेलगाड़ी द्वारा चार सौ या इससे अधिक मीलों की यात्रा, प्रतिदिन, हवा से बातें करते हुए करते हैं। इसे सभ्यता की चरम सीमा माना जाता है। यह घोषित किया गया है कि जैसे मनुष्य प्रगति करेगा, वे हवाई जहाज द्वारा यात्रा कर सकेंगें और चन्द घन्टों में विश्व के किसी भी भाग में पहुँच सकेगें। मनुष्य को अपने हाथों व पावों को प्रयोग करने की आवश्यकता नही होगी। वे एक बटन को दबाएगें और उनका कपड़ा उनके पास होगा। वे एक अन्य बटन को दबाएगें और उनका समाचार पत्र उनके पास होगा।" इस सभ्यता को गाँधीजी ने "अधर्मी कहा और इसने यूरोप में जिन लोगों को अपने नियंत्रण में लिया वे अर्ध पागल दिखते हैं। उनमें वास्तविक ताकत अथवा साहस नहीं है। वे अपनी ऊर्जा को नशे के द्वारा प्राप्त करते हैं। वे अकेले में मुश्किल से ही खुश रह सकते हैं। स्त्रीयाँ, जिन्हें घर की रानी होना चाहिए, वे सड़कों में घूमती हैं अथवा कारखानों में दासत्व का जीवन बिताती हैं। चन्द पैसों के खातिर, केवल इंग्लैण्ड में ही आधा मिलियन स्त्रीयाँ कारखानों तथा इसी समान संस्थाओं में कठोर परिस्थितियों में श्रम करती हैं। यह डरावनी क्रिया बढ़ती हुई स्त्रीयों के लिए मताधिकार का आन्दोलन का कारण बनी" (एम.के. गाँधी, "हिन्द स्वराज्य")।

गाँधीजी के अनुसार, "सभ्यता मानव व्यवहार की वह पद्धति है जो मनुष्य के कर्तव्य के मार्ग की राह की तरफ संकेत करती है। कर्तव्य को निभाना तथा नैतिकता का पालन करना एक

ही बात है। नैतिकता का पालन करना अपने मस्तिष्क तथा अपनी उत्तेजना पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करना है। ऐसा करने से हमें अपने बारे में पता चलता है। गुजराती में सभ्यता का समनान्तर शब्द "सद् व्यवहार" है।" तपन रे चौधरी के अनुसार, "उनकी (गाँधीजी के) कल्पना की भारतीय सभ्यता का स्वरूप वास्तव में ग्रामीण स्वरूपीय था न कि पाश्चात्य नगर पर आधारित आधुनिक सभ्यता। इस सभ्यता की योग्यता तथा वैधता इस बात से सिद्ध होती है कि अनेक हजार वर्षों से इस पर अनेक प्रहार हुए, फिर भी यह आज भी जीवित है। यह पवित्र रही क्योंकि इसने मनुष्य के पवित्र स्वरूप को खोज निकाला। गाँधीजी ने खेतिहर जीवन के जंगली रूपी दिखने वाली स्थिति में छिपी हुई प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति को पहचाना और पाया कि यह तो ग्रामीण भारतीय असभ्यता में ढ़की हुई पड़ी है। इस प्राचीन संस्कृति का संस्थागत सिद्धान्त प्राचीन समय में स्व-शासित, आत्म-निर्भर तथा शांतिमय ग्रामीण समुदाय था। उन्होंने जाति व्यवस्था में एक ऐसी सामाजिक व्यवस्था को देखा जो मानवीय स्वभाव की मुख्य विभिन्नताओं को स्वीकार करती है; अस्पृश्यता एक सत्यपथ से विचलन है, जो कृपा की स्थिति से गिर गयी है। उपानिषदों के दिनों से ही देखा जाए तो प्रतीत होता है कि भारतीय समाज विशेषकर सहनशील रहा है और वे बाहर से विश्वास में विभिन्न स्वरूपीय रूप से दिखता है। यह विभिन्न सांस्कृतियों का महान संवाद है और इस संस्कृति में अनेक अन्य सांस्कृतियों के समावेश का सामर्थ्य है। इस प्रकार मानव मूल्यों की दृष्टि से देखा जाए तब यह प्रतीय होता है कि आधुनिक यूरोपीय सभ्यता जो निरन्तर अतृप्त इच्छाओं की पूर्ति करने के लिए प्रतिस्पर्धा, भौतिकवादिता तथा हिंसा में व्यवस्थ है, की तुलना में भारतीय सभ्यता अति उत्तम है, (Tapan Raychaudhri, "Perceptions, Emotions, Sensibilities : Essays on India's Colonial and Post-colonial Experiences")।

स्वराज्य पर विचार
(Views on Home Rule—*Swaraj*)

रूडाल्फ सी० हेरेडिया के लिए गाँधीजी "मौलिक रूप से 'स्वराज्य' की पुर्न-व्याख्या करते हैं तथा इसे दौहरा अर्थ देते हैं। मौलिक गुजराती शब्द इसका दोनों अर्थों में उपयोग करता है। गाँधीजी द्वारा इस शब्द का अंग्रेजी अनुवाद इस दोहरे रूप को बाह्य रूप से प्रकट करता है : स्वराज्य का 'आत्म-शासन' तथा 'स्व-शासन' के रूप में। **पहला,** आत्म-शासन के रूप में, स्वयं पर शासन और यह दूसरा, स्वशासन का आधार है। इस **दूसरे** अर्थ में, गाँधीजी के मस्तिष्क में वास्तव में यही स्थानीय स्व-शासन था। निश्चय ही गाँधीजी ने स्व-शासन से पूर्व आत्म-शासन को प्राथमिकता दी और इन दोनों को राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता के ऊपर प्राथमिकता दी" (Ruldolf C. Heredia, "Interpreting Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*", Economic and Political Weekly, June 12, 1999)। रूडाल्फ सी० हेरेडिया आगे लिखता है, "स्वराज्य के दोनों ही अर्थों के लिए आवश्यक था आत्म-सम्मान और गाँधीजी का यह ही उपनिवेशी शासन के लिए उत्तर है। गाँधीजी के लिए स्वतन्त्रता का अति मौलिक अर्थ 'आत्म-सिद्धि' के लिए स्वतन्त्रता से है। परन्तु यह स्वतन्त्रता श्रम करने वाले लोगों के लिए, विशेषाधिकार युक्त वर्गों के लिए और सबसे महत्वपूर्ण रूप से सबसे छोटे तथा आखरी भारतीय, सभी के लिए है। इस रूप में, गाँधीजी ने वास्तव में सर्वोदया रूपी सिद्धान्त को व्यक्त किया। इसने लोगों के कल्याण

को न कि राष्ट्रीय घमन्ड को केन्द्र बिन्दु बनाया।" "राष्ट्र-भक्ति से मेरा अभिप्राय सभी लोगों के कल्याण से है, और, अगर मैं इसे अंग्रेजों के हाथ से प्राप्त करने में सफल हुआ, तब मुझे उनके सामने सिर झुकाना होगा।" उन्होंने आगे कहा, "मेरे लिए देश-भक्ति स्वतन्त्रता एवं शान्ति की भूमि में प्रवेश करने की यात्रा में एक अवस्था होगी" (M.K. Gandhi, "Young India, April 13, 1914")। उन्होंने कहा कि स्वराज्य भारतीयों तथा अंग्रेजों द्वारा दी जाने वाली वस्तु नही है, परन्तु यह वह वस्तु है जिसे लोगों द्वारा अपने लिए स्वयं प्राप्त करना होगा।

स्वराज्य का अर्थ स्वदेशी अनुभूतियों के आधार पर आत्म-सम्मान, आत्म-ज्ञान तथा आत्म-निर्भरता है। इसीलिए गाँधीजी ने स्वदेशी रूपी स्वच्छ भारतीय सभ्यता के प्रतीक के रूप में 'चर्खा' एवं 'खादी' को प्रस्तुत किया। गाँधीजी ने खादी को निम्नलिखित के लिए प्रतीक के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया :

(क) भारतीय मानवता की एकता;

(ख) उसकी आर्थिक स्वतन्त्रता; तथा

(ग) समानता।

गाँधीजी यन्त्र-तंत्र अथवा पाश्चात्य सभ्यता के विरोधी नही थे परन्तु वे भारत के लिए विदेशी आदर्शों को हूबहू स्वीकार करने के विरोधी थे। गाँधीजी ने कहा, "रेलगाड़ी, वकीलों तथा डॉक्टरों ने देश को इतना कंगाल बना दिया है कि अगर हम समय से नही जगे तो हम बर्बाद हो जाएगें।"

गाँधीजी के अनुसार, "रेलगाड़ी के अभाव में अंग्रेजों का भारत पर ऐसा नियन्त्रण नही होता जैसे वास्तव में है। रेलवे ने भी गिल्टीनुमा प्लेग को फैलाया। इसके बिना लोग जगह-जगह विचर नही सकते। वे प्लेग के कीटाणुओं की ढुलाई करते हैं। पहले समय में हम प्राकृतिक रूप से पृथकृत थे। रेलवे ने अकाल की तीव्रता को भी बढ़ा दिया है क्योंकि यातायात की सुविधा के कारण लोग अपने अनाज को बेच देते है और लोग उसे उस बाज़ार में भेज देते हैं जहाँ उन्हे अच्छा मूल्य मिल जाता है। लोग लापरवाह हो जाते हैं और अकाल की सम्भावना व दबाव बढ़ जाता है। रेलवे लोगों की दुष्ट प्रकृति को बढ़ावा देती है। परन्तु मनुष्य अपने दुष्ट लक्ष्य को अधिक शीघ्रता के साथ पूरा करते है। भारत के पवित्र स्थान अपवित्र हो गए है। पहले, इन स्थानों में बड़ी मुश्किलातों का सामना करके पहुँच पाते थे। इसलिए सामान्य तौर पर केवल सच्चे भक्त ही इन स्थानों पर जाया करते थे। अब तो धूर्त इन स्थानों में जाते हैं ताकि वे अपनी दुष्टता का वहाँ अभ्यास कर सकें।" इस बात को अस्वीकार करते हुए कि अंग्रजों की रेलवे ने एक राष्ट्र अथवा भारत को जन्म दिया, गाँधीजी ने कहा, "हमारी जीवन प्रणाली उसी समान थी। चूँकि हम एक राष्ट्र थे इसलिए वे एक साम्राज्य की स्थापना में सफल हुए। इसके बाद उन्होंने हमें विभक्त किया।" भारतवासी एक राष्ट्र होने के कारण ही विभिन्न क्षेत्रों की भाषाओं तथा सांस्कृतियों से सुसज्जित हैं। आत्म-निर्भरता की भावना के अभाव ने हमारे जीवन के परम्परागत जाल को नष्ट कर डाला है। गाँधीजी का विचार था कि स्वराज्य का आधार अधिकार नही है परन्तु कर्तव्य भी इसका महत्वपूर्ण संघटक है।

गाँधीजी के अनुसार, वकीलों ने झगड़ों को दबाने के स्थान पर उन्हे बढ़ावा दिया। उन्होंने कहा कि एक व्यक्ति मतभेदों को निपटाने के लिए वकील नही बनता परन्तु उससे अत्याधिक लाभ उठाने के लिए वकील बनता है। गाँधीजी के लिए, "अमीर बनने के लिए यह अनेक द्वारों

में से एक है और उनका हित मतभेदों के बढ़ते रहने पर निर्भर करता है। यह मेरे ज्ञान के भीतर है कि वे तब सन्तुष्ट होते हैं जब उनके पास मतभेद अधिक मात्रा में होते हैं। वास्तव में छोटे-मोटे वकील उन्हे उत्पन्न करते हैं। उनके दलाल, अनेक जीवों के समान गरीब लोगों के खून को चूसते हैं।" अधिक महत्वपूर्ण रूप से चूँकि वकील अंग्रेजी कानूनी व्यवस्था से परिचित हैं इसलिए वे अंग्रेजी जड़ों को भारत में और अधिक मजबूत करेगें। गांधी जी के अनुसार स्वराज्य के लिए, झगड़ों के निपटारे के लिए वकीलों की कोई आवश्यकता नही होती है।

डाक्टरों के संदर्भ में गाँधीजी ने कहा कि वे हमें अधिक खाने के लिए प्रलोभित करते हैं क्योंकि वे हमारे शरीर को आराम देने के लिए हैं। दवाई की प्रक्रिया की निरन्तरता के द्वारा मनुष्य अपने मस्तिष्क पर नियन्त्रण खो बैठता है। गाँधीजी के लिए आत्म-नियन्त्रण एक गुण है और यह स्वराज्य के लिए एक आवश्यक शर्त है। गाँधीजी के लिए 'स्वदेशी' 'स्वराज्य' की खोज का एक यन्त्र है। गाँधीजी द्वारा 'खादी' एवं 'चर्खे' पर जोर देना केवल 'स्वदेशी' को अच्छे ढ़ग से चित्रित तथा विज्ञप्ति करना था। स्वदेशी का मुख्य उद्देश्य बिना हमारे जीवन के परम्परागत जाल को तबाह किए स्थानीय वस्तुओं तथा स्थानीय माध्यमों का प्रयोग करना था।

गाँधीजी ने स्वराज्य के तीन मूल विषयों को प्रस्तुत किया। आत्म-सम्मान, आत्म-ज्ञान तथा आत्म-निर्भरता। एक व्यक्ति अपने देश की संस्कृति एवं परम्परा को सम्मानित करके ही आत्म-सम्मान प्राप्त कर सकता है। आत्म-ज्ञान से तात्पर्य एक व्यक्ति के वास्तविक गर्भित एवं आत्म-निर्भर माध्यम को अनुभव करना और किसी अन्य पर नही परन्तु खुद पर निर्भर करना है। उन्होंने चाहा कि राज्य कम-से-कम कार्य करे क्योंकि उन्होंने वास्तव में राज्य को हिंसा, पाशविकता तथा शांतिभंग करने वाले यन्त्र के रूप में देखा।

हिन्द स्वराज्य में गाँधीजी ने 'निष्क्रिय अवरोध' ('Passive resistence') को 'स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के लिए हथियार' के रूप से परिभाषित किया। गाँधीजी ने कहा, "निष्क्रिय अवरोध व्यक्तिगत दुख उठाकर अधिकार प्राप्ति का एक तरीका है, यह हथियार द्वारा अवरोध का विपरीत है।" भीखू पारेख के शब्दों में, "तब गाँधीजी का सत्याग्रह तर्क, नैतिकता तथा राजनीति का स्वदेशी मिश्रण था। यह विरोधी के मस्तिष्क, दिल तथा हितों को अनुरोध करता है।" (Bhikhu Parekh–"Gandhi's satyagraha then was an ingenious combination of reason, morality and politics, it appealed to the opponents' head, heart and interests", Gandhi's Political Philosophy : A Critical Examination"). गाँधीजी के लिए निष्क्रिय अवरोध, अथवा आत्म-शक्ति के सामने अन्य शक्तियाँ तुच्छ हैं। उनके लिए, "निष्क्रिय अवरोध अनेक तरफा तलवार है जिसे किसी भी रूप से प्रयोग किया जा सकता है; यह प्रयोग करने वाले को आशीर्वादित करती है तथा जिसके विरूद्ध प्रयोग किया गया है, उसे भी आशीर्वादित करती है। यह बिना खून की एक बूँद बहाए दूरगामी परिणाम को जन्म देती है। इस पर कभी जंग नही चढ़ता और न ही इसकी चोरी हो सकती है। निष्क्रिय अवरोध करने वालों की प्रतिस्पर्धा कभी समाप्त नही होती। निष्क्रिय अवरोध के हथियार को रखने के लिए किसी मियान की आवश्यकता नही हैं।" गाँधीजी ने आगे कहा कि देश की सेवा में निष्क्रिय अवरोधी बनने के लिए एक व्यक्ति को शुद्धता का अनुपालन करना होगा, गरीबी को स्वीकार करना होगा, सत्य का पालन करना होगा तथा निडरता का अभ्यास करना होगा।

गाँधीजी यन्त्र-तन्त्र के अधिकतम उपयोग के विरूद्ध थे। उन्होंने कहा, "यन्त्र-तन्त्र ने यूरोप को वीरान करना प्रारम्भ कर दिया है। तबाही अंग्रेजों के दरवाजे को खट्खटा रही हे। यन्त्र-तन्त्र

आधुनिक सभ्यता का मुख्य प्रतीक है; यह एक बड़े पाप का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है। मुंबई के कारखानों के मज़दूर दास बन गए हैं। कारखानों में कार्यरत स्त्रीयों की स्थिति चौंका देने वाली है। जब कोई कारखाना नही था तब यह स्त्रीयाँ भूख से पीड़ित नही थीं। अगर देश में यन्त्र-तन्त्र का पागलपन विकसित होगा तब यह अभागी भूमि हो जाएगी। इसे एक पाखंड मान लिया जाए, परन्तु गाँधीजी आगे कहते हैं कि मैं यह कहने के लिए बाध्य हूँ कि हमारे लिए अच्छा यह होगा कि हम भारत में यन्त्र-तन्त्र में वृद्धि करने की बजाए, मेन्चेस्टर को पैसा भेजे और मेन्चेस्टर के महीन कपड़ों का प्रयोग करें। मेन्चेस्टर के कपड़ों को पहनकर हम अपने पैसे को ही बर्बाद करेगें, परन्तु भारत में मेन्चेस्टर को जन्म देकर हम अपने खून की कीमत को चुका कर उस पैसे को बचाएगें, क्योंकि हमारी नैतिक जीवनी ही जड़ समेत उखड़ जाएगी.....। और जिन्होंने कारखानों से धन-सम्पत्ति लूटी है वे अन्य अमीर लोगों से बेहतर होने की संभावना नही रखते। यह मानना भूल होगा कि भारतीय राक्फेल्लर अमरीकी राक्फेल्लर से अच्छा होगा। निर्धन किया हुआ भारत स्वतन्त्र हो सकता है, अपितु किसी भी भारत को पुनः स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त करने के लिए अनैतिक रूप से अमीर बनाना बहुत मुश्किल होगा। हमें इस बात को स्वीकार करना होगा कि सम्पत्तिवान व्यक्ति ब्रिटिश शासन को सहयोग देता है; उनका हित उसकी स्थिरता के साथ बँधा हुआ है। पैसा मनुष्य को असहाय बना देता है। अन्य वस्तु जो इसके समान ही नुकसानदायक है वह है लैंगिक अधर्म। दोनों ही विष है। इन दोनों की तुलना में साँप द्वारा काटा जाना कम जहरीला साबित होगा, क्योंकि साँप का काटना शरीर को तबाह करता है परन्तु यह दोनों, शरीर, मन तथा आत्मा तीनों को तबाह कर देते हैं। इसलिए हमें कारखानों के औद्योगिक विकास की संभावना से सन्तुष्ट नही होना चाहिए।"

संक्षिप्त में, गाँधीजी कहते है, "प्रत्येक अपना कर्तव्य करे। अगर मैं अपना कर्तव्य निभाता हूँ, या स्वयं की सेवा करता हूँ, तब मैं दूसरों की सेवा कर सकूँगा। मैं इसे यहाँ निम्नलिखित रूप से दोहराना चाहता हूँ :

1. वास्तविक स्व-शासन, आत्म-शासन अथवा आत्म-नियन्त्रण है।
2. इसे प्राप्त करने का माध्यम निष्क्रिय अवरोध है : या आत्म-बल अथवा प्रेम-बल।
3. इस बल का संपादन करने के लिए, हर दृष्टिकोण से स्वदेशी आवश्यक है।
4. हम जो चाहते हैं सो हमें करना चाहिए, इसलिए नही कि चूँकि हम अंग्रेजों का विरोध करते है अथवा चूँकि हम प्रतिकार करना चाहते हैं, परन्तु इसलिए क्योंकि यह हमारा कर्तव्य है कि हम ऐसा करें।

इस प्रकार, अगर हम मान लें अंग्रेज नमक-कानून हटा देते हैं, हमारा पैसा वापिस कर देते हैं, ऊँची पदवियाँ भारतीयों को देते हैं, अंग्रेजी सेना को वापिस बुला लेते हैं, हम अवश्य ही उनके यन्त्र द्वारा उत्पादित वस्तु का सेवन नही करेगें, न ही अंग्रेजी भाषा का उपयोग करेंगे, न ही उनके अनेक उद्योगों का ही प्रयोग करेंगे। एक बात गौर करने की आवश्यकता है कि यह वस्तुऐं प्रकृति से नुकसानदायक है; इसलिए हमें इनकी आवश्यकता नही है। मुझे अंग्रेजों के साथ कोई दुश्मनी नही है परन्तु उनकी सभ्यता से है। मेरे विचार में, हमने "स्वराज्य" के वास्तविक अर्थ को समझे बिना इसे प्रयोग किया है। जिस प्रकार मैने इसे समझा है, उसी रूप से इसे वर्णन करने की जरूरत है, और मेरी चेतना गवाह है कि अब से मेरा जीवन इसकी प्राप्ति के लिए समर्पित होगा", (एम.के. गाँधी, "हिन्द स्वराजय")।

गाँधीजी का आदर्श राज्य
(Ideal State of Gandhiji)

1. **ईश्वर का राज** (Kingdom of God)–टाम वेबर (Tom Weber) के अनुसार, "गाँधीजी के सामने एक आदर्श समाज का चित्र था जिसे उन्होंने समाज के सामने रखने का प्रयत्न किया। इस आदर्श राज्य का लक्ष्य व्यक्ति के लिए सत्य की प्राप्ति थी जिसे सामुहिक प्रयत्न द्वारा प्राप्त करना था। इस स्वप्न को "रामराज्य" अथवा "ईश्वर का राज" कहते हैं, जहाँ राजकुमारों तथा दरिद्रों को समान अधिकार मिलेगा, जहाँ निम्नतम व्यक्ति को भी बिना महँगी प्रक्रिया के शीघ्रतम न्याय प्राप्त होगा, जहाँ कुछ लोगों को अमीरी में लोटपोट होने तथा अधिकांश लोगों के लिए खाने के लिए भी कुछ न हो जैसी असमानता को समाप्त किया जा चुका होगा, और जहाँ लोगों की प्रभुसत्ता स्वच्छ नैतिक सत्ता पर आधारित होगी न कि क्रूर शक्ति पर। देश के लिए राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता रामराज्य प्राप्ति की दिशा में एक कदम रहा हो सकता है, परन्तु अवश्य ही वह इस दिशा में कोई आश्वासन नही है।"

2. **राजनीतिक शक्ति की समाप्ति** (Abolition of Political Power)–गाँधीजी के लिए "राजनीतिक शक्ति एक साध्य नही है परन्तु अनेक साधनों में से ऐसा एक साधन है जो लोगों के जीवन के विभिन्न अंशों की स्थितियों को सुधारने में मदद् करता है। राजनीतिक शक्ति का तात्पर्य राष्ट्रीय जीवन को राष्ट्रीय प्रतिनिधियों के द्वारा नियमित करने का सामर्थ्य है। अगर राष्ट्रीय जीवन इतना निपुण हो जाता है कि वह आत्म-नियमित हो जाता है तब किसी प्रतिनिधित्व की आवश्यकता नही रह जाती। तब वहाँ प्रबुद्ध अराजकता की स्थिति होगी। ऐसे राज्य में प्रत्येक व्यक्ति स्वयं का शासक होगा। वह इस ढंग से अपने ऊपर शासन करेगा कि वह कभी भी उसके पड़ोसी के लिए बाधा साबित नही होगा। इसलिए, आदर्श राज्य में कोई शक्ति नही है क्योंकि वहाँ कोई राज्य नही है। परन्तु आदर्श कभी भी जीवन में पूर्ण रूप से सम्भव नही है। इसलिए थोरो (Thoreau) के परम्परागत कथन कि वह राज्य उत्तम है जो कम शासन करता है, सही है" (M.K. Gandhi, "Young India, 7 जुलाई, 1931)।

3. **अहिंसक राज्य** (Non-Violent State)–'हिन्द स्वराज्य' आधुनिक सभ्यता का नैतिक निराकरण (condemnation) करता है; इसलिए यह और भी अधिक छेदक, दबाव डालने वाला एवं व्याकुल है। वह अहिंसक राज्य का पाठ पढ़ाता है। जब गाँधीजी ने कहा, "तुम लोगों को अहिंसा नही सिखा सकते। यह केवल व्यक्तियों के लिए सम्भव है और वह भी विरली घटनाओं में, तब अनेक लोगों ने हामी में सिर हिलाया। मेरे विचार में यह सबसे बड़ा आत्म-धोखा है। अगर मनुष्य प्राकृतिक रूप से अहिंसक न होता तब तो सदियों पूर्व ही उसने स्वयं को तबाह कर दिया होता। परन्तु हिंसा तथा अहिंसा की ताकतों के मध्य संघर्ष में हमेशा अन्त में अहिंसा ही विजयी रही है। सत्य बात तो यह है कि हममे कभी आवश्यक सहनशीलता थी ही नहीं। हम अपने पूरे दिलो-दिमाग से अहिंसा की सीख लोगों को दें और इसे राजनीतिक लक्ष्य प्राप्त करने के लिए साधन के रूप से प्रयोग करें एवं इन्तजार करें," (Young India, जनवरी 2, 1930)। आगे उन्होंने कहा कि अहिंसक राज्य ही केवल आदर्श राज्य है। उन्होंने कहा कि अहिंसा पर आधारित स्वराज्य में लोगों को अपने अधिकारों के बारे में जानने की आवश्यकता नही है परन्तु उन्हे यह आवश्यक है कि वे अपने कर्तव्यों की जानकारी रखे। ऐसी

स्थिति में कोई कर्तव्य नही है परन्तु यह अनुकूल अधिकारों को उत्पन्न करता है और वास्तव में वह ही वास्तविक अधिकार है जो एक व्यक्ति के कर्तव्यों के उचित पालन द्वारा उत्पन्न होते हैं। इसलिए वास्तविक नागरिक का अधिकार उन्ही लोगों को प्राप्त होगा जो उस देश की सेवा करेंगे जिससे वे सम्बन्धित हैं। और वे ही उन अधिकारों के प्रति न्याय कर सकेगें जो उन्हें प्राप्त होते हैं।

"प्रत्येक को यह अधिकार है कि वह झूट बोले अथवा गुन्डागर्दी करे। परन्तु यह समाज को और ऐसा करने वाले दोनों के लिए हानिकारक हैं। परन्तु व्यक्ति जो सत्य व अहिंसा दोनों का पालन करता है उसे इज्जत प्राप्त होती है और इज्जत अधिकारों को साथ लाती है। और ऐसे व्यक्ति जो कर्तव्य निभाकर अधिकार प्राप्त करते हैं, वे उन अधिकारों को अपने लिए नही अपितु समाज की सेवा पर लगा देते हैं। लोगों के लिए स्वराज्य का तात्पर्य व्यक्तियों के 'स्वराज्य' (आत्म-शासन) का योगफल है। और ऐसा स्वराज्य केवल तब आता है जब लोग केवल नागरिक होने के कारण ही उनका कर्तव्य निभाते हैं। इसमें कोई भी अपने अधिकार के बारे में नहीं सोचता। वे तब आते है जब अपने कर्तव्यों को सही रूप से निभाने के कारण, आवश्यकता पड़ने पर प्राप्त हो जाते हैं, (Young India, मार्च, 25, 1939)।

गाँधीजी ने कहा, 'अहिंसा पर आधारित स्वराज्य में कोई भी किसी भी व्यक्ति का दुश्मन नही है, सभी लोग, नर व नारी, सामान्य लक्ष्य की प्राप्ति हेतु अपने देय योग्य अंश देगें, सभी लिख व पढ़ सकेगें, और उनका ज्ञान दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ता चला जाएगा। रोग तथा व्याधि न के बराबर कम हो जाएगी। कोई भी कंगला नही रहेगा और श्रमिकों को हमेशा रोजगार मिलेगा। ऐसी सरकार के अधीन जुआ, नशा तथा अनैतिकता अथवा नफ़रत के लिए कोई स्थान नही होगा। और अमीर अपनी धन-सम्पत्ति को अपने दिखावे तथा सांसारिक सुख पर नष्ट करने के स्थान पर, उसे बुद्धिमता तथा उपयोगी रूप से खर्च करेंगे। ऐसा नही होना चाहिए कि चन्द अमीर लोग रत्न जटित महलों में रहें और लाखों, सूर्य रोशनी अथवा रोशनदान के बिना झोपड़ी में रहते हों.....। अहिंसक स्वराज्य में किसी के उचित अधिकार पर कोई अतिक्रमण नही होगा; इसके विपरीत किसी के पास भी अनुचित अधिकार नही हो सकता। एक सुसंगठित राज्य में, अनाधिकृत रूप से ग्रहण करना बहुत मुश्किल होगा और एक बलापहार करने वाले व्यक्ति को बेदखल करने के लिए शक्ति का प्रयोग करना बेकार होगा', (Young India, 25 मार्च, 1939)।

एक बार गाँधीजी ने कहा, "सामाजिक सुधार अथवा आत्म-शुद्धि.....मुझे सौ गुणा प्रिय लगती है न कि उसे करने में जिसे स्पष्ट रूप से राजनीतिक कार्य कहते हैं," और एक अन्य समय, जब गाँधीजी पर सविनय अवज्ञा लागू करने के लिए दबाव पड़ रहा था तब माधव देसाई ने गाँधीजी को यह कहते सुना, "सकारात्मक कार्य से पूर्व सविनय अवज्ञा को रखकर मैने बड़ी भूल की.....। मुझे डर था कि मैं अपने सह-कार्यकर्ताओं को नाराज कर बैठूँगा और इसलिए दोषयुक्त अहिंसा को चलायमान रखा।" गाँधीजी यह जानते थे कि राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त करना आसान है न कि आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा नैतिक स्वतन्त्रता को अलग-अलग रूप से प्राप्त करना, क्योंकि वे "कम उत्तेजित तथा चमत्कारिक नहीं" हैं। गाँधीजी की जीवनी के सामाजिक एवं नैतिक पहलुओं की तरफ ध्यान केन्द्रित करने के स्थान पर राजनीतिक आत्मकथा पर प्रकाश डालना भी अधिक उत्तेजनात्मक तथा चमत्कारिक सा प्रतीत होता है।

गाँधीजी के मुख्य सह-कार्यकर्ता, जो उनके रचनात्मक कार्यों में हाथ बटाते थे, जैसे जमनालाल बजाज, वे कम से कम उनके लिए उतने ही महत्वपूर्ण थे जितने उनके राजनीतिक सह-कार्यकर्त्ता थे, लगता है कि यह अभिलेख में से खो गया है, (Tom Weber, "The Political Gandhi and the Whole Gandhi") । टी.के. माधवन (T.K. Madhavan) के अनुसार गाँधीजी अपने हिन्द स्वराज्य द्वारा स्वराज्य अथवा स्व-शासन की प्राप्ति के लिए हिंसा को विशेषकर एक पद्धति के रूप से प्रयोग करने को आधुनिक सभ्यता की देन मानते थे। गाँधीजी के लिए आधुनिक सभ्यता तथा इसकी समस्याओं के मूल में मौजूद मूल्यों का, हिंसा ही अनिवार्य परिणाम था। जब तक मनुष्य के भाग्य का आधुनिक सभ्यता निर्माण करेगी, तब तक हिंसा ही प्राकृतिक परिणाम होगा। इसलिए उन्होंने अपनी नैतिक भावुकता को निर्देशित किया कि वह आधुनिक सभ्यता के उन तत्वों के बारे में भंड़ाफोड़ करे जो नासूर की तरह आधुनिक गर्भ में विकसित हो रहे हैं और अंतर्विरोधों को जन्म दे रहे है और जो अन्त में उसके पतन को जन्म देगे।"

4. राजनीतिक शक्ति का विकेन्द्रीकरण (Decentralization of Political Power)– गाँधीजी समस्त राज्य शक्ति को तुरन्त समाप्त करने तथा उन्मूलन के पक्ष में नही थे। परन्तु उनका तुरन्त कदम अहिंसा के नियमों पर आधारित होकर राज्य की नीतियों को सुधारना था। उनके अनुसार आधुनिक पाश्चात्य सभ्यता एक हिंसात्मक सभ्यता है। गाँधीजी का आदर्श राज्य, स्वभाव में अधिक लोकतन्त्रीय थी। उन्होंने 'ग्राम पंचायतों' तक शक्ति के विकेन्द्रीकरण के लिए सिफारिश की। गाँधीजी का आदर्श राज्य अहिंसात्मक राज्य था और जिसका जीवन आत्म-नियंत्रित था। उनके अनुसार, "लोकतन्त्र में व्यक्ति की इच्छा, लोकतन्त्र के द्वारा तथा लोकतन्त्र के लिए शासित है। अगर प्रत्येक व्यक्ति अपने हाथ में कानून हथिया ले, तब कोई राज्य नही रहेगा, वह अराजकता हो जाएगी, अथवा सामाजिक कानून अथवा राज्य का अभाव हो जाएगा। इस रूप से स्वतन्त्रता का नाश हो जाएगा," (The Harijan, September 28, 1947) । अति सूक्ष्म राज्य गाँधीजी का आदर्श राज्य है। अशोक मेहता के अनुसार, "लोकतन्त्रीय राज्य शासन-पद्धति की गाँधीजी ने कल्पना की, उन्होंने सत्ता के हस्तांतरण का फैलाव कर दिया, वास्तव में, नीचे से ऊपर की तरफ निर्मित, और इस प्रकार से समुदाय की जैविक कोशिकाओं को परिरक्षित किया," (Ashok Mehta, "Reflections on the Socialist Era") । गाँधीजी ने विकेन्द्रीकरण के पक्ष में बहस करते हुए कहा, "मैं सुझाव देता हूँ कि अगर भारत को अहिंसा की राह पर चलना है तब उसे अनेक चीजों का विकेन्द्रीकरण करना होगा। बिना पर्याप्त शक्ति के केन्द्रीकरण को परिरक्षित तथा बचाव करना मुश्किल है। साधारण घर, जहाँ से ले जाने के लिए कुछ भी न हो, वहाँ पुलिस की आवश्यकता नही है; परन्तु अमीरों के महलों में ताकतवर पहरेदारों की आवश्यकता है ताकि उन्हें डाकुओं से सुरक्षा प्राप्त हो। इसी प्रकार से बृहत्त कारखानों के लिए भी ताकतवर पहरेदारों की आवश्यकता है। ग्रामीण ढंग से सुसंगठित भारत को विदेशी आक्रमण का जोखिम कम होगा, परन्तु शहरीकृत भारत, जिसके पास हथियारों से लैस जल, स्थल एवं वायु सेना हो उसे विदेशी आक्रमण का जोखिम अधिक होगा। अहिंसा संरचित समाज में केन्द्रीकरण रूपी अवस्था परस्पर विरोधी है", (Young India, जनवरी 18, 1942) ।

उपसंहार
(Conclusion)

रूडाल्फ सी० हेरेडिया के अनुसार, "गाँधीजी की समानता की खोज कुछ ऐसी है जिसे हमारा जटिल संसार नही निभा सकेगा; ऐसा लगता है कि हमने समानता के इस आदर्श को न केवल त्याग दिया है, वरन् हमारे समाज के प्रतिफल तथा बोझ, के समान वितरण की खोज को भी त्याग दिया है और फिर भी आज, टेगोर के विशिष्ट वर्गीय 'ऊपरी समतलीकरण' से गाँधीजी का सर्वहारा वर्गीय 'निम्न समतलीकरण' अधिक सम्भव सा प्रतीत होता है। इस प्रकार के दृश्य-विधान में गाँधीजी द्वारा प्रतिपादित स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के लिए सर्वोदय रूपी विचार की प्रासंगिकता को हमें फिर से जाँचने की आवश्यकता है। अवश्य ही आज जिस प्रकार नई आर्थिक नीति के उपभोगीतावाद तथा अन्यायपूर्ण विभेद को हमारा देश स्वागत करता सा प्रतीत होता है, की तुलना में, एक विकेन्द्रीकृत सहभागी लोकतन्त्र एवं मानवीय समाज, एक अधिक आकर्षक, या बेजिझक यूँ कहिए कि एक अधिक जीने योग्य आदर्श बन गया है। अवश्य, वह राष्ट्रीय सरकार जो स्थानीय समस्याओं के प्रति ध्यान देने के लिए बहुत बड़ी हों तथा विश्व समस्याओं के प्रति ध्यान देने के लिए अधिक छोटी हो, उनके लिए सहायता देना ही सही सुझाव सा प्रतीत होता है।" भारत अपने संविधान को संशोधित करता रहा है और एक बार फिर 73वें तथा 74वें संशोधनों के द्वारा उसने पंचायती राज एवं जनजातीय स्व-शासन की पुष्टि की है। यह गाँधीजी के आदर्शों की स्वीकृति के स्पष्ट संकेत है। उन्होंने अपने हिन्द स्वराज्य रूपी आदर्श राज्य द्वारा विकेन्द्रीकरण को प्रेरित किया था।

गाँधीजी के आलोचकों ने कहा कि उनका अहिंसक राज्य पूर्णत: स्वप्नलोकी है। अंग्रेजों ने भारत को इसलिए नहीं त्यागा कि वे प्रबुद्ध हो गए थे परन्तु इसलिए क्योंकि असहयोग के कारण प्रशासन को निर्विध्न चलाना बहुत मुश्किल हो गया था। डाक्टर आदि एच० (Doctor Adi H.) इस बात को स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार नही हैं कि गाँधीजी के अहिंसक आन्दोलन के कारण राष्ट्रीय स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त हुई। उनके द्वारा रचित 'राज्य-विहीन तथा वर्ग-विहीन' के सिद्धान्त ने उन्हें 'अराजकतावादी' रूपी ख़िताब दिला डाला था। होर्स अलेक्सेन्डर के अनुसार, "गाँधीजी एक स्वीकृत समाजवादी थे" (Horace Alexander, "Gandhi through Western Eye")।

महत्वपूर्ण प्रश्न
(Important Questions)

1. तिलक के स्वराज्य की अवधारणा का वर्णात्मकपूर्वक विवेचन कीजिए।
   Elaborately discuss Tilak's concept of *Swaraj*.
2. तिलक के स्वराज्य की अवधारणा की महत्वपूर्ण विशेषताएँ क्या हैं?
   What are the important characteristics of Tilak's concept of *Swaraj*.
3. गाँधीजी का राज्य पर विचारों का विवरणात्मक विवेचन कीजिए।
   Discuss elaborately the views of Gandhi on State.
4. गाँधीजी के अनुसार स्वराज्य प्राप्ति के क्या माध्यम थे?
   According to Gandhi what are the ways to achieve *Swaraj* ?

9

Tilak and Gandhi on Swaraj

Bal Gangadhar Tilak

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) born on July 23,1856 in Ratnagiri district, during pre-independence years was one of the most dashing leaders of political India. He came to be called 'Lokmanya'. With a graduation certificate from the Deccan College of Poona, he began his public career by setting up the New English School at Poona. After joining the Indian National Congress in 1891 he moved an Arms Act resolution at its annual conference for modifying the resolutions governing gun prohibition and Indians' involvement in the military.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a multifaceted personality. He is considered to be the 'Father of Indian Unrest'. He was a scholar of Indian history, Sanskrit, mathematics, astronomy and Hinduism. He had imbibed values, cultures and intelligence from his father Gangadhar Ramchandra Tilak, who was a Sanskrit scholar and a famous teacher. At the age of 10, Bal Gangadhar went to Pune with his family as his father was transferred. In Pune, he was educated in an Anglo-Vernacular school. After some years he lost his mother and at the age of 16 his father too. He got married to a 10-year-old girl named Satyabhama while he was studying in Matriculation. In 1877, Tilak completed his studies and continued with studying Law.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak on Swaraj (Home Rule)

With an aim to impart teachings about Indian culture and national ideals to India's youth, Tilak alongwith Agarkar and Vishnushstry founded the 'Deccan Education Society'. Soon after that Tilak started two weeklies, 'Kesari' and 'Marathi' to highlight plight of Indians. He also started the celebrations of Ganapati Festival and Shivaji Jayanti to bring people close together and join

the nationalist movement against British. In fighting for people's cause, twice he was sentenced to imprisonment.

Tilak was imprisoned in 1897 for 18 months and again in 1908 for six years, during which time he penned down his thoughts on the Bhagavad Gita to produce the Gitarahasya. To advance India's cause, he founded the Home Rule League in 1916. In the same year, he helped in ushering in the Lucknow Pact between the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League. He lent support to Gandhi's programmes including the Non-Cooperation Movement. His efforts led to the passing of a resolution for responsible cooperation with the administration on the Reforms Act at the Amritsar Congress in 1919.

Tilak joined Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal to constitute the triad 'Lal, Bal, Pal' which encouraged Swadeshi, national education, boycott of foreign products and Swaraj (Home Rule). Tilak is associated with the slogan, 'Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it'. For Tilak, Swaraj *means*

1. The people's divine right to remove bad rulers.
2. The people and the rulers must have a common country, race or religion.
3. A well- governed system for the peoples' welfare which is set up by and accountable to them alone.
4. More than a law and order mechanism.
5. More than an economic order providing the necessities of life or the luxuries of a pleasurable life.

According to Tilak, 'Swaraj' did not possess a political meaning only; its spiritual significance was in that it represented a life centred in self and relying on self. Its significance was not limited to this life but extended in the life to follow. Tilak's concept of nationalism stemmed from his pride in India's past and the impact of western learning and sciences on him. His realisation of the need for a political movement that would unite the country transcending all barriers and the exploitation of the Indians under the British also contributed to his nationalism. In truth, his concept put together the spiritual unity of the Vedanta ideal and nationalism as ex-pounded by western thinkers.

He identified the driving force of nationalism as pride in the country's legacy and unity. A common religion or language furthers oneness among the people and this oneness can be strengthened by symbols such as flags, celebration of festivals, etc. Tilak aroused national feelings considerably by means of his publications, for western education had taught him to value press freedom, individual freedom and free political expression and organisation. Bal Gangadhar Tilak was one of the prime architects of modern India and is still living in the hearts of millions of Indians.

Through his Home Rule League, Bal Gangadhar Tilak wanted to establish Swaraj. Tilak was not an armchair thinker, nor was he a political philosopher in the academic sense. He was a practical politician and his main task was the political emancipation of India. Tilak's political philosophy was rooted in the

Indian tradition but it did not reject all that was western. He was inspired by the ancient Indian spiritual and philosophical works. Thus, he imparted a spiritual connotation to his notion of **Swaraj.**

Swaraj (Home rule) simply indicated a political arrangement of self-rule without severing British connection. Beyond this, **Swaraj** also implied enlightened self-control of the individuals inspiring detached performance of their duties. Tilak felt that materialism debases human life and reduces it to an animal level. Tilak wanted men to rise above the level of animal pleasures through self discipline and self efforts and attain true happiness by sublimating their desires. Hence, he conceives the fulfilment of human life not only in enjoying rights, but also in selfless performance of duties. Man needs the rights to perform his duties not for the selfish pursuit of animal desires. Man has duties to himself, to his family, to his kith and kin and also to his fellow beings and countrymen. He has to work for the moral, spiritual and material well being of all of them. This is his duty. However, all this would be possible only if men and women were free from any kind of domination and control. For the realisation of this Swaraj, Tilak accepted the suitability of the western liberal institutions and concepts like constitutional government, rule of law, individual freedom, dignity of the person, and so on. Thus, Tilak's political philosophy represented an interesting mix of the ancient Indian value system and western liberal institutions.

The ultimate goal of the national movement for Tilak was *Swaraj*. And in order to involve mass public in the movement, he interpreted the goal of *Swaraj* in religious terms and insisted that *Swaraj* is our religious necessity. The religion and the philosophy of Vedanta emphasise equal spiritual status and destiny of each individual. This is against bondage of any kind and *Swaraj* is therefore, not only a political but natural and spiritual necessity. Tilak held that *Swaraj* was a moral and religious necessity for every man and group. For his moral fulfilment and for the performance of religious duties, man needs to be free. Without political freedom higher freedom is impossible. Thus *Swaraj* is our Dharma.

The concept of *Swaraj* for Gandhi though was completely different. In the context of National movement, the concept of *swaraj*, discussed by the Tilak caused mass public to go for extreme tools for regaining the *Swaraj* (Home Rule).

Gandhi on Swaraj

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was born in Porbandar (Gujarat) on 2nd October, 1869. He learnt law at University College, London and later in 1891, he was admitted to the British bar. Gandhi then returned to India and tried to establish his law practice in Bombay, but with little success. Gandhi's writings flourished when two years later an Indian firm with interests in South Africa

retained him as legal adviser in its office in Durban (South Africa). There for the first time he realised that he was treated as a member of an inferior race. These compelling situations forced Gandhi to throw himself into the struggle for basic rights for Indians. While struggling to get the rights. Gandhi visited jail many times. In 1896, after being influenced by the writings of Russian writer Leo Tolstoy, and American writer Henry David Thoreau, Gandhi began teaching the policy of passive resistance and non-cooperation. He returned to India in 1914. In India, he participated in the war against the colonial regime of Britain. And in this process he also developed his unique views on *Swaraj*, society, economy, civilization, education, etc. He profoundly used the principles of ethics in politics. His thoughts are a nice blend of healthy eastern and contemporary western political ideals.

In this chapter we shall discuss in detail Gandhi's concept of *Swaraj*. The three recurrent themes in Hind *Swaraj* are: colonial imperialism, industrial capitalism, and rationalist materialism. He elaborately discussed the impact of colonial imperialism on Indian society and its cultures. He also discussed the impact of industrial capitalism in detail while discussing the *Swaraj*. He also discussed the impact of lawyers, doctors and railways in particular, over the traditional life of India. He then discussed rationalist materialism and argued that the use of technology must be checked. According to him technology is used only for providing more comfort to the human being.

In the words of Tapan Raychaudhuri, "Gandhi's first elaborate comment on the Indian problem, his Hind *Swaraj*, identified one basic evil, modern civilization. It was a threat to all that was worthwhile in human values, not only in India but the world over. The British, as victims of this pandemic, were to be pitied, not hated. It was not any race or nation but modern civilization itself and the Indian infatuation with it that oppressed India. At the heart of that evil, civilization was the perception of man as a creature of desires, and capitalism had a vested interest in whetting these desires. Multiplication of wants hence become the *sine qua non* of the entire system which dehumanized man, legitimized violence against nature and deprived life, all meaning and purpose beyond the end-less fulfilment of desires. The end results of such soul-destroying pursuits were loss of all autonomy, mutual suspicion and violence and the exploitation of man by man. Man, both as worker and consumer, had become slave to machines. Imperialism and racism were integral to such a civilization. Even its apparent benefits were of a highly dubious nature. Modern medicine produced patterns of de-pendence which were highly unnatural and modern transport, far from making life easier, actually helped spread disease. Wisdom had been reduced to knowledge in quest of power and morality, equated with enlightened self-interest, had become a form of prudence. The much-vaunted dynamism of the West was little more than mindless activism. Only on two points was Gandhi willing to concede some

moral merit to modern civilization. He admired its spirit of scientific enquiry for he saw in it a genuine quest for truth. He also found much to learn in the organizational aspect of western life: the civil virtues were informed by the moral qualities of discipline and co-operation." (Bhikhu Parikh, "Gandhi's Political Philosophy" quoted in Tapan Raychaudhuri's, "Perceptions, Emotions, Sensibilities: Essays on India's Colonial and Post-colonial Experiences").

Gandhi elaborately discussed his views on *Swaraj* in his book, "The Indian Home Rule" (*Hind Swaraj*). Gandhi's Hind *Swaraj* is not denunciation or rejection of the liberative contribution of modernity. His attempt was to integrate the positive elements with a liberating re-interpretation of tradition. He never simply criticized the western civilization from the outside but he criticized from within the tradition. He communicated with the world through his Indian Home Rule (*Hind Swaraj*) in two ways. Firstly, he criticized the western civilization and secondly, he gave views for an Ideal state. For Tapan Raychaudhuri, "Gandhi's Hind *Swaraj*, an uncompromising critique of modern western civilization, was based on an equally strong faith in what he believed to be the values of Indian culture. There is no hint here of any need for self-assurance to overcompensate for any perceived inferiority. Some of his data derive no doubt from the Orientalist paradigm of self-sufficient village communities, which he idealized, but in essence he projects an emotional and ideological preference rooted, arguably, in his life experience of a traditional Indian home. I state this as an *obiter* or a hypothesis, the validity of which would not be very difficult to establish. One could show that he shared his preference for the emotional ambience of Indian life conceptualized as a cultural value with much more westernized Indians, like R.C. Dutt for example. While the latter were more welcoming to Europe's influence, they too found western life lacking in terms of the quality of inter-human relationship. Underlying Gandhi's statements on the superior worth of India's civilization one can detect his attachment to a pattern of social interaction which did not privilege the individual or emphasize achievement over other objects of human aspiration".

Concept of *Swaraj*

Gandhi said, "It is quite possible that we do not attach the same meaning to the term (*Swaraj*)...all Indians are impatient to attain *Swaraj*, but we are certainly not decided as to what it is. To drive the English out of India is a thought heard from many mouths, but it does not seem that many have properly considered why it should be so". He further asked a question that "Do you think that it is necessary to drive away English if we get all we want"? Gandhi asked number of questions such as what Indians will do after the departure of British from India? If they do not take our money away, become gentle, and give us responsible posts, will the Indians still consider their presence to be harmful? Supposing we get Self-Government similar to what the Canadians

and the South-Africans have, will it be good enough? etc. Then he said, "People have drawn the picture well. In effect it means this: that we want English rule without the Englishman. We want the tiger's nature, but not the tiger; that is to say, we would make India English. And when it becomes English, it will be called not Hindustan but Englishtan. This is not the *Swaraj* I want." Gandhi clearly said that what we think from *Swaraj* is not the correct meaning of *Swaraj*.

According to Tom Weber, "Gandhi's talk of *Swaraj*, that is independence or freedom, is generally interpreted merely as independence for the Indian nation from British rule. However, for Gandhi political activism had a more elemental role. It was to a large degree educative, helping to train the soul and develop character so as to aid the quest for individual perfection. *Swaraj* means self-rule and to limit this to political self-rule is to largely miss the point. The three campaigns are not three isolated bursts of political activity, but examples of a lifelong quest for *Swaraj* temporarily focussed at the macro level". *Swaraj* means not to get the British out of India. For Gandhi, *Swaraj* is a sacred and broad term consisting of number of ingredients.

Before elaborately discussing the views of Gandhi on *Swaraj*, let us discuss his views on civilization.

Civilization

Gandhi said, "A great English writer has written a work called *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*. Therein he has called it a disease". He further said, "Those who are intoxicated by modern civilization are not likely to write against it. Their care will be to find out facts and arguments in support of it, and this they do unconsciously, believing it to be true. A man whilst he is dreaming believes in his dream. He is undeceived only when he is awakened from his sleep. A man labouring under the bane of civilization is like a dreaming man. What we usually read are the works of defenders of modern civilization, which undoubtedly claims among its votaries very brilliant and even some very good men. Their writings hypnotize us, and so, one by one, we are drawn into the vortex". Gandhi has given examples for the above hypothesis. He said that the modern civilization is working towards the bodily comfort only. Their main aim is to live in good houses and eat good foods. The true test of modern civilization according to people is to have all the bodily comforts. "Formerly, only a few men wrote valuable books. Now, anybody writes and prints anything he likes and poisons people's minds. Formerly, men travelled in wagons. Now, they fly through the air in trains at the rate of four hundred and more miles per day. This is considered the height of civilization. It has been stated that, as men progress, they shall be able to travel in airship and reach any part of the world in a few hours. Men will not need the use of their hands and feet. They will press a button, and they will have their clothing by their side. They will

press another button, and they will have their newspaper". This civilization Gandhi called is "irreligious, and it has taken such a hold on the people in Europe that those who are in it appear to be half mad. They lack real physical strength or courage. They keep up their energy by intoxication. They can hardly be happy in solitude. Women, who should be the queens of households, wander in the streets or they slave away in factories. For the sake of a pittance, half a million women in England alone are labouring under trying circumstances in factories or similar institutions. This awful act is one of the causes of the daily growing suffragette movement" (M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule").

According to Gandhi, "Civilization is that mode of conduct which points out to man the path of duty. Performance of duty and observance of morality are convertible terms. To observe morality is to attain mastery over our mind and our passions. So doing, we know ourselves. The Gujarati equivalent for civilization means "good conduct" (M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule"). According to Tapan Raychaudhuri, "The Indian civilization of his imagination was essentially rural in character in contrast to the city-based modern civilization of the West. Its survival over millenia despite numberless assaults was evidence of its viability and moral validity. It was spiritual because the essentially spiritual nature of man was its discovery. Gandhi recognized an age-old culture hidden under 'an encrustment of crudity' in rural India and that despite what he saw as the apparent brutishness of peasant life. The self-governing, self-sufficient and harmonious village communities of yore were the institutional bulwark of this ancient culture. He saw in the caste system a social order which recognized the basic differences in human temperament: untouchability was an aberration, a fall from grace. Indian society was essentially tolerant, perceiving from the days of the *Upanishads* onwards, the truth underlying apparently divergent beliefs. It was also a grand synthesis of different cultures, with an infinite capacity for assimilation. Thus in terms of human values it was superior in every way to the competitive, materialistic and violence-prone civilization of modern Europe driven by insatiable desire forever seeking satisfaction of new wants" (Tapan Raychaudhuri, "Perceptions, Emotions, Sensibilities: Essays on India's Colonial and Post-colonial Experiences").

Views on *Swaraj*

Gandhi for Rudolf C. Heredia, "Radically re-interprets '*Swaraj*' and gives it a dual meaning. The original Gujarati text uses '*Swaraj*' in both senses. Gandhi's English translation makes the duality explicit: *Swaraj* as 'self-rule' and as 'self-government'. The first as self-control, rule over oneself, was the foundation for the second, self-government. In this second sense, local self-government was what Gandhi really had in mind. Gandhi very decidedly gives priority to self-rule over self-government and to both over political independence, *swatantrata*" (Rudolf C. Heredia, "Interpreting Gandhi's Hind

Swaraj", Economic and Political Weekly June 12, 1999). Rudolf C. Heredia further argues, "Essential to both meanings *Swaraj* was a sense of self-respect that is precisely Gandhi's answer to colonial rule. For Gandhi freedom in its most fundamental sense had to mean freedom for self-realisation. But it had to be a freedom for all, for the toiling masses, and the privileged classes, and most importantly for the least and last Indian. In this sense, *sarvodaya* was precisely the patriotism that Gandhi espoused. It focused on people's welfare not on national pride". "By patriotism I mean the welfare of the whole people, and, if I could secure it at the hands of the English, I should bow down my head to them" (M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule"). He further said, "My patriotism is for me a stage on my journey to the land of freedom and peace" (M. K. Gandhi, "Young India, April 13, 1924"). *Swaraj* he told was not something given by the leaders, Indian or British, it was something that had to be taken by the people for themselves.

The meaning of *Swaraj* in all its senses stands for self-respect, self-realisation and self-reliance. That is why Gandhi symbolized *charka* and *khadi* for the true Indian civilization of Indigenous kind. Gandhi considered khadi as the symbol of,

(i) The unity of Indian humanity;
(ii) Of its economic freedom; and
(iii) Equality.

Gandhi was not against the machinery or western civilisation but he was against the accepting of foreign ideals, as it is, for India. Gandhi said, "Railways, lawyers and doctors have impoverished the country so much so that, if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined" (M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule").

Railways according to Gandhi, "Without the Railways, the English could not have had such a hold on India as they have. The railways, too, have spread the bubonic plague. Without them the masses could not move from place to place. They are the carriers of plague germs. Formerly we had natural segregation. Railways have also increased the frequency of famines because, owing to facility of means of locomotion, people sell out their grain and it is sent to the dearest markets. People become careless and so the pressure of famine increases. Railways accentuate the evil nature of man. Bad men fulfil their evil designs with greater rapidity. The holy places of India have become unholy. Formerly, people went to these places with very great difficulty. Generally, therefore, only the real devotees visited such places. Nowadays rogues visit them in order to practice their roguery". While defying the view that railways of British had created one nation, that is, India, Gandhi said, "Our mode of life was the same. It was because we were one nation that they were able to establish one kingdom. Subsequently they divided us". People in India were equipped with the languages and cultures of the different regions because they are the one nation. Lack of the feeling of self-reliance destroyed

our traditional web of life. The need is to grow the self-reliance again. Gandhi is of the view that only rights are not the basis of *Swaraj*, but the duties are also an important ingredient of it.

Lawyers according to Gandhi had advanced the quarrels instead of repressing them. Gandhi said that one chooses to become a lawyer not to solve the disputes but to gain the maximum out of it. For Gandhi, "It is one of the avenues of becoming wealthy and their interest exists in multiplying disputes. It is within my knowledge that they are glad when men have disputes. Petty pleaders actually manufacture them. Their touts, like so many leeches, suck the blood of the poor people". More importantly, the lawyers are equipped with English legal system hence would fortify the English roots in India. For the *Swaraj*, there is no need to have lawyers to solve the disputes.

About doctors Gandhi said that they entice us to indulge in overeating, because they are there to comfort our body. A continuance of a course of medicine must, therefore, result in loss of control over the mind. Self-control hence for Gandhi is virtue and an essential condition for *Swaraj*. *Swadeshi* is the tool for Gandhi's quest for *Swaraj*. Gandhi's emphasis on *Khadi* and *charkha* was only to advertise and portray *Swadeshi* well. The use of local things with local means without destroying the traditional web of our life is the main objective of *Swadeshi*.

Gandhi brought three basic themes of *Swaraj*: self-respect, self-realisation and self-reliance. Self-respect, one can gain only after respecting the tradition and culture of one's own country. Self-realization is to realise ones real potential and self-reliant means to be dependent on no body else than oneself. Gandhi was arguing for a minimal state because, he saw state essentially as an instrument of violence, brutality and aggression.

In Indian Home Rule (*Hind Swaraj*), Gandhi defines 'passive resistance' as the tool for securing the *Swaraj*. Gandhi said, "Passive resistance is a method of securing rights by personal suffering, it is the reverse of resistance by arms". In the words of Bhikhu Parekh, "Gandhi's satyagraha then was an ingenious combination of reason, morality and politics; it appealed to the opponent's head, heart and interests" [B. Parekh, "Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination"). For Gandhi, the passive resistance, that is, soul-force, is matchless. For him "Passive resistance is an all-sided sword, it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood it produces far-reaching results. It never rusts and cannot he stolen. Competition between passive resisters does not exhaust. The sword of passive resistance does not require a scabbard." Gandhi further argued that for being a passive resister for the service of the country, a person has to observe perfect chastity, adopt poverty, follow truth, and cultivate fearlessness.

Gandhi was against the excessive use of Machinery. He said, "Machinery has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English gates.

Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization; it represents a great sin. The workers in the mills of Bombay have become slaves. The condition of the women working in the mills is shocking. When there were no mills, these women were not starving. If the machinery craze grows in our country, it will become an unhappy land. It may be considered a heresy, but I am bound to say that it is better for us to send money to Manchester and to use flimsy Manchester cloth than to multiply mills in India. By using Manchester cloth we only waste our money; but by reproducing Manchester in India, we shall keep our money at the price of our blood, because our very moral being will be sapped, and I call in support of my statement the very mill-bands as witnesses. And those who have amassed wealth out of factories are not likely to be better than other rich men. It would be folly to assume that an Indian Rockefeller would be better than the American Rockefeller. Impoverished India can become free, but it will be hard for any India made rich through immorality to regain its freedom. I fear we shall have to admit that moneyed men support British rule; their interest is bound up with its stability. Money renders a man helpless. The other thing which is equally harmful is sexual vice. Both are poison. A snake-bite is a lesser poison than these two, because the former merely destroys the body but the latter destroy body, mind and soul. We need not, therefore, be pleased with the prospect of the growth of the mill industry" (M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule").

In short, Gandhi says, "Let each do his duty. If I do my duty, that is, serve myself, I shall be able to serve others. Before I leave you, I will take the liberty of repeating:

1. Real home-rule is self-rule or self-control.
2. The way to it is passive resistance: that is soul-force or love-force.
3. In order to exert this force, Swadeshi in every sense is necessary.
4. What we want to do should be done, not because we object to the English or because we want to retaliate but because it is our duty to do so.

Thus, supposing that the English remove the salt-tax, restore our money, give the highest posts to Indians, withdraw the English troops, we shall certainly not use their machine-made goods, nor use the English language, nor many of their industries. It is worth noting that these things are in their nature, harmful; hence we do not want them. I bear no enmity towards the English but I do towards their civilization. In my opinion, we have used the tem "*Swaraj*" without understanding its real significance. I have endeavoured to explain it as I understand it, and my conscience testifies that my life henceforth is dedicated to its attainment" (M. K. Gandhi, "Indian Home Rule").

Gandhi's Ideal State

1. **Kingdom of God (*Ramrajya*)** – According to Tom Weber, "Gandhi held before himself, and attempted to place before the masses, a picture of an

ideal society that was to be the goal of collective endeavour, as the approach towards Truth was to be the goal for the individual. This vision was summed up in the word "*Ramrajya*", the "Kingdom of God", where there were equal rights for princes and paupers, where even the lowliest person could get swift justice without elaborate and costly procedures, where inequalities that allowed some to roll in riches while the masses did not have enough to eat were abolished, and where sovereignty of the people was based on pure moral authority rather than coercive power. Political independence for the country may have been a step towards *Ramrajya*, but was certainly no guarantee of it".

2. Abolition of Political Power – For Gandhi, "Political power is not an end but one of the means of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated, no representation become 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" (Young India, 7th July, 1931).

3. Non-Violent State – Indian Home Rule (*Hind Swaraj*) represents a moral condemnation of modern civilization; it is, therefore, all the more penetrating, compelling and unsettling. He teaches non-violent state. Many have shaken their heads as Gandhi said, "But you can't teach nonviolence to the masses. It is only possible for individuals and that too in rare cases". That is, in my opinion, a gross self-deception. If mankind was not habitually nonviolent, it would have been self-destroyed ages ago. But in the duel between forces of violence and nonviolence, the latter have always come out victorious in the end. The truth is that we have not had patience enough to wait and apply ourselves whole-heartedly to the spread of nonviolence among the people as a means for political ends" (Young India, January 2, 1930). Gandhi further argued that the non-violent state is the only ideal state. He said, "In *Swaraj* based on *chimsa*, people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties. There is no duty but creates a corresponding right, and those only are true rights which flow from a due performance of one's duties. Hence rights of true citizenship accrue only to those who serve the State to which they belong. And they alone can do justice to the rights that accrue to them.

Everyone possesses the right to tell lies or resort to *goondaism* (Violence). But the exercise of such right is harmful both to the exerciser and society. But to him who observes truth and non-violence comes prestige, and prestige brings rights. And people who obtain rights as a result of performance of duty, exercise them only for the service of society, never for themselves. *Swaraj* of a people

means the sum total of the *Swaraj* (self-rule) of individuals. And such *Swaraj* comes only from performance by individuals of their duty as citizens. In it no one thinks of his rights. They come, when they are needed, for better performance of duty" (Young India, March 25, 1939).

Gandhi said that 'under *Swaraj* based on nonviolence nobody is anybody's enemy, everybody contributes his or her due quota to the common goal, all can read and write, and their knowledge keeps growing from day to day. Sickness and disease are reduced to the minimum. No one is a pauper and labour can always find employment. There is no place under such a government for gambling, drinking and immorality or for class hatred. The rich will use their riches wisely and usefully, and not squander them in increasing their pomp and worldly pleasures. It should not happen that a handful of rich people should live in jewelled palaces and the millions in miserable hovels devoid of sunlight or ventilation.... In nonviolent *Swaraj* there can be no encroachment upon just rights; contrariwise no one can possess unjust rights. In a well-organized State, usurpation should be an impossibility and it should be unnecessary to resort to force for dispossessing an usurper' (Young India, March 25, 1939).

Gandhi once remarked that "the work of social reform or self-purification ... is a hundred times dearer to me than what is called purely political work", and during another, following pressure to launch civil disobedience, Mahadev Desai records Gandhi as having said that "in placing civil disobedience before constructive work I was wrong ... I feared that I should estrange co-workers and so carried on with imperfect Ahimsa [nonviolence]." Gandhi was well aware that political freedom was easier to achieve than economic, social and moral freedom in part because they are "less exciting and not spectacular." Political biographies also seem to be more exciting and spectacular than those focusing on the social and moral aspects of Gandhi's life. The main co-workers he had in his constructive work, who, like Jamnalal Bajaj, are at least as important to him as his political co-workers, tend to disappear from the record. (Tom Weber, "The Political Gandhi and the Whole Gandhi"). According to T.K. Mahadevan, "Gandhi was responding in Hind *Swaraj* specifically to violence as a method of attaining *Swaraj* or self-rule, he saw violence rooted in modern civilization. Violence was, for Gandhi, an inevitable result of the values that underlie modern civilization and its institutions. As long as modern civilization continued to shape man's destiny, violence, he believed, would be the natural consequence. He, therefore, directed his moral sensibility to exposing what he considered the cancerous elements growing in the womb of modern civilization producing contradictions that would ultimately bring its downfall".

4. Decentralization of Political Power – Gandhi was not in favour of immediate abolition and eradication of the entire state power. But his immediate step was to mould the policies of state on the principles of non-violence.

According to him, modern western civilization is a violent civilization. Gandhi's ideal state was more democratic in its character. He recommended the decentralization of the power to the *gram panchayats*. The ideal state of Gandhi was a non-violent state whose life remained self-regulated. According to him, "In democracy the individual will is governed by and for democracy. If every individual takes the law into his own hands, there is no state, it becomes anarchy, that is, absence of social law or state. That way lies the destruction of liberty" (The Harijan, September 28, 1947). The minimal state is Gandhi's ideal state. According to Ashok Mehta, "Democratic polity as Gandhi envisaged, was suffused with devolution of authority, in fact built bottom upwards, preserving the organic cells of the community" (Ashok Mehta, "Reflections on the Socialist Era"). Gandhi argued for the decentralization and said, "I suggest that, if India is to evolve along nonviolent lines, it will have to decentralize many things. Centralization cannot be sustained and defended without adequate force. Simple homes from which there is nothing to take away require no policing; the palaces of the rich must have strong guards to protect them against decoity. So must huge factories. Rurally organized India will run less risk of foreign invasion than urbanized India well equipped with military, naval and air forces. Centralization as a system is inconsistent with nonviolent structure of society" (Young India, January18, 1942).

Conclusion

According to Rudolf C. Heredia, "Gandhi's quest for equality is something that our complex world cannot accommodate; we seem to have given up not just this ideal of equality, but even the quest for equity in the distribution of the rewards and burdens of our society. And yet today Gandhi's proletarian 'levelling down' certainly seems to be much more viable than Tagore's elitist 'levelling up'. In such a scenario the relevance of Gandhi's idea of *sarvodya* as the goal of *Swaraj* is something we need to re-examine. Certainly, a decentralized participative democratic and humane society, is a more attractive, and one may dare say, a more vialable ideal today, than the kind of consumerism and inequitous divisions that the new economic policy in our country seems to welcome. Indeed, the principle of subsidiarity seems to be the only viable solution to national governments that are too large to address local problems, while being too small to cope with global ones". India amends its Constitution and again affirms by 73rd and 74th amendment the institutions of *panchayati raj* and tribal self-rule. This is a clear sign of adopting the ideals of Gandhi. In his ideal of *Swaraj,* Gandhi urged for Decentralization

The critics of Gandhi said that his theory of non-violent state is totally utopian and the state, of the dream world. The British quit India, not because they were enlightened but because due to non-cooperation the smooth administration was hindered badly. Adi H. Doctor refuses to accept the

attainment of National independence as the triumph of non-violent movement of Gandhi. His idea of stateless and a classless society gave him a tag of anarchist. According to Horace Alexander, "Gandhi was a convinced socialist" (Horace Alexander, "Gandhi through Western Eye").

Both Tilak and Gandhi were determined to implement *Swaraj* (Home Rule). But their definition of *Swaraj* was completely different. And their means to achieve *Swaraj* was also strikingly opposite to each other. Where on the one hand, Tilak proposed violent or extreme means to achieve the ultimate *Swaraj*, Gandhi proposed *swaraj* with passive resistance.

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. Elaborately discuss the Tilak's concept of *Swaraj* in detail.
2. What are the important characteristics of Tilak's concept of *Swaraj*?
3. Elaborately discuss the views of Gandhi on State.
4. According to Gandhi what are the ways to achieve *Swaraj*?
5. Discuss Gandhi's vision of an Ideal State in detail.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Coomaraswamy,A.K.,	:	Art and Swadeshi
Fasheh, Munir	:	In Harmony with *Swaraj*
Gandhi, M. K.,	:	Hind *Swaraj* or Indian Home Rule
Parekh, B.,	:	Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination
Parekh, B.,	:	Political Discourse
Parel, A. J.,	:	Hind *Swaraj* and Other Writings
Pinto, Vivek	:	Gandhi's Vision and Values
Prasad, Nageshewar	:	Hind *Swaraj*: A Fresh Look
RadhaKrishnan,Dr.S.,	:	Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections on His Life and Work
Ruskin, John	:	Unto This Last and Other Writings
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar	:	Arctic Home in the Vedas
Tilak, Bal Gangadhar	:	The Orion (The Antiquity of Vedas)
Unnitha, J.K.N.,	:	Gandhi and the Social Change
Verma, S.P.,	:	Modern Political Theory

By **Andrew Robinson**

Perhaps the best-known of the classical anarchists, Mikhail Bakunin is known for his advocacy of the "urge to resist". There is much more to his theory than is generally known or studied. A contemporary of Marx, and his antagonist in some bitter disputes within the First International, Bakunin offers an analysis of power, classes and social life which differs from Marx's in important ways. A re-examination of Bakunin's thought provides a basis for considering the politics of the excluded and the structure of forces of oppression and domination.

Critique of the State

Bakunin is best-known as an anarchist theorist, who poses a thoroughgoing critique of state power, in works such as *Statism and Anarchy*. This theory is deduced from a particular view of how states work. Bakunin believes that the state has a fundamental nature, which can be deduced from the actions of particular states.

His view of the state is heavily inflected by a strong rejection of the military, and its repressive disciplining practices. (This may have been influenced by his own time in the military). On the whole, he associates states with all situations where power-inequalities exist. The problem lies in the fact of being governed, not in a particular form of government.

Even imaginary government is to be rejected. For instance, Bakunin also devotes considerable attention to arguing for atheism. He views belief in God as the enslavement of humans to an imaginary will, the negation of reason and the basis for earthly dictatorships.

State thought: monopolising allegiance

Central to Bakunin's view of the state is a claim that states monopolise allegiance. Bakunin claims that states impose injustice and cruelty as a duty, and mutilate humanity, so people become citizens instead of human beings. States try to break down human solidarity by positing themselves as the final point of reference for their citizens or subjects.

The state produces a state morality and reasons of state, in which good and bad are defined by what is good and bad for the state's power. This elevates the collective egoism of particular associations to the status of ethical categories.

In order for this morality to function internationally, it must also function domestically, and the state must seek to be as powerful domestically as internationally. This is because the state needs to keep people fixated on state morality and opposed to human morality. States are thus 'prisons of peoples' and sites of the arts of domination and fraud.

The state as conquest and domination

Another part of Bakunin's argument is that states are aggressive. For Bakunin, the modern state is necessarily a military state. It is necessarily driven to conquer and subjugate, and to be aggressive. This is because it has force which it must display or mobilise. Simply to preserve its imposed unity from internal collapse or external invasion, the state needs a vast army, police force and bureaucracy. Weak and small states are vulnerable to being swallowed-up by big and strong states.

Furthermore, states do not easily tolerate equivalence, since their nature is to pursue supremacy. A bipolar world will necessarily be one of conflict (as in the Cold War). The existence of several states ensures competition, jealousy and endless war.

States therefore tend to amass total power and embark on conquest, under pain of being destroyed if they do not. States therefore always produce conquered and enslaved peoples. A universal state is impossible because the state depends on control. There have to be in-groups and out-groups.

States stem fundamentally from the military. Only conquering nations create states. For the state, the right of conquest, or of ultimate recourse to arms, is a superior principle over the state's other principles and laws. (Bakunin here prefigures Benjamin's distinction between law-enforcing and law-creating violence, and Agamben's analysis of sovereignty). The predominance and triumph of force is the essence of statecraft, and right is simply a means to consecrate the outcomes of force.

Furthermore, states tend to put their sovereigns above the law. This is because the state exists to grab, and knows no bounds of its own. The idea of such an entity being driven by a civilising mission or suchlike is deemed laughable.

Bakunin's view is here remarkably similar to that of International Relations Realists, who maintain that relations among states always tend towards war. Where Bakunin differs from Realists is in his view that the state is unnecessary and can be overthrown. He also sees states as responding as much to internal as external pressures, which goes against the Realist view.

He also attaches great importance to ethnic conflict in international relations. He believes that states stir up ethnic allegiances and tensions, often deceptively, to mobilise a different force – the 'nation' – against their enemies.

Today, one might imagine Bakunin emphasising how poorer states build up their capabilities either to defend themselves against imperialist invasion (Iran's alleged nuclear programme for example), or to impose WTO and IMF agendas dictated by other states, against resistance from their own people. Either way, they come under pressure to build up immense military and police forces, far outstripping any meagre attempts at social welfare.

The state and difference

The state is unable to deal with the range of difference within humanity. Because it governs immense numbers from the top down, it necessarily involves minority rule (even when it has elections for leaders), and cannot fully appreciate the needs or claims of those it rules. The state necessarily uses a one-size-fits-all model, which is necessarily inappropriate for a diverse and complex reality. 'There will always be discontented people because there will always be some who are sacrificed', Bakunin argues.

To imagine a just state to be possible, it is necessary to believe that an individual or small group can understand all the 'infinite multitude of interests, tendencies and actions' of a large number of other people, which do not become uniform even when they have a united struggle. On the other hand, Bakunin proposes to view diversity in abilities as the abundance of humanity.

The public good, public safety, or will of the people is necessarily the negation of all the real wills of particular people, subordinated to an abstraction. The state is fundamentally an arbitrary being which sacrifices living beings to itself. It tries to subordinate large numbers of people to the thoughts of a particular brain.

State centralisation necessarily produces moral and intellectual decay. In some cases, he argues that states seek to lull culture into obscurity – for instance, replacing thought with rote learning in universities. This is because the state functions better if the people who are dominated are also stupefied and dulled in their thoughts and feelings. The state requires for its existence that people be kept ignorant, incapable and of low status, so that the ruling class and the state can claim to be leading humanity towards a common good.

The state as elite rule

Bakunin also argues that states necessarily involve class domination. In practice, majority rule never materialises, as parties continue to be run by elite leaderships. The working people rarely have the time or education to engage with politics. Hence, the people don't really make the laws, they obey laws made in their name by governing minorities, and their obedience is submission to an arbitrary will.

The only advantage of elections is that the elite minorities have to flatter the 'fleeting passions' or deceive the people rather than ignore them entirely. Such regimes are better than monarchies, but nonetheless still forms of minority rule.

Every logical theory of the state is founded on the principle of authority: the belief that most people are incapable of self-government and must submit to an imposed wisdom and justice from above. This claim can have three possible sources: violence, religion or superiority of intelligence.

In contrast to Marx, Bakunin writes of the bureaucracy as a class. In some countries, such as Turkish-occupied Serbia, there is no bourgeoisie or nobility, but only a bureaucratic class which is directly the ruling class. In others, a class such as the bourgeoisie, aristocracy or clergy serves as the ruling class inside the state. The bureaucracy becomes the ruling class when other ruling classes are exhausted, and the state is reduced to being a machine.

He also talks about states varying in their composition. For instance, Russia was preeminently a military state, but prone to corruption. Germany was military but with its ethos socially defused, whereas France lacked the discipline to be a military state.

The military (and one might suppose, the police) are an enemy of the people because they are formed as a separate entity, an entire world in their own right. Bakunin also writes of the statists as a 'party' or faction counterposed to others (for instance, sometimes battling with the liberals or social-democrats).

For Bakunin, political power cannot be negotiated with or rendered harmless by deals, or bound with pieces of paper (such as constitutions and laws); the only way to pacify it is to destroy it. The liberal idea of a state resulting from a social contract is taken by Bakunin to contrast with the real nature of states. Since justice and order would stem from the arrangement of social life in such a world, the state would be reduced to a public service role (what Nandy terms the state-as-arbiter).

But the adherents of the state will not accept such a reduction and subordination to liberty; they insist on a state which directs social life (state-as-liberator) and administers public order (state-as-protector). They therefore require that people be kept powerless and submissive.

He portrays German liberals as getting corrupted over time, from revolutionaries into part of the state project. They transmute into 'conservative-liberal reaction', the defence of the state at all costs, and the avoidance of street battles by their supporters.

Authoritarians such as Bismarck (and Bush?) know that they can ignore liberal criticisms because the liberals will endorse their victories once they are achieved. The state develops an art of hiding despotism behind liberal and democratic forms. And in practice, the bourgeoisie usually relies on the people to make its revolutions before seizing the profits of them.

This account of liberals succumbing to the temptation of state authoritarianism is all too familiar today. It is because of this pattern of 'conservative-liberal reaction' that it is still imagined that the 'security'-ravaged states of the post-911 era are still liberal democracies.

Bakunin also believes that it is in 'human nature' for any faction to be corrupted by power. Even socialists will ultimately succumb. The implied claim here is that human nature is to act on one's class position. He later claims similarly of the bourgeoisie, that class suicide is impossible: no bourgeois can ever want economic equality. Classes act on their interests, he suggests. This is because he views circumstances and environment as the primary source of social action. Someone's morality depends more on their context than their will.

Bakunin would probably see today's neo-patrimonial states (Nigeria, Zimbabwe, etc), as well as the old 'communist' states of Eastern Europe, as instances of a bureaucracy as a ruling class. He seems far more alert than Marx to the concrete forms of power operating in peripheral regions.

He would also be sensitive to the different relations between the bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie in contexts such as Britain, in contrast to the usual Marxist approach of assuming that the state is run by the bourgeoisie. In the case of 'growth coalitions', a bureaucratic faction promotes and enables capital accumulation as a means to extract tribute for itself. The bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie work together in a kind of class alliance, which contrasts sharply with earlier situations in which the bourgeoisie sought to constrain the bureaucracy as a potential rival.

Whereas Marx viewed the state as simply an expression of the alienation of social life, and Marxists have persisted in viewing the state either as an instrument of bourgeois rule, a terrain contested between different classes, or an effect of a particular class composition, Bakunin effectively suggests that there is a state-class as such. The state is made up of a particular class, distinct from the bourgeoisie, which has its own dynamics and interests.

This leads to very different conclusions from Marx on the possibility of using the state as even a temporary means for social change. For Bakunin, such a move risks empowering the bureaucracy as a rival ruling class. In his analyses, the state and the 'people' or 'nation' are always discussed as two different agents.

Classes and Class Struggle

Bakunin is a class-struggle anarchist, and his analysis of class is similar to that of Marx. He explicitly endorses Marx's view that legal and political rights actually stem from economic facts. His accounts of politics thus include classes as well as states.

The privileged classes

The relationship between the state and the bourgeoisie is friendly, but complex. The bourgeoisie wants a certain kind of state. It seeks the strongest possible state against rebellion. Hence, it wants a military dictatorship. It also, however, wants this dictatorship covered-up with forms of representation, for ideological reasons both internal to the bourgeoisie and directed at the masses.

This would seem to lead to something like Amin's low-intensity democracy or William Robinson's polyarchy. Ultimately, military discipline is the last word of bourgeois civilisation. However, when deprived of power, the bourgeoisie becomes a revolutionary class, aiming for armed insurrection.

While denouncing class privilege, Bakunin also sees it as a negative experience. Prefiguring postcolonial ideas of privilege as loss, Bakunin argued that privilege has a depraving effect on one's heart and mind.

Bakunin also disagrees with Marx's analysis of class polarisation, taking a view of class structure that is more like a graded hierarchy or pyramid.
For instance, he believes in a kind of intellectual stratum of metaphysicians (philosophical theorists) and positivists (scientific researchers), whom he considers to be reactionary. They seek power, and would be oppressors like anyone else if they got it. He suspects them of performing on society the same experiments vivisectors perform on animals. Not only this, but they are also easily fooled about the reality of the social situation, falling for ideas like the 'civilising mission'.

He believes that intellectuals who put science or thought before life are supporters of the state, and seek to exercise dictatorial power so as to ensure that social movements are managed rationally and that life is in practice subordinated to thought. He also criticises the irrelevance of most academic activity to the life of poor peasants. There is more truth in the 'instinctive aspirations' and 'real needs' of the masses than in intellectual endeavours. Bakunin calls for the abolition of the intellectual-manual labour division and the opening of science to the people.

He also mounts an early critique of vanguard parties. A party living and acting outside the people, he maintains, needs them only as a means to power, and will necessarily betray them afterwards, allying with the defeated reactionaries. For instance, they allow the reactionaries to retain control of the army.

The popular classes

Like Marx, Bakunin believes in a fundamental class antagonism. The bourgeoisie and proletariat confront each other as enemies, with no reconciliation possible. This conflict expresses itself especially in street battles, such as the 1834 and 1848 revolts in France. These kinds of revolts shake statists deeply, and sometimes involve the defeat of the army by the people.

When the military unleashes its full firepower, it can devastate the people, but simultaneously expose the situation of social war. For Bakunin, the only response to such military barbarism is an equally savage and ruthless force. Bakunin formulates an early version of the theory of proletarian autonomy.

The state, Bakunin argues, is based on force, not right. Therefore, the triumph of abstract right cannot be a victory over the state. Liberation can only be conquered by force. This requires autonomous forces organised outside and against the state to defeat it. Autonomy is here treated very strictly: there are to be no alliances with political forces, as the basis of power is to be social and hence anti-political. Alliances always turn to the benefit of the more reactionary force, sapping the morale of progressive forces.

One of the most noted aspects of Bakunin's view of class is his emphasis on the worse-off, marginal or excluded workers (compare today's idea of the precariat).

To Bakunin, the 'flower of the proletariat' is not the elite of 'semi-bourgeois workers' who could become a new ruling class – this group of workers is too corrupted by bourgeois values. Rather, it is the 'non-civilized, disinherited, wretched and illiterates' – the 'rabble' or 'riff-raff', termed *lumpenproletarians* by Marx and Engels – the excluded and hyperexploited layers of workers and peasants.

Bakunin sees this group as relatively unpolluted by capitalist ideas and carrying in its heart the seeds of revolution. Presumably, he means that the urge to resist is strongest in this group.

Whereas Marx treats inclusion in capitalism as having civilising effects, Bakunin treats it as a kind of corruption and debasement. He looks to marginal groups who are less contaminated, and who retain vital energies of life.

He effectively believes in a certain primacy of active force, which is actualised to some degree in localised social life, but is repressed or turned against itself in capitalist and statist organisations. It is hence a force which exists everywhere, but is stronger at some points than at others, and strongest at the points which are least integrated.

Peasants usually appear in Bakunin's account as a revolutionary force. He enthusiastically contrasts his own praise of peasant resistance to Marx's contempt for the peasantry. Being less connected than urban workers to the core functioning of capitalism, the peasants are taken to retain the instinct of rebellion.

This said, Bakunin also recognises that the peasantry are not always revolutionary. In Russia, he criticises their stance of splitting in relation to the state: worshipping the imaginary state in the figure of the tsar, while hating the real brutality of the state as experienced in their own lives.

Bakunin has an interesting explanation for the absence of peasant revolt. He believes the Russian peasant villages, or communes, are unable to create a popular insurrection due to their isolation and self-containment. To offset this, he calls for connections to be made between these different local worlds, while introducing the energies of revolutionary thought. This prefigures the ideas of de- and re-composition in autonomism, and provides an interesting model for thinking about organising networks of resistance today.

Nations and races

States and classes are only two of the three main categories in Bakunin's account of politics. Controversially, he also extends his account of social groups to nations and 'races'.

In his view, nationality is not universal, but local and contingent. Nevertheless, as a local, contingent fact, it needs to be recognised. Every nation has an individuality, and like every individual, it has a right to be itself. It does not, however, have a right to preoccupy itself with nationalism (or individuality) as a 'special principle', transcending all other contingent facts.

Bakunin here distinguishes the nation as 'fact' from the nation as a Stirnerian spook or as an essence, suggesting that no particular aspect of existence should be privileged over other aspects. Each state has its own peculiar characteristics, or 'special historical character'. So, too, does each particular 'race' or 'people'. Each has a temperament and character which derive from a range of historical and geographic causes.

Once formed, this character shapes history aside from economic causes, and even affects economic developments. Most importantly, the intensity of the instinct to revolt varies between different peoples. This idea of a 'historical character' of the nation makes simple for Bakunin matters which are difficult for Marxists to explain – for instance, the election of reactionaries by popular voters.

The state and nation both have special historical characters, but they are separate forces, as is shown in wars. Wars can be divided into those which become 'national' wars – in which the nation enthusiastically fights alongside the state – and those which do not.

Defensive wars against invaders or occupiers often become national. Offensive wars rarely do so, except when motivated by a revolutionary or religious ideal. Offensive wars are usually 'political' wars, aiming simply to make the state stronger. And the oppressed people have little interest in any such war. The people either obey only under coercion, or disobey when they can.

The German army, for example, is particularly prone to what would later be called the 'authoritarian personality': obedience to superiors and contempt for anyone deemed inferior, with a particular hatred for revolutionaries. He sees this particular personality as a product of a particular regime of drilling and rote learning which turns the soldier from a man into a monster.

Germany is viewed as the last sovereign state in Europe, because the other states are 'mere vice-royalties' (today, this might make America the only true state). Germans are taken to have developed a cult of state

power and an authoritarian social instinct. They are taken to feel no need for liberty, only for an all-devouring state.

Germans are taken to have a deep passion for slavery and domination, oscillating between the two poles. Hence, Bismarck's popularity grew when he started acting despotically. The English and Americans are likened to the Germans, and contrasted with the Latin nations and the Slavs. The French nation, in contrast, lacks the organic statism necessary for military dominance, partly because, unlike Germans, French people do not tolerate discipline.

At the other extreme of his analysis are the Slavs. According to Bakunin, the Slavs never formed states, because they are not conquering peoples. However, the Slavs cannot liberate themselves by copying the means of the conqueror, forming their own state which would amount to a Slavic yoke.

Instead they should look to a revolution of all oppressed peoples, and the destruction of all states. Against pan-Slavists who celebrated the Russian Empire, Bakunin argues that Russia is a source of blessings only for various levels of officials, and a source of misery and torture for the masses.

Viewed sympathetically, his analyses in 'Statism and Anarchy' can be seen as prefiguring class composition analyses of the state. Bakunin viewed particular states and 'peoples' as having different kinds of inner structures or compositions, varying among other things with the particular arrangement of elements in the state and the power of different classes in society.

The German state is efficient, whereas the Russian state is corrupt. Different compositions arise from different circumstances. Germany, for instance, overdeveloped its military and lagged behind in everything else due to its limited coastline. This foreshadows later ideas of land and coastal powers with different characteristics in international relations.

Bakunin also foreshadows the problems of anti-colonial revolutions: that newly formed states often imitate the very projects of modernist dispossession, military buildups and centralised power which the liberation movement was meant to overthrow.

He implicitly argues that the ultimate failure of the anti-colonial revolutions is contained in their duplication of the forms of power established by the coloniser: states, nations, militaries. This echoes contemporary critiques that, for example, Japanese militarism, Hindu communalism and Chinese nationalism have sought independence from the west by copying western forms of power. They replace the ruler but not the structure of rule.

Bakunin is instead arguing for an anti-colonial revolution which destroys all states, including an alliance of oppressed and colonised peoples across the world – something like an anarchist Bandung, conducted through links between 'peoples' rather than states. Today we might think of this in terms of networks of social movements. If we replace his 'national characters' of Germans and Slavs with ideas of post-imperial and post-colonial societies, his analysis could be useful in examining national narratives and trajectories of rebellion today.

In Bakunin's account, imperialism is deemed a risky business, as with the Roman conquest of the Germanic peoples, which ended with the latter sacking Rome. This foreshadows postcolonial ideas that the colonial power, by making its history elsewhere, bring the outside inside and destroy themselves. One might compare this to the incorporation of vast swathes of the world in 'globalisation' – leading to vulnerabilities to similarly 'globalised' attacks.

On the negative side, Bakunin's use of national typologies slips across all too easily into racism. It is his anti-Semitism which is more noticeable to the later reader – he views Jews as commonly allies of centralised states, and recycles the Jew-as-financier stereotype among other things. He also says some decidedly Orientalist things about the Chinese, and is generally rather Eurocentric in his approach.

It seems strange that a theorist committed to class analysis would fall into such clumsy racial and national stereotyping. It might serve as a warning that ideas of national 'character' should be left well alone. On the other hand, it might simply suggest that Bakunin sometimes applied his nascent compositional analysis of national identity too clumsily.

J.S. Mill on Liberty and Democracy

[I]
J.S. MILL : GENERAL INTRODUCTION

John Stuart Mill (1806-73) was an extremely brilliant British philosopher who made significant contribution in the fields of Logic, Ethics, Politics, Economics and Metaphysics. Mill is remembered as an exponent of Utilitarianism but he applied his extraordinary talent to transform the character of utilitarianism itself. He was an ardent champion of liberty. Since liberty is the keynote of liberalism, Mill is regarded as a great liberal. Theme of liberty runs through all aspects of his political thought, including the revision of utilitarianism, his critique of democracy, his defence of a welfare state and his campaign against the subjection of women. Mill's important works include *System of Logic* (1843), *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859), *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861), *Utilitarianism* (1863) and *The Subjection of Women* (1869).

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), the founder of Utilitarianism, and other utilitarians held that the state should resort to minimum intervention in individual activities in order to secure the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number.' This meant an emphasis on the expansion of market economy and restriction of the sphere of state activity. J.S. Mill sought to revise this view of utilitarians to plead for the expansion of state activity for the promotion of general welfare. He also recommended positive role of the state for the promotion of individual liberty.

HAPPINESS = The balance of pleasure over pain caused by a thing or an act

In short, Mill came to revise the original premises of utilitarianism on two important counts :

(a) In the first place, he introduced qualitative differences between different

kinds of pleasure. He postulated that the quality of pleasure was no less important than its quantity. He argued that man does not run after physical pleasure alone. Development of his moral, intellectual and artistic faculties was equally important. A pleasure of high quality giving less satisfaction was preferable to the one of low quality giving more satisfaction.

> It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be a Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied.
>
> J.S. Mill, *Utilitarianism* (1863)

(b) By drawing a distinction between self-regarding actions and other-regarding actions, Mill proceeded to demonstrate that the state was justified in regulating such actions of the individual which affected other members of the society. This conditional departure from *laissez faire* doctrine of early liberalism paved the way for the emergence of welfare state.

LAISSEZ FAIRE

A French term which means 'leave alone'. It implied the policy of non-intervention by the state in economic activities of individuals. This phrase was in common usage in mercantile and industrial circles in nineteenth-century England and other parts of the world, to express a belief in the freedom of industry and economic activity from state interference.

Mill's revision of utilitarianism was inspired by the idea of human development. Bentham's notion of happiness had ignored such important factors as the the sense of honour and the sense of dignity. Mill sought to restore these factors as the sources of true happiness. He insisted that as human beings we must constantly stimulate each other to apply the superior faculties of our mind and spirit in order to achieve social prosperity. He still maintained that utility was the ultimate standard for judging all moral issues but the scope of this concept must be suitably expanded to make it more humane. It should recognize the progressive nature of human beings and should take into account their permanent interests. By redefining utility on these lines Mill in fact transformed its true spirit.

UTILITY

The amount of satisfaction derived from the consumption of goods or making use of services. According to the 'law of diminishing utilities', different things may be identical in terms of their 'usefulness', but with the increase in their supply, their utility starts decreasing. For example, when we are hungry, the first loaf of bread gives us maximum satisfaction. The amount of satisfaction starts decreasing with the second and subsequent loafs of bread.

The old utilitarians had conceded the importance of liberty but they had not regarded it as the essence of utilitarian philosophy. On the contrary, Mill sought to make liberty the core of his utilitarianism. He argued that the true happiness did not lie in physical satisfaction but it was derived from the development of human character. Only a person of high character can enjoy the pleasures of high quality. Individual liberty is the essential condition of character development. Liberty enables a person to explore and enjoy new types of pleasure. Liberty itself is a source of unique pleasure which belittles all other pleasures. *He who has had the taste of liberty would never be prepared to exchange it for any other pleasure* :

> He who has tasted the water of Nile will not like any other water.
>
> Egyptian Proverb

It is important to note that this notion of utility marks a departure from its original notion. It holds that intellectual and spiritual pleasures are intrinsically superior to merely sensual pleasures. It also maintains that those capable of enjoying the higher pleasures are superior to those who do not have this capacity. Now if each individual is given full liberty with an opportunity to explore his own pleasure, it would become difficult to determine a policy involving 'greatest happiness of the greatest number.' For instance, in order to promote liberty the state will have to make provision for universal education which does not give direct or immediate pleasure.

Again, if a policy claims to secure the 'greatest happiness of the greatest number' on the basis of a common notion of happiness, its enforcement would certainly curtail liberty of some persons who wish to explore new types of pleasure, and this would not be acceptable to Mill !

> Mill revolted against Bentham's material maximizing criterion of the social good. He could not agree that all pleasures were equal, nor that the market distributed them fairly. He held that men were capable of something better than the money-grubbing and starvation-avoiding existence to which Benthamism condemned them. He rejected the maximization of indifferent utilities as the criterion of social good, and put in its place the maximum development and use of human capacities—moral, intellectual, aesthetic, as well as material productive capacities.
>
> C.B. Macpherson, *Democratic Theory—Essays in Retrieval* (1973)

Apart from the revision of utilitarianism, Mill's contribution to liberal theory is also evident in transforming the old, negative view of liberalism to a new, positive view of liberalism. He expressed a serious concern with the prevailing economic inequalities which led him to the revision of his view on the right to

property. In the first edition of his *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), Mill had attacked Socialism, but in its last edition (1866), he pleaded for the limitation of the right to property which was the bedrock of the capitalist system. He argued that the right to property was not absolute or sacrosanct, and went to the extent of advocating considerable restrictions on the rights of inheritance and bequest. He maintained that the right to property in land was not sacrosanct because no man made the land; it was the original inheritance of all mankind. Rent was the effect of natural monopoly—not a product of an individual's effort : it was a fit subject for taxation. He argued that incomes of landlords continued to increase without any effort, risk or sacrifice on their part. Hence, if the state appropriated the increase of their wealth or a part thereof for diverting it to the use of the community, it was no violation of the principles on which the right to private property was founded or justified. The landlords had no claim to accession of such riches on the general principle of social justice. Mill argued that these additional riches should properly be diverted to the welfare of their real authors, that is the working class who were the real producers of wealth from the land.

This approach to the problem of taxation and the limitation of the right to property, heralded a new era of positive liberalism. It was further developed by later liberal thinkers who thoroughly rejected the tenets of *laissez-faire* individualism.

[II]
DEFENCE OF LIBERTY

> A State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes, will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished.
>
> J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (1859)

J.S. Mill was the most ardent champion of liberty. His famous essay *On Liberty* (1859) ranks with John Milton's *Areopagitica* (1644) as a great English classic on the subject. It is a powerful and eloquent plea for the liberty of thought, expression and action, not only against legislative interference, but also against the pressure of public opinion. It calls for the toleration of opinions that we fail to understand. George H. Sabine, in his *History of Political Theory* (1961) has significantly observed :

> The essay *On Liberty* was an appeal not for relief from political oppression or for a change in political organization, but for a public opinion that is genuinely tolerant, that values differences in point of view, that limits the amount of agreement it demands, and that welcomes new ideas as sources of discovery. The threat to liberty which Mill chiefly feared was not government, but a majority that is intolerant of the unconventional, that

looks with suspicion on divergent minorities, and is willing to use the weight of numbers to repress and regiment them.

Mill defends liberty of the individual to ensure the fullest development of his personality. He identifes three major areas in which liberty of the individul must be protected : (a) Freedom of thought and expression; (b) Freedom of action; and (c) Freedom of association. While he recommends fullest liberty in the sphere of thought and expression, he concedes some restriction in the sphere of freedom of action and freedom of association.

> If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind.
>
> J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (1859)

Freedom of thought and expression belongs to an individual's inward domain of consciousness. Development of his personality calls for fullest liberty of his conscience; 'liberty of thought and feeling; absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological'. Mill asserts that it is illegitimate for either government or mass pressure to interfere with the free expression of unorthodox viewpoints, for three reasons :

- In the first place, it is possible that the unorthodox opinion may be true while the accepted view may be invalid. In that case, silencing of an unorthodox opinion means robbing mankind of its benefits. In other words, the people would be deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth.
- Secondly, even if we are sure that the accepted opinion is true, we still ought not suppress the contrary opinion. The full meaning of an accepted belief cannot be understood, either intellectually or emotionally, unless it is confronted with its opposite view. A religious faith unchallenged becomes dead, even if we assume it is the expression of truth and the opposing dogma is entirely false. The collision with error gives us the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth. Silencing of a wrong opinion will deprive mankind of the opportunity of rejuvenating the truth.
- Finally, Mill argues that in real life it is unlikely that either the orthodox or the unorthodox belief system is entirely true. Human beings are hardly capable of grasping the whole truth in one go. It is most likely that our accepted beliefs are partly true and partly untrue. Free expression of contradictory opinions would be conducive to the destruction of untrue elements of our beliefs and refinement of the true elements.

Mill made a strong plea for the extension of full freedom of expression to 'cranks' on the ground that, while nine cranks out of ten are harmless idiots, the tenth is of greater value to mankind than all the normal men who seek to suppress him.

Mill advocates liberty of thought and expression on the ground of human dignity also. Apart from the question of social utility, he tried to show that individual self-determination is a basic human right. It is indispensable to the development of his sense of moral responsiblity . No line of thought or action would be morally significant unless it is followed freely and consciously, as a matter of personal coviction. No human being can have a sense of dignity and self-esteem unless he gets an opportunity to choose from alternative courses of thought and action. If the State denies this liberty to its citizens, they are bound to lose their sense of dignity. Eventually the State will realize that no great things can reallly be accomplished with the help of subdued citizens.

The need for intellectual freedom becomes more urgent with the extension of democracy. Mill realized that in a democracy, the source of intellectual authrority was found in public opinion. This led to the 'tyranny of majority'. Supremacy of public opinion demanded conformity to the generally held attitudes and standards. It led to the impression that a dissenting position must be a wrong one. On the contrary, if the State maintains full freedom of thought and expression, it will encourage the expression of all sorts of opinions. When minoriteis have the full freedom to express the dissenting opinions, it will prevent the concentration of power in the hands of majority, and thus rule out the 'tyranny of majority'.

> The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant.
>
> J.S. Mill, *On Liberty* (1859)

As regards the freedom of action and freedom of association, Mill conceded certain restrictions on these freedoms so that no one is allowed to harm or injure any other person. He draws a distinction between two types of actions of men : 'self-regarding actions' and 'other-regarding actions'. Proceeding on these premises, Mill advocates complete freedom of conduct for the individual in all matters not affecting the community, *i.e.* in the case of 'self-regarding actions'. However, in the case of 'other-regarding actions', *i.e.* in matters which do affect the community. Mill conceded the right of the community to coerce the individual if his conduct is prejudicial to its welfare. Thus, Mill defends complete freedom of conduct for the individual unless it adversely affects the community. But the state could also interfere in the self-regarding action if it was thought to be very injurious to individual himself. Thus the state would be

perfectly justified in preventing a man from crossing a bridge which was known to be unsafe.

Some critics have pointed out that it is difficult to identify purely 'self-regarding actions' of the individual. It is alleged that by allowing the state to interfere in the so-called 'other-regarding actions', Mill has given sweeping powers to the state. In view of Mill's primary concern with the welfare of society, this criticism does not seem to be well-founded, In fact Mill's distinction between 'self-regarding actions' and 'other-regarding actions' of the individual should be appreciated in the historical perspective. It meant a clear departure from the early *laissez-faire* individualism which had tried to place most of the behaviour of the individual beyond regulation, in order to vindicate the 'free market society'. Mill was making an attempt to define a sphere where an individual's behaviour could be regulated in the interests of society. Thus he was contemplating a positive role for the state in securing community welfare even if it implied curbing the liberty of the individual to some extent. In his mature years, Mill definitely moved beyond traditional liberalism. Indeed, it was in pursuance of his liberal values that Mill sought to lay the foundations of a more humane society as against the one provided by nineteenth-century capitalism.

[III]
REFLECTIONS ON DEMOCRACY

Mill's attitude to democracy remains a subject of conflicting interpretations. Some writers regard him as a great democrat; others think that his system of thought is not in consonance with the requirements of democracy. We can arrive at a balanced view on this question only after understanding his views on democracy in different contexts.

Mill's concept of democracy has been outlined in his *Considerations on Representative Government* (1861) read with the relevant parts of his essay *On Liberty* (1859). As David Held (*Political Theory and the Modern State*; 1989) has significantly observed, J.S. Mill was a clear advocate of democracy as he wanted to maintain individual liberty in all spheres of human endeavour. Liberal-democratic or representative government not only established boundaries for the pursuit of individual satisfaction, it was also instrumental in the free development of individuality. It encouraged citizens' participation in political life through voting, involvement in local administration and jury service, and sought to create their direct interest in government. According to David Held,

> Mill conceived of democratic politics as a prime mechanism of moral self- development...He likened periodic voting to the passing of a 'verdict by a juryman'—ideally the considered outcome of a process of active

deliberation about the facts of public affairs, not a mere expression of personal interest.

Mill argued that liberty and democracy, taken together, create the possibility of 'human excellence'. Liberty of thought, discussion and action are necessary conditions for the development of independence of mind and autonomous judgement. These are conducive to the development of human reason which tends to sustain liberty itself. Representative government is essential for the protection and enhancement of liberty as well as human reason. If we don't have a representative government, the rulers are likely to make arbitrary laws and create an atmosphere of tyranny. Representative democracy is the most suitable device for the enactment of laws based on human reason and the principle of liberty, as the free exchange of goods in the market-place is the most suitable method of maximizing economic liberty and economic good. Moreover, a system of representative democracy makes government accountable to the citizenry and creates wiser citizens capable of pursuing the public interest.

Mill believed that different individuals are capable of different kinds of things and only a few have developed their full capacities. Hence some citizens should have a larger share in the process of governance than others. In view of this, Mill sought to recommend a plural system of voting. Accordingly all adults should have a vote but the wiser and more talented should have more votes than the ignorant and less capable. This implied that those endowed with greater knowledge and skill—who happened to have most property and privilege—should not be outvoted by those having less knowledge and skill. In other words, the rich and the educated class should not be outvoted by the working class. Thus *Mill failed to bring the idea of democracy to its logical conclusion.* As David Held has aptly observed :

> Mill was extremely critical of vast inequalities of income, wealth and power; he recognized that they prevented the full development of most members of the labouring classes and yet he stopped short—far short—of a commitment to political and social equality. The idea that all citizens should have equal weight in the political system remained outside his actual doctrine. (*ibid.*)

On this point, Mill seems to depart from the common notion of democracy. However, it would not be fair to treat Mill as anti-democrat. He wants to make us aware of the pitfalls of democracy. He warns us that a democracy based on the authority of numbers is likely to result in the suppression of talents. The common notion of democracy is based on the principle—'every one to count for one and no one for more than one'; it ignores the obvious differences of intelligence and virtue between men. Mill asserts that this notion of democracy is detrimental to moral and intellectual excellence of mankind. Since majority is comprised of mediocres, a democracy based on the authority of numbers is

bound to be reduced to 'mediocracy', *i.e.* the rule of mediocres or the men of poor standard. Mill hopes to rectify the faults of democracy by constituting a 'representative government' based on proportional representation, plural voting and second chamber. He concedes one vote for every adult citizen, but better qualified and educated citizens would have more than one vote. For promoting the equalization of opportunities for all citizens, Mill recommends the state provision of education. He wants to assign the task of actual administration to various experts, and confine the role of government to supervision and control of administrators.

Mill of course gives some brilliant ideas to improve the efficiency of a democratic government, but his distinction between the rights of ordinary and more qualified citizens cannot be accepted, as democracy is essntially based on a faith in extraordinary potential of ordinary people.

> Democracy is based upon the conviction that there are extraordinary possibilities in ordinary people.
>
> Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878-1969)

> The great postulate of our democracy is confidence in the common sense of the people and their maturity of judgement, even on great issues—once they know the facts.
>
> William O. Douglas (1898-1980)

Q. 1. Examine J.S. Mill's arguments in defence of liberty. Evaluate his contribution to political thought .

2. "J.S. Mill was a champion of democracy. Yet he failed to bring the idea of democracy to its logical conclusion." Do you agree with this view? Give reasons for your answer.

8

Kautilya on State

Kautilya's *Arthashastra* gives clear and lucid description of different aspects of administration and the polity of his time. According to Bharti Mukerjee, "The term '*Arthashastra*' literally means the science of wealth or economics". Kautilya himself defines *Arthashastra* in the following words, "*Artha*" is the means of subsistence (*Vritti*) of men; it is in the other words, the earth (*bhumi*) which contains mankind; the science that treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth (land) and obviously with the protection and governance of the territory is the *Arthashastra*, science of polity" (Bharti Mukerjee, "Kautilya's Concept of Diplomacy"). The author of *Arthashastra*, that is, Kautilya was also known by the names of Chanakya and Vishnugupta. He was very intelligent and also a man of strong determination and firm belief. His parents use to call him Vishnugupta, whereas he was famous by the name of Kautilya. This man of wisdom was insulted by the king Nanda of Patliputra, because of which he decided to take revenge against him. He left the capital and lateron, on the way, met with a Ten year boy Chandragupta. Kautilya was convinced that Chandragupta had all the traits of being a king of not only Magadha but of the whole India. Kautilya, sometimes called India's Machiavelli or even the Indian Sun-Tzu, became the principle advisor to King Chandragupta Maurya of India (317-293 B.C.). Kautilya was a realistic, pragmatic, sensible, level-headed, reasonable, wise, down to earth and very practical thinker of his time. He took the task of removing the difficulties of administration and work towards the progress and development of the state. The suggestion, guidance, advice and direction, Kautilya set down in his book the *Arthashastra* was instrumental and influential in helping and serving the king to conquer the Indian subcontinent and establish the Mauryan Empire. *Arthashastra* is a prose consisting of 15 books, containing 6,000 units (*Slokas)* of 32 syllables each. Primarily, Kautilya discussed two important things in his *Arthashastra*, that is,

(i) Firstly, how the ruler should rule over his territory to protect and preserve it; and

(ii) Secondly, how the ruler should acquire the new territories.

He elaborately discussed the art of Government. He also minutely discussed the relationship of ruler state with foreign states including enemy, ally, and neutral states. Hence, Kautilya views his *Arthashastra* as, "The science of statecraft, of politics and administration" (R. P. Kangle, "The Kautilya *Arthashastra*, Volume I"). The title *Arthashastra* has been translated as "the science of politics", "the science of polity", and "the science of political economy". Heinrich Zimmer calls it, "timeless laws of politics, economy, diplomacy, and war" (Heinrich Zimmer, "Philosophies of India"). Roger Boesche argued that Kautilya considered the thought of an inactive, passive, credulous, superstitious view of the world as ridiculous. "One trusting in fate," Kautilya writes, "being devoid of human endeavour, perishes...The object slips away from the foolish person who continuously consults the stars...what will the stars do?" (Roger Boesche, "Kautilya's *Arthashastra* on War and Diplomacy in Ancient India"). Sankira Qin said, "Kautilya's policy was one of action, and by urging his king to rely on science and not religion, he became one of the first to separate church from state. Statecraft for Kautilya is a tool to help the ruler in preserving his authority over the state. For Kautilya, only fit and healthy management of administration with effective and efficient political and economic setup can preserve, defend and protect the state". In the words of Radha Krishna Choudhary, "Kautilya contemplates a state that is comprehensive in scope and catholic in spirit. The sphere of state activity was not restricted merely to the maintenance of the constitution necessary to the existence of society. The maintenance of promotion of social order were externally ordained and were embedded in the constitution. The society was moral laboratory of *Danda* through which primitive license and beastly freedom were restrained and curbed" (Radha Krishna Choudhary, "Kautilya's political ideas and institutions"). Radha Krishna Choudhary further said, "Kautilya state was not merely a policeman but a doctor and social reformer, playing the role of conscience and providence, touching the rectitude of each man's life, the truth of his dealing with his own conscience, and the substance of character and conduct and righteousness of both act and mental habit" (Radha Krishna Choudhary, "Kautilya's political ideas and institutions").

Concept of State

Kautilyan concept of state is very broad. Kautilya being a practical and rational thinker spent no time in discussing the origin of state and dealt directly with the concept of state. He makes an indirect reference to the origin of state and agreed to accept *Vaivasvata* Manu as king who agreed to protect the people from injustice in return for a sixth part of produce from land and trade. Radha Krishna Choudhary argued, "Judged from any standard, the Kautilyan state was a welfare state, which aimed at the exploitation of all possible resources for the benefit of the state and its citizens. Since the aim of his state was a

prosperous economy and augmentation of national wealth. Kautilya argued here that the *Artha* was the supreme constituent of *Danda*". Kautilya's definition of state is very exhaustive, extensive and wide-ranging in his approach. *Arthashastra* consists of in-depth study of almost all the organs of the state, with relevant recommendations and suggestions for the removal of hindrances in the smooth running of the administration of the state. He refers to seven important elements of state, that is, Sovereign King (*Swami*), Ministers (*Amatya*), Territory and People (*Janapada*), Fort (*Durg*), Treasury (*Kosa*), Force (*Danda*) and Ally (*Mitra*). This theory was also known as the *Saptang* theory of state. Kautilya argued that for the successful administration of the state it is necessary that the above seven elements of the state should work in an integral manner. The seven elements of state as was described by Kautilya, are briefly described below:

1. Sovereign King *(Swami)*

The first important element of state is sovereign king. According to Kautilya, the best qualities of king are as follows: The sovereign king must be born of a high family. The king must be godly, courageous and brave. King, for Kautilya, must be of non-contradictory nature and he must be truthful and grateful too. The Sovereign king must have wide large army and power, enough to control his neighbours. He must be a man of discipline and enthusiasm. King must be a man of resolute and firm mind having in possession of an assembly of ministers of uncorrupted mind. Kautilya grouped the above qualities under the first head, 'Qualities of an inviting nature'. Other three qualities defined by Kautilya consist of qualities of intellect and intuition, qualities of enthusiasm, and qualities of self-restraint and spirit.

Qualities of intellect and intuition include the quality of inquest, hearing, awareness, perception, retention in memory, reflection, expression, deliberation, inference, deduction, unwavering and steadfast adherence and obedience to conclusions.

Qualities of enthusiasm include the quality of courage, bravery, spirit, valour, determination of reason and purpose, quickness with swiftness, decency and probity.

According to Kautilya, the king "Possessed of a sharp intellect, strong memory and keen mind, energetic, powerful, trained in all kinds of arts, free from vice, capable of paying in the same coin by way of awarding punishments or rewards, possessed of dignity, capable of taking remedial measures against dangers, possessed of foresight, ready to avail himself of opportunities when afforded in respect of place, time, and manly efforts, clever enough to discern the causes necessitating the cessation of treaty or war with an enemy, or to lie in wait keeping treaties, obligations and pledges, or to avail himself of his enemy's weak points, making jokes with no loss of dignity or secrecy, never

brow-beating and casting haughty and stern looks, free from passion, anger, greed, obstinacy, fickleness, haste and back-biting habits, talking to others with a smiling face, and observing customs as taught by aged persons—such is the qualities of self-restraint and spirit" (R. P. Kangle, "The Kautilya *Arthashastra*").

Kautilya in Chapter XIX of the *Arthashastra* defines the duties of the King as follows, "If a king is energetic, his subjects will be equally energetic. If he is reckless, they will not only be reckless likewise, but also eat into his works. Besides, a reckless king will easily fall into the hands of his enemies. Hence the king shall ever be wakeful. He shall divide both the day and the night into eight *nálikas* (1½ hours), or according to the length of the shadow (cast by a gnomon standing in the sun): the shadow of three *purushás* (36 *angulás* or inches), of four *angulás* (4 inches), and absence of shadow denoting midday are the four one-eighth divisions of the forenoon; like divisions (in the reverse order) in the afternoon. Of these divisions, during the first one-eighth part of the day, he shall post watchmen and attend to the accounts of receipts and expenditure; during the second part, he shall look to the affairs of both citizens and country people; during the third, he shall not only bathe and dine, but also study; during the fourth, he shall not only receive revenue in gold (*hiranya*), but also attend to the appointments of superintendents; during the fifth, he shall correspond in writs (*patrasampreshanena*) with the assembly of his ministers, and receive the secret information gathered by his spies; during the sixth, he may engage himself in his favourite amusements or in self-deliberation; during the seventh, he shall superintend elephants, horses, chariots, and infantry, and during the eighth part, he shall consider various plans of military operations with his commander-in-chief. At the close of the day, he shall observe the evening prayer (*sandhya*). During the first one-eighth part of the night, he shall receive secret emissaries; during the second, he shall attend to bathing and supper and study; during the third, he shall enter the bed-chamber amid the sound of trumpets and enjoy sleep during the fourth and fifth parts; having been awakened by the sound of trumpets during the sixth part, he shall recall to his mind the injunctions of sciences as well as the day's duties; during the seventh, he shall sit considering administrative measures and send out spies; and during the eighth division of the night, he shall receive benedictions from sacrificial priests, teachers, and the high priest, and having seen his physician, chief cook and astrologer, and having saluted both a cow with its calf and a bull by circumambulating round them, he shall get into his court. Or in conformity to his capacity, he may alter the timetable and attend to his duties.

When in the court, he shall never cause his petitioners to wait at the door, for when a king makes himself inaccessible to his people and entrusts his work to his immediate officers, he may be sure to engender confusion in

business, and to cause thereby public disaffection, and himself a prey to his enemies.

He shall, therefore, personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Bráhmans learned in the Vedas, of cattle, of sacred places, of minors, the aged, the afflicted, and the helpless, and of women;—all this in order (of enumeration) or according to the urgency or pressure of those works. All urgent calls he shall hear at once, but never put off; for when postponed, they will prove too hard or impossible to accomplish. Having seated himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, he shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities; and that in company with his high priest and teacher and after preliminary salutation (to the petitioners). Accompanied by persons proficient in the three sciences (*trividya*) but not alone lest the petitioners be offended, he shall look to the business of those who are practising austerities, as well as of those who are experts in witchcraft and Yoga.

Of a king, the religious vow is his readiness to action; satisfactory discharge of duties is his performance of sacrifice; equal attention to all in the offer of fees and ablution towards consecration. In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good. Hence the king shall ever be active and discharge his duties; the root of wealth is activity, and of evil its reverse. In the absence of activity, acquisitions present and to come will perish; by activity he can achieve both his desired ends and abundance of wealth" (R. Shamasastry, "Kautilya's *Arthashastra*").

2. Ministers (*Amatya*)

No king can govern the country all alone. He needs the wheels of administration move only with the help of the set of faithful people named *Amatya* (minister). Successful kings always have assistance of intelligent ministers. That is why Kautilya deals in detail with the qualifications and appointments of ministers. *Amatya* literally means minister but in *Arthashastra* it defines as any high official of the government. In Chapter IX of the Book I of *Arthashastra*, Kautilya exhaustively deals with procedure of creation of councillors and priests. According to him "a native, born of high family, influential, well trained in arts, possessed of foresight, wise, of strong memory, bold, eloquent, skillful, intelligent, possessed of enthusiasm, dignity, and endurance, pure in character, affable, firm in loyal devotion, endowed with excellent conduct, strength, health and bravery, free from procrastination and fickle mindedness, affectionate, and free from such qualities as excitement hatred and enmity, are the qualifications of a ministerial officer (*amátyasampat*).

The minister possessed of one-half or one-quarter of the above qualifications, come under the category of middle and low ranks. Kautilya in clear words said that of these above qualifications, native birth and influential

position shall be ascertained from reliable persons; educational qualifications (*silpa*) from professors of equal learning; theoretical and practical knowledge, foresight, retentive memory, and affability shall be tested from successful application in works; eloquence, skillfulness and flashing intelligence from power shown in narrating stories (*kathâyogeshu*, that is, in conversation); endurance, enthusiasm, and bravery in troubles; purity of life, friendly disposition, and loyal devotion by frequent association; conduct, strength, health, dignity, and freedom from indolence and fickle mindedness shall be ascertained from their intimate friends; and affectionate and philanthrophic nature by personal experience.

The works of a king may be visible, invisible (*paroksha*) and inferential. That which he sees is visible; and that which he is taught by another is invisible; and inference of the nature of what is not accomplished from what is accomplished is inferential. As works do not happen to be simultaneous, are various in forms, and pertain to distant and different localities, the king shall, in view of being abreast of time and place, depute his ministers to carry them out. Such is the work of ministers.

Him whose family and character are highly spoken of, who is well educated in the *Vedás* and the six *Angas*, is skillful in reading portents providential or accidental, is well versed in the science of government, and who is obedient and who can prevent calamities providential or human, by performing such expiatory rites as are prescribed in the *Atharvaveda*, the king shall employ as high priest. As a student his teacher, a son his father, and a servant his master, the king shall follow him.

That *Kshatriya* breed which is brought up by Brahmans, is charmed with the counsels of good councillors, and which faithfully follows the precepts of the *shastras* becomes invincible and attains success though unaided with weapons" (R. Shamasastry, "Kautilya's *Arthashastra*", Book I). In short, for Kautilya the Minister must be a citizen of the state only and must have all the qualities discussed above in the chapter.

3. Territory and People (*Janapada*)

The third important element of state is territory and people of the state. Janapada consists of both territory and people. According to Kautilya, the territory of the state must not be rocky, stony, saline, gravel, irregular, uneven and thorny. The territory must also be free from the wastelands, tigers, beasts, and wilderness. The territory need to have fertile land, forests, elephants, timber etc. Kautilya also says that only that territory is good which should be filled with fertile land, milk giving animals, pet animals, animals used in agriculture, etc. People for Kautilya are the most important element of state. Only healthy, intelligent, faithful, trustworthy and clever citizens can be good for the state. People must have guts to face the enemy at the time of war and always ready

to participate in army. Citizens must give regular tax to the king of the state. The population must show hostile attitude towards the enemies of the state.

Kautilya comprehensively lists down the qualities of an ideal *Janapada*:

"1. It should have enough space for the construction of forts, and so forth.

2. It should have enough subsistence for its own people and those coming from outside.

3. It should be capable of easy defence at the time of danger.

4. It should provide easy subsistence for its people.

5. It should hate the enemy.

6. It should be capable of keeping control over vassal chiefs.

7. It should have no muddy, stony, barren, or uneven soil.

8. It should have no hostile associations of people.

9. It should have no wild animals and jungles.

10. It should have agricultural lands, mines and forests yielding economic products and sheltering elephants.

11. It should be good for cattle and for human beings.

12. It should be rich in domestic animals.

13. It should not depend upon rain for water supply.

14. It should be provided with water-ways and land-ways.

15. It should have valuable and varied merchandise.

16. It should be able to bear the burden of the King's taxes and fines.

17. Its agriculturists should be industrious and its men should be intelligent.

18. It should have a large population of lower castes.

19. Its people should be faithful and pure" (H. H. Das and P.S.N. Patro, "Indian Political Traditions"). Kautilya further said that the population of the state must follow the law of the land and population must consist of devoted agriculturalists. That is why the term *Janapada* consists of both territory and people.

4. Fort (*Durg*)

The fourth important constituent of the state is *durg* or forts. According to Kautilya, "On all the four quarters of the boundaries of the kingdom, defensive fortifications against an enemy in war shall be constructed on grounds best fitted for the purpose: a water-fortification (*audaka*) such as an island in the midst of a river, or a plain surrounded by low ground; a mountainous fortification (*párvata*) such as a rocky tract or a cave; a desert (*dhánvana*) such as a wild tract devoid of water and overgrown with thicket growing in barren soil; or a forest fortification (*vanadurga*) full of wagtail (*khajana*), water and thickets". Kautilya further advises that of the above types of fortifications, water and mountain fortifications are best suited to defend the populous centres of the state. Whereas, desert and forest fortifications are essential for the habitations in wilderness. Kautilya also discusses "the depth of the three ditches

outside of the fort with an intermediate space of one *danda* (6 ft.) from each other, fourteen, twelve and ten *dandas* respectively in width, with depth less by one quarter or by one-half of their width, square at their bottom and one-third as wide as at their top, with sides built of stones or bricks, filled with perennial flowing water or with water drawn from some other source, and possessing crocodiles and lotus plants, shall be constructed" (R. Shamasastry, "Kautilya's *Arthashastra*", Book II).

5. Treasury (*Kosha*)

Treasury is one of the most necessary constituent of the state. Without the *Kosa*, the healthier and prosperous state is impossible. It consists of the finance of the state. According to Kautilya only that state is prosperous whose *kosa* was rich in gold, silver and gems. He also said that the *kosa* must be legally acquired by the forefathers of the king or the king himself. He also stressed the fact that a healthy *kosa* must have enough to face the bigger calamities.

6. Force (*Danda*)

Danda (Force) was yet another most essential component of state without which no state can think of its existence at all. For Kautilya, the best army consists of hereditary soldiers and hired soldiers constituting the cavalry. The army should consist of cavalry, infantry, and the chariot riders. The force must be such as to control the internal as well as external rebellions. Kautilya considers *kshatriyas* as the best person suited for the job of the army as because they are considered as good warriors. Kautilya has divided the force into following parts.

(i) Hereditary forces;
(ii) Hired forces;
(iii) Soldiers of fighting corporations;
(iv) Ally forces;
(v) Enemy forces; and
(vi) Tribal forces.

Kautilya also says that at the time of emergency, soldiers from the other caste must also be included in the forces. Families of the forces should be provided with the healthier means of living and the forces should be provided with the training and equipments necessary for fighting the war.

7. Ally (*Mitra*)

The Kautilyan concept of ally is more diplomatic in character. No state can exist in isolation and hence needs to have relations with the foreign countries. According to him, an ally must be honest and trustworthy so that he can be helpful at the time of calamities such as war. According to Kautilya, there are two types of allies. One is natural (*Sahaj*) from the times of the

fathers or forefathers and the other one is acquired (*Kritrim*) with the help of diplomatic relations. Natural allies are better than acquired ones because they are free from treachery and ready for help when ever state needs. Hence, he is the ideal *mitra*.

After discussing the above seven elements of the state or the *Saptanga* theory of the Kautilyan *Arthashastra* we find that all the elements revolve around the preservation and protection of the sovereign king. Kautilya further discussed the main pillars of statecraft that is, espionage, diplomats, integrity of administration, planning and diplomacy. According to Kautilya, king must arrange and deploy secret agents in every division and sector of society. He was in favour of deploying prostitutes for the purposes of spying. Due to the web of spies, the drawback of lack of means of transport and communication was triumphed.

As because Kautilya gave much importance to diplomacy, hence the role of the diplomat (*Duta*) becomes very crucial. The duties entrusted to the diplomats are very important. Their efficiency in duty is responsible for the preservation and protection of state and the expansion of the territory of the state.

For maintaining the integrity in the administration Kautilya uses the web of the spies for checking the character of the administrators. The corrupt officials are strictly dealt by the state. Kautilya also provided various means of punishing the corrupt officials. For honest officials Kautilya provided incentives too.

Kautilya was also aware of the importance of planning to a greater extent in the formulation of the public policies. In his *Arthashastra* he particularly dealt with the economic planning very minutely. He also formulated rules for the fixation of price of the essential commodities.

Kautilya discussed diplomacy in detail. Below we shall discuss his *Mandala* theory in detail which is a treatise of international politics:

Mandala Theory of State

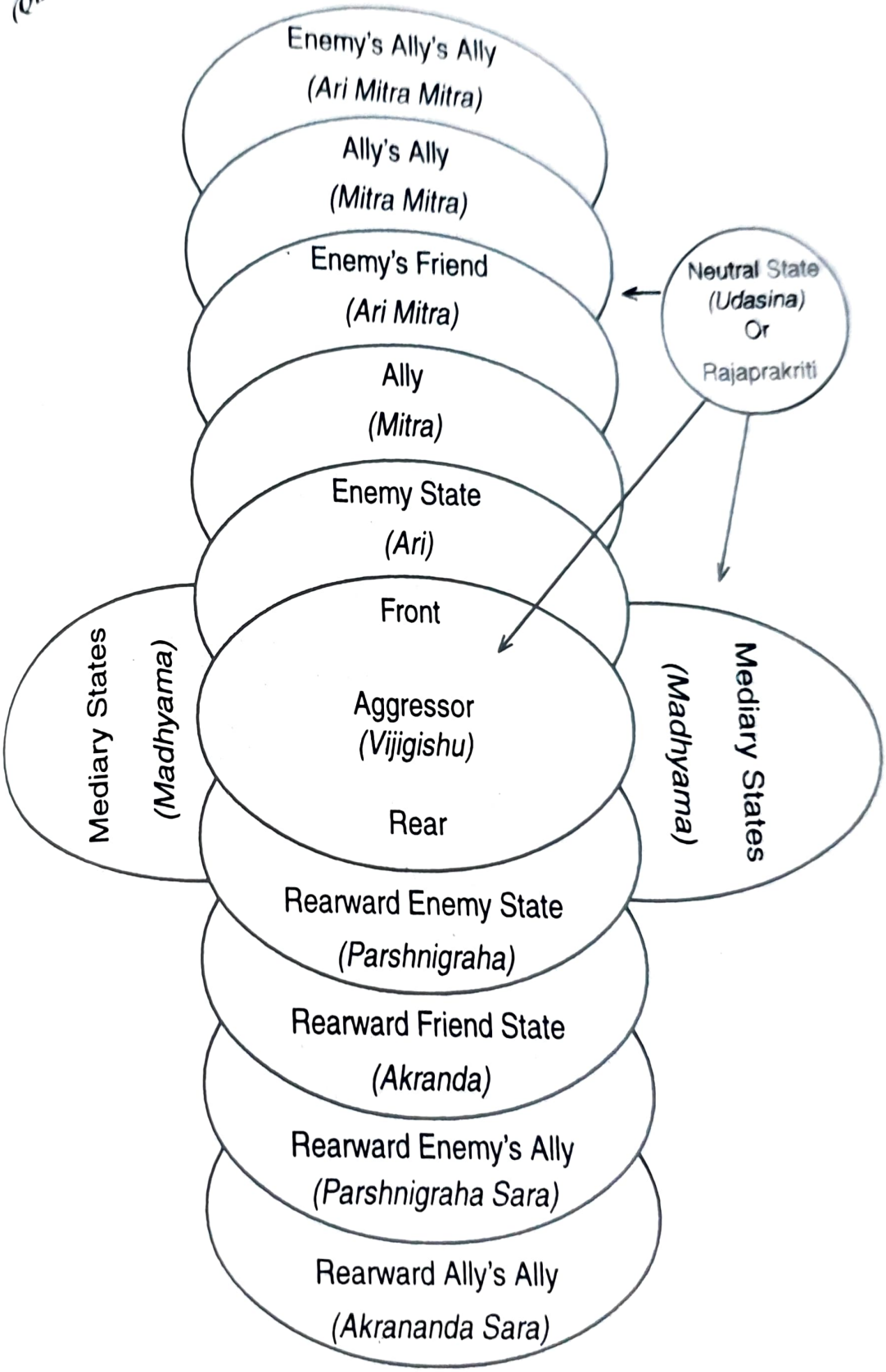
According to Kautilya, "A King who understands the true implications of *nyaya* or diplomacy conquers the whole world". Bharti Mukerjee views, "Kautilya's *Arthashastra* introduces us to a number of important concepts in the fields of international relations. For Example, the *mandala* concept, the six types of foreign policy, three conditions of state, three powers, four *upayas*, principles guiding the institutions of diplomatic envoys etc" (Bharti Mukerjee, "Kautilya's concept of Diplomacy").

According to this theory a king has to oppress the neighbouring foreign countries for the expansion of the state. And to fulfil the above aim, the king has to maintain a healthy diplomatic relation with the neighbouring countries. The king has to be cautious about the relationship with the neighbouring countries. In the words of U. N. Ghosal, "It contemplates a system of states

bound by hostile, friendly or neutral relations with an ambitious potentate as its central figure"

MANDALA THEORY OF STATE

(Quoted from Bharti Mukerjee's, "Kautilya's Concept of Diplomacy.")



STATAL CIRCLE OF TWELVE KINGS

Fig. 1

The above figure presumes that Kautilya contemplates the presence of twelve kings. The central point of the gravity is the king of that state who wants to establish the hegemony over the other states. That is why he is termed as aggressor (*Vijigishu*) state. Kautilya said that on the one side of the state is enemy state (*Ari*), whereas on the other side of the enemy state is natural ally (*Mitra*) state. After ally's state comes, enemy's friend (*Ari Mitra*) followed by ally's ally (*Mitra Mitra*) state. Lastly comes, enemy's ally's ally (*Ari Mitra Mitra*). In front, there are six states including that of aggressor.

In the rear side of the aggressor state, the first state is called rearward enemy (*Parshnigraha*) state. The next state is called a rearward friend (*Akranda*) state. The next state is called a rearward enemy's ally (*Parshnigraha Sara*) state. The next state is rearward ally's ally (*Akranda* Sara) state.

From the two sides aggressor is covered by mediary (*Madhyama*) states also. These kings are capable of helping both the states. There is one more state, far from the aggressor state called neutral (*Udasina*) state. This state is very powerful and capable of helping or resist the enemy state as well as mediary states. This is also termed as *Rajprakriti*.

Functions of State

The state of Kautilya was completely controlling the lives of the citizens. It worked not only in promoting and preserving the state but was also working towards the happiness of its citizens. Kautilya outlined the following important functions of the State-

(i) Protection of the Society – "The state assured the minimum standard of living for all its citizens and in that sense, it acted as a great ministry of social assurance. Kautilya was alive to the dangers facing the state, and therefore, he formulated elaborate rules concerning the calamities that might overtake a sovereign country". The protection of society from both the internal and external calamities is the work of the state. Protection of the property of the population and their welfare is the work of the state.

(ii) Maintaining the Common law – "The state should look to the maintenance of common law as embodied in the ancient customs and usages of the land. Kautilya affirmed not only that all the righteous customs practiced in a country were to be maintained by a conqueror, but the latter should adopt the same mode of life, the same dress, language and custom as those of the conquered people". Kautilya said that the state must strictly maintain the common law and punish the person who is found violating the law of the land. He prescribes strict punishments for the persons violating the virginity of the girl. According to Kautilya, "He who defiles a virgin of equal caste before she has reached her majority (maturity) shall have his hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 panas; if the virgin dies in consequence, the offender shall be put to death. He who defiles a virgin of lesser caste who has attained majority

ilya contemplates the presence of
vity is the king of that state who
er states. That is why he is termed
hat on the one side of the state is
of the enemy state is natural ally
's friend (*Ari Mitra*) followed by
enemy's ally's ally (*Ari Mitra*
that of aggressor.
e first state is called rearward
led a rearward friend (*Akranda*)
y's ally (*Parshnigraha Sara*)
nda Sara) state.
mediary (*Madhyama*) states
e states. There is one more
Udasina) state. This state is
emy state as well as mediary

g the lives of the citizens.
tate but was also working
d the following important

d the minimum standard
as a great ministry of
facing the state, and
calamities that might
from both the internal
on of the property of

should look to the
customs and usages
s customs practiced
latter should adopt
om as those of the
ictly maintain the
he law of the land.
ne virginity of the
caste before she
f or pay a fine of
be put to death.
ty shall have his

middle finger cut off or pay a fine of 200 panas, besides giving an adequate compensation to her father. No man shall have sexual intercourse with a woman against her will. He who defiles a willing virgin shall pay a fine of 54 panas, while the maiden herself shall pay a fine of half the amount. When a man impersonates another man who has already paid the nuptial fee to a woman, he shall have his hand cut off or pay a fine of 400 panas, besides making good the nuptial fee" (R. Shamasastry, "Kautilya's *Arthashastra*")

(iii) Upholding the Social Order – "The state should protect the *Dharma* of the land as it was of fundamental importance. According to Kautilya, the duty of the king consists in protecting his subjects with justice and its observance leads him to heaven. He who does not protect his people or upset the social order, wields his royal scepter in vain". The main duty of the state, according to Kautilya, is the maintenance of social order. State should take measures for the protection of the *Dharma* and would protect the various *varnas* of the society.

(iv) Promotion of Social Welfare – "Promotion of social welfare was the keynote of state policy. The interests of the people were to be the interests of the sovereign, according to Kautilya" (Radha Krishna Choudhary, "Kautilya's political ideas and institutions"). The welfare of the population of the state is the prime duty of the state. The state should make provisions for the welfare of the women, poor and children of the state. Kautilya also said that the interests of the aged population, pregnant women, etc should also be protected on priority basis.

Conclusion

In short, the Kautilyan state is very exhaustive in its functions. Kautilyan state can be called as welfare state. The state of Kautilya also took the measures to provide avenues of employment to a large body of inhabitants. Kautilya, on the one hand, accepts the joint family system, and on the other hand, forced the individual's responsibility towards his family.

In the words of Sankira Qin, "As a realist, he (Kautilya) believed that every nation acts to maximize its own interests and power. Alliances were only good as long as they were in the best interest of both parties. However, as soon as the balance of power shifts, allies may become enemies…and enemies may become allies. Since this is the natural order and to be expected, it is only the responsibility of the king to maintain his own kingdom's best interest at heart when dealing with foreign powers, be they friend or foe. One retains an ally, not because of goodwill or a moral obligation, but due to one's strength, the use of which can advance both, one's own self-interest as well as that of an ally. "…when one has an army, one's ally remains friendly, or the enemy becomes friendly." The fact that countries act in their own self-interest was a timeless principle of Kautilya's *Arthashastra*". The Kautilyan theory of state

MARX ON STATE

Bourgeois State

According to Lenin, no question has been more confused by bourgeois sociologists than that of the state, because no other question is as vital to the interests of the ruling classes. They picture the state as some kind of supernatural force given to man by providence since time immemorial. They see it supposedly having no class character but merely an innocuous 'instrument of order' or an 'arbiter' called upon to resolve disputes which may arise between people regardless of their class affiliation. Such a 'theory' of the state serves to justify the privileges of the bourgeoisie, the existence of exploitation, and capitalism. True scientific explanation of the origin of the state, its essence and its role in society's life is possible only under Marxism-Leninism.

Origin of the State: The Marxist Perspective

Politics and state, according to Marx, are but part of the superstructure, the substructure of which is the economic system of society. Engels gives a clear exposition of the Marxist theory of the origin of the state in his famous book *The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (1884).*

For Engles, the state owes its origin to historical materialism. and state is a product of society at a certain stage of development. The origin of the state is associated with the division of society into classes with conflicting economic interests leading to struggle of classes. State emerges as an organization of the possessing class for its protection against the non-possessing class. The state is merely an instrument of exploitation which the dominant class uses to maintain and perpetuate its class hegemony. The state is neither a natural institution (Aristotle), nor a creature of contract (Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau), nor a boon from God (theory of divine origin), nor the image and reality of reason (Hegel), but a necessity at a specific historical moment. When the society becomes entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, the need for power seemingly standing above society arises to keep antagonisms and class struggles within the bounds of order. Moderating the conflict

is its role. In spite of acting as a shock absorber in the interest of the dominant class, the state fails to end the struggle.

Thus state comes into being only with the emergence of classes; it has not existed from all eternity. The primitive communal society has been a stateless society. With the cleavage of society into classes and owing to the fact of this cleavage the state becomes a necessity. For example, the state of antiquity was a slave-owing state; its purpose was to hold down the slaves. The feudal state was the organ of nobility designed to hold down the peasants, serfs and bondsmen. The modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital. But if society becomes classless, due to development of socialistic mode of production, so do argue Marxists, the state will inevitably fall and wither away automatically.

Gramsci examines the relationship between base (substructure) and superstructure and concludes that state originates through the struggle of three types of social forces: (a) *which provide leadership*, (b) *against whom struggle is waged* and (c) *some auxiliaries or allied forces which lend active or passive consent to the leaders*.

In short, the state comes into being through domination and hegemony. The state suppresses some enemies, dominates antagonistic groups, which it tends to liquidate, or to subjugate perhaps even by armed force. But indeed it maintains its supremacy by means of intellectual and moral leadership. It gets the consent of people by creating false consciousness through its superior means of propaganda or ideological apparatus at its command. Since the state in modern times has founded 'hegemonic rule' through domination and intellectual and moral leadership, a revolution to be successful must break the hegemony and ideological basis of the state at the same time. Gramsci assigns this task to 'organic intellectuals' and party organization.

Marxist theory of the origin of the state thus is a revolutionary philosophy of change. It envisages the suppression of the bourgeois state by a socialist revolution. It is spearheaded by the leadership of the organized working class who will forcibly capture the state power and establish a 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. According to Engels, the bourgeois state does not wither away, but is abolished by the proletariat in the course of the revolution. What withers away after this revolution is the proletarian state or semi-state. In the meanwhile, the proletarian state establishes a classless society by building a socialist economy, abolishing private property and creating a non-alienated social man and an exploitation-free social order.

Thus as against the liberals of myriad hues Marxists demonstrate that the state is not something introduced into society from the outside. It is indeed a product of society's internal development i.e., the state comes into being by changes in material production. The succession of one mode of production by another causes a change in the state system.

Marxists argue that the state has not always existed in history. Primitive society which had no private property and no classes had no state either. Naturally, there were certain social functions, but they were performed by men chosen by all of society which had the right to dismiss these people at any time and to appoint

others. In those distant times relations between people were regulated by public opinion. The further development of the productive forces resulted in the disintegration of primitive society. Accordingly private property appeared, accompanied by classes—slaves and slave-owners. It became necessary to protect private property, the rule and security of its owners, and this brings the state into being. The birth of the state and its further development are accompanied by a fierce class struggle.

According to Marxism, the state is a product of class society. It arises with the appearance of classes and it will vanish, wither away with the disappearance of classes. But this will happen only under communism.

The Essence of the State

In an antagonistic class society the state is a political instrument, a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another. The class dominating economically, i.e., possessing the means of production, acquires in the state a powerful instrument for the subjection of the oppressed and exploited. The state has thus a clearly defined class character. Being the principal component of the superstructure founded on the economic basis of society, the state takes every measure to strengthen and protect this basis.

What are the features of a state?

The main feature of a state is the existence of public (social) authority representing the interests of the class which dominates economically and not of the entire population. This authority rests on the army, and the police, jails etc. In primitive society all the people were armed, but in a society divided into hostile classes, the armed forces are in the hands of the ruling class. They are used to suppress the people, to subordinate them to a handful of exploiters. Representative bodies (parliaments), the huge bureaucratic administrative machine with a whole army of officials, intelligence agencies, the courts, procurator's offices and prisons – all are used for the same purpose. All of them combined make up the political authority of the exploiting state.

As class contradictions deepen and the class struggle intensifies, the state machine expands. This process is particularly intensive in contemporary capitalist society where the state machine and the armed forces have grown to an unprecedented size.

While in primitive society people settled in consanguineous groups, in a modern state the population is grouped territorially; i.e., in districts, counties, states, regions, etc. Territorial settlement is a result of the development of production, the increasing division of labour and the growth of trade and commodity exchange.

The State in an Exploiting Society

The state in any exploiting society, (slave-owning, feudal, or capitalist) is designed to protect the interests of the ruling class both within the country, in relations with

other classes, and outside, in relations with other states. There are therefore two main trends or functions in the activities of a state: internal and external. The internal function is the main one and it determines all the foreign affairs of a state. Let us examine these functions:

The internal function of a state is to suppress the working people, to subordinate them to the small group of oppressors. This reflects the class nature of the 'state and is expressed in its internal policy, the struggle against the oppressed classes'. The first exploiting state is the slave-owning state. It is later succeeded by the feudal state, which in turn is superseded by the capitalist state. In spite of certain differences, all the three have one task in common: to keep the people in check and to crush their attempt to emancipate themselves from exploitation. The slave-owning state uses armed force to put down the slaves who rise against their masters. The feudal state forcibly binds the peasants to the landlord's estate and cruelly punishes those who refuse to toil for the landlord. The numerous peasant uprisings have ended in blood baths. The capitalist state, although it likes to parade in democratic garb, is also a machine for the subjection of the working people. Its real purpose is to protect private capitalist property, maintain wage-slavery and crush the revolutionary movement of the proletariat.

The external function of the exploiting state is to seize foreign territories or defend its own land from attack. This is reflected in its relations with other states and is expressed in its foreign policy. Foreign policy of a state stems from home policy and is a continuation of the latter. The reactionary, predatory foreign policy of contemporary imperialism is a natural supplement to its home policy of suppressing the working class and all other progressive forces.

Types of State and Forms of Rule

States differ according to the class they serve and the economic basis on which they arise. Four types of state are known in history: slave-owning, feudal, capitalist and socialist. In contrast to the first three, which defend the interests of the exploiters, the socialist state is a state of a new type, a genuine state of the people. Each type of state has its intrinsic form of government, i.e., order, organization of rule by the dominant class. The form of government depends on the concrete historical conditions in each country, on the balance of the class forces and external conditions. However diverse the forms of government, however much they may change, the type of state, its class nature, remains unaltered. It continues to be within the framework of the given economic system. Lenin notes that a slave-owning society has different forms of government: a monarchy—the rule of one man, the emperor, the monarch; a republic–elective rule; aristocracy-the rule of a relatively small minority; democracy–the rule of the majority. In spite of these differences, the state in the slave-owning era, as Lenin writes is a state of the slave-owners. Feudal society too presents a similar picture. A monarchy is the most widespread form of government

in the feudal state, but at times it also appears in other forms, for example, a republic. Whatever the form, the feudal state serves as an instrument for suppressing the serfs and the artisans.

Diversity of form is also true of the liberal state. Most frequently this state appears as a republic. Under capitalism, the monarchic form seldom exists and the rule of the monarch is in one way or another restricted by the constitution. In the imperialist era the bourgeoisie also makes use of fascist dictatorship. The unlimited power of the bourgeoisie is exercised in favour of the bourgeois or the dominant ruling class even in a so-called liberal state. With society's development the types and forms of the state change.

Liberal ideologists are fond of talking about the progressive role of the bourgeois state. They claim that only this state has brought the people full freedom, it is the highest type of democracy, genuine democracy. Today reformists are particularly vociferous in this respect. They portray the bourgeois state as a force standing above classes, equally restraining both labour and capital.

The capitalist state, they assert, has ceased to be the organ of only one class, the capitalist class, now serves all classes in society. There is, however, no evidence to support this statement, though it is correct that at the dawn of capitalism the bourgeois state did in fact possess some progressive features. It helped to introduce and develop capitalist production relations, which were more advanced than feudal relations. But the fact is that even in its heyday, however, the bourgeois state was not a democracy for all. Yet despite the restricted nature of bourgeois democracy, it affords the working class for more favourable conditions than open dictatorships do for waging a successful struggle against the bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and for socialism. That is why the working class in the capitalist countries, heading all the progressive forces, persistently combats the onslaught of the reactionaries, and fights for democracy and curtailment of monopoly rule.

Dictatorship of the Proletariat

According to Marxists, the proletariat has the great historical mission of destroying capitalism and building a classless communist society. Yet this new society will not grow out of capitalism directly and at once. Between capitalism and socialism 'lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. Corresponding to this is also a political transition period in which the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletarian'. The dictatorship of the proletariat arises as a result of the successful socialist revolution and through demolition of the bourgeois state machine. It is a qualitatively new type of state. It differs radically from the previous states in regard to its class nature, the forms of state organization and the role it is destined to play. All the preceding types of state were but tools of the exploiting classes used for the subjection of the working people. They were designed to reinforce the system of exploitation and to perpetuate the division of society into oppressors and oppressed. The dictatorship of the proletariat, however,

is the rule of the working class which, together with all the other working people, destroys capitalism and builds a new society without antagonistic classes and exploitation. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the crux of Marxism. Only dictatorship, the undivided power of the proletariat, enables the proletariat to put an end to capitalism and build socialism. It is only natural, therefore, that the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat has always been, and remains, the pivot of the struggle against reformism and revisionism.

Function of the Proletarian State

Lenin calls the dictatorship of the proletariat the touchstone for testing the real understanding and recognition of Marxism. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is a state which exists in the period of the transition from capitalism to socialism. This period is characterized by a multi-structural economy and the bitter class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The crucial task facing the proletariat at that time is to break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie, and together with all the working people, to build socialism. This task determines the functions of the proletarian state. One of the main domestic functions of the proletarian state in the transition period is the function of suppressing the exploiting classes, the bourgeoisie in the first place. Deprived of its political domination the bourgeoisie in any country cannot reconcile itself to its defeat and the loss of power and privileges, and therefore viciously resists the victorious proletariat. The suppression of the bourgeoisie, however, is not an aim in itself for the proletariat. Its main aim is to build socialism, to create a new, socialist economy. What makes this task so difficult is that the socialist revolution begins when there are no ready-made economic forms of socialism. It is the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the proletarian state, to organize the economic life of society. For this they need to take immediate steps to build up a new type of economy superior to capitalism, the economy of socialism. The task of the proletarian state in fulfilling this function is to secure socialism's economic victory over capitalism and thus attain a higher level of the social organization of labour than under capitalism. Once the basic means of production have been nationalized the proletarian state immediately should take over command position in the economy and organize its planned, science-based management. As socialism progresses the economic and organizational function of the state gains in scope and with the victory of socialism, will embrace literally all branches of the national economy.

Yet socialist construction is not confined to the establishment of a socialist economy. It is inconceivable that without a steadfast growth of the awareness and culture of the people, and the obliteration of the survivals of the past in their consciousness, the goal of socialist revolution will be achieved. It is only natural, therefore, that the education of the working people, particularly the semi-proletarian strata and the peasantry, in the spirit of socialism, along with the promotion of their general education and professional and cultural level are the key tasks of the

proletarian state. It is all the more important to immediately solve this problem because those who have been the exploiters for centuries enslaving the working people and in every way suppressing their striving for culture and knowledge will not let the transition to socialism be smooth and easy.

In the phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat the proletarian state acts as the chief guide and instrument of the cultural revolution which is an important element of the socialist revolution. The role played by the state in promoting cultural development and the education of the working people will find its expression in its cultural and educational function.

In the sphere of foreign policy the activity of the proletarian state will be characterized by the function of the struggle for peace between the peoples, and the function of the country's defence against imperialist aggression. While persistently working for peace the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat will constantly strengthen the country's defence and its armed forces as well.

Both liberal and reformist political commentators shout from the rooftops about 'universal democracy', 'democracy for all', which they find existing in the capitalist world. They hold up this 'pure' bourgeois democracy in contrast to the dictatorship of the proletariat which is supposed to be a bureaucratic, undemocratic rule. In reality, the Marxists assert, the very opposite is the case. The bourgeois democracy, is merely a screen for the omnipotence of the moneybags and for the actual lack of rights of the working people. The aim of bourgeois democracy is to perpetuate the capitalist system, the exploitation of the millions of working people by the negligible minority of the rich.

For them only the proletarian state is truly democratic. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a qualitatively new type of democracy. This, as Lenin writes, is democracy for the overwhelming majority of the people and the exclusion of the exploiters and oppressors from this democracy. In the process of its development it increasingly turns into socialist democracy of the whole people. The qualitatively new type of democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat stems from its very nature, its aims and purposes. Only in a firm alliance with all the working people and with the democratic forces, of course with support of the masses can the proletariat organize themselves into a disciplined force to break down the resistance of the exploiting classes. This is how they will retain power, build socialism and in this way bring the people to a life of happiness.

The alliance of the working class, the non-proletariat sections of town and country, above all the peasants, they all constitute the basis, or the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It will embody the fullest and all-round expression of the genuine democracy of the proletarian state.

A primary distinction of proletarian democracy is that it not only proclaims the rights of the working people, but also provides the conditions for the people to exercise them. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat the working people possess not formal rights, as make bourgeois state, but they actually govern the country and

directly, or through their representatives, manage its entire economic, political and cultural life.

The proletarian state guarantees the exercise of democratic rights by providing the corresponding material facilities. The working people own all the means of production, This enables them to manage the country's economy and to exercise their right to work. Schools, universities, scientific and cultural institutions, health and holiday homes give them the opportunity to exercise their rights to education and also to rest and leisure. The working people have at their disposal prints hops, stocks of paper, radio stations, the best buildings, etc. This enables them to enjoy freedom of the press, speech, assembly, freedom of organization, etc.

The working people actively take part in the political life of the country and in state affairs. They do so through their wide participation in various state bodies, in numerous committees and commissions and also through their own social organizations. In a word, proletarian democracy, as Lenin asserts, is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy.

From the Socialist State to State of the Whole People

A distinctive feature of the state of the whole people is that it does not have to perform the function of suppressing the exploiting classes because they have ceased to exist as a result of the victory of socialism. This, however, does not mean that the working class has completely withdrawn from the class struggle: it wages its class struggle in close unity with the co-opted peasantry and the working intelligentsia against international imperialism.

Furthermore, relying on the support of all working people, on their consciousness and organization, the state takes recourse to necessary measures of coercion with regard to persons who violate the laws, standards and principles of socialist society.

Dictatorship of the proletariat and the state of the whole people are not qualitatively different types of state. In point of fact they are stages in the development of a socialist-type state. The state of the whole people continues to further the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat and all needed institutions and organizations to build communist society. Its social basis is the working class, the collective-farm peasantry and the intelligentsia, but above all the working class. The last one is the most advanced, organized and conscious force of socialist society– playing the leading role. The state of the whole people raises to a new height that what is the main content of proletarian dictatorship viz, socialist democracy. It preserves and develops the basic functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, with the exception, of the function of suppressing exploiters.

It follows that the socialist state invariably safeguards people's rights and freedoms and socialist law. The state is particularly concerned with safeguarding socialist property, 'the economic foundation of socialism, whose all-round development and consolidation is vital for successful communist construction.'

Owing to rapid economic growth, the managerial function of a modern state

have become much more complex and multiform. In the transition period from capitalism to socialism this function of the state is designed to ensure the economic victory of the socialist forces over the capitalist forces in the country,

However this immediate task of building of socialism is transformed to build the material and technical base of communism. It is charged to transforming socialist relations into communist relations and further improving the well-being of the people. In the process the state comes to play an increasing role in controlling the measure of labour and the measure of consumption.

The foreign policy function of the proletarian state broadens in the period of the gradual transition from socialism to communism in view of the serious changes occurring in the international situation. The strengthening and development of the fraternal cooperation with the socialist countries. Such is the new function which the people have to perform to lend credibility and support to the emerging socialist system.

Another new function is to support the struggle of the peoples for liberation from colonial and neocolonial oppression.

At the same time the proletarian state strengthens the country's defensive capacity in every way because, as long as imperialism which is pregnant with the threat of aggressive wars exists, a socialist country cannot feel complacent and insured against the possibility of aggression.

The Withering Away of the State

The fact that it is necessary to strengthen and develop the socialist state does not mean that it will exist for ever. Needless to say, public functions similar to those performed by the state today in the sphere of economic and cultural management will be preserved under communism. They will be modified and perfected as society develops. But their character and the ways in which they are carried out will be different from those under socialism. The state bodies lose the political character as society moves towards communism. With time they will merge with society and become organs of public self-government. It is through them that all members of society will be able to participate in economic and cultural management. The state will wither away. It would be incorrect, however, to imagine that the withering away of the state and the transformation of state administration into public self-government under communism will take place suddenly and all at once. The withering away of the state is a long, gradual process covering an entire historical epoch. For a certain period elements of state administration and public self-government will coexist and intertwine. A time will come when the need for the state will disappear.

It will come about only when society becomes fully mature for self-government, i.e., under developed communism. 'The state will be able to wither away completely when society adopts the rule: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". The stage will come when people have become so accustomed to

observing the fundamental rules of social intercourse and when their labour has become so productive that they will voluntarily work according to their ability.'

CONCLUSION

In fine, the internal condition for the withering away of the state is the building of developed communist society. But there have to be external conditions too for the state to wither away, namely the victory and consolidation of socialism on the international scene. When speaking about the withering away of the state it is necessary to take the international situation into account. If communism triumphs in one or another country or a group of countries, but armed imperialist predators continue to exist in the world, then the communist society will definitely retain the state function of defending the country. This function will become obsolete only when the threat of an attack by imperialist forces disappears for ever.

राज्य पर मार्क्स के विचार
(MARX'S VIEWS ON STATE)

कार्ल मार्क्स ने स्वयम् राज्य का कोई क्रमबद्ध सिद्धांत प्रतिपादित नहीं किया हालांकि उसके तथा ऐंगल्स के विचार उनकी अनेक रचनाओं में बिखरे हुये हैं। इनमें प्रमुख हैं: *On the Jewish Question, Introduction to a Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Rights, The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts 1844, Holy Family, Theses on Feuerbach, The German Ideology and the Communist Manifesto.*

राज्य की परिभाषा तथा प्रकृति
(Definition and Nature of State)

मार्क्स का राज्य सम्बंधी सिद्धांत उसकी ऐतिहासिक भौतिकवाद की धारणा पर आधारित है। मार्क्स ने राज्य के सभी समकालीन सिद्धांतों–चाहें वह क्लास्किी थे, मध्ययुगीय अथवा आधुनिक उदारवादी–को रद्द करके अपना नया सिद्धांत प्रस्तुत किया। मार्क्स के अनुसार राज्य के अब तक के सभी सिद्धांतों में एक बात सांझी है कि राज्य सारे समाज का प्रतिनिधि है, यह समाज के विभिन्न वर्गों, हित समूहों से ऊपर है, यह एक सर्वव्यापक संस्था है जो समाज के विभिन्न तत्त्वों के बीच सामंजस्य एवम् संतुलन स्थापित करती है। मार्क्स का विचार था कि राज्य न तो एक नैतिक, प्राकृतिक अथवा दैवी संस्था है और न ही यह किसी सामाजिक समझौते का परिणाम है। इन सबके विपरीत मार्क्स का मानना था कि राज्य एक वर्गीय संस्था है और इसका प्रमुख उद्देश्य वर्ग आधिपत्य तथा वर्ग शोषण को बनाये रखना हैं। उसके अनुसार राज्य कभी भी एक सर्वव्यापक संस्था नहीं रहा और न ही इसका उद्देश्य सार्वजनिक हित रहा है। यह आरंभ से ही एक ऐसी संस्था रहा है जिसके माध्यम से समाज का संपत्तिशाली वर्ग संपत्तिहीन

वर्ग पर अपना अधिपत्य जमाता आया है। हीगल के इस दावे–कि राज्य समाज के सार्वजनिक हित की अभिव्यक्ति है तथा यह समाज के विशिष्ट हितों से ऊपर होता है– के विपरीत मार्क्स ने घोषणा की कि राज्य समाज के सार्वजनिक हित का नहीं बल्कि वर्ग हित का पोषक है। राज्य समाज के उत्पादन के साधनों तथा यंत्रों के स्वामी संपत्तिशाली वर्ग के हाथ में संपत्तिहीन वर्ग का शोषण करने का एक साधन है–यह विचार मार्क्स तथा उसके सहयोगी ऐंगल्स का केंद्रीयभूत दृष्टिकोण रहा। राज्य के संदर्भ में मार्क्स का प्रसिद्ध वाक्य उसकी पुस्तिका Communist Manifesto में मिलता है जिसमें उसने लिखा कि 'आधुनिक राज्य की कार्यकारिणी संपूर्ण बुर्जुआ वर्ग के सामान्य हितों को प्रबंधित करने वाली कमेटी हैं।' एक अन्य स्थान पर वे लिखते हैं, राज्य एक ऐसी संस्था के अतिरिक्त और कुछ नहीं है जो बुर्जुआ वर्ग अपनी संपत्ति तथा हितों की सुरक्षा के लिए अपनाता है। राजनीतिक स्तर पर, मजदूर-वर्ग के विरुद्ध संपूर्ण बुर्जुआ वर्ग जोर-जबरदस्ती के साधनों का प्रयोग करता है। इसी तरह मार्क्स के सहयोगी ऐंग्लस का भी विचार था कि राज्य आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से अत्यंत शक्तिशाली उच्चवर्ग का उपकरण है जो शासन के माध्यम से राजनीतिक स्तर पर भी उच्चवर्ग बन जाता है। यह एक वर्ग का दूसरे वर्ग के शोषण का यंत्र है। वर्गों के संघर्ष में राज्य कभी भी तटस्थ नहीं रह सकता। यह संघर्षरत वर्गों को कभी भी नियंत्रित कर सकता, यह ऐसा करता दिखाई देता है। वास्तव में राज्य वर्ग अधिपत्य तथा वर्ग संघर्ष का यंत्र है। राज्य का कानूनी ढाँचा, इसकी विचारधारा तथा दर्शन, इसकी सभ्यता तथा संस्कृति सभी उस ऊपरी ढाँचे (Superstructure) का भाग होते हैं जो किसी उत्पादन के ढाँचे (Mode of Production) में रत संपत्तिहीन वर्ग के शोषण तथा आधिपत्य के लिए खड़ा किया जाता है।

संक्षेप में, मार्क्स के अनुसार राज्य एक वर्गीय संस्था है । यह एक ऐसा यंत्र है जिसके माध्यम से संपत्तिशाली वर्ग संपत्तिहीन वर्ग का शोषण करता है। राज्य का प्रमुख उद्देश्य वर्ग आधिपत्य है। यह ऐसा साधन है जिसके माध्यम से शोषणकारी वर्ग अपने विशेषाधिकारों को सुरक्षित करता है। इसे सामान्य हित तथा मानवीय सभ्यता की सेवा करने वाली संस्था के रूप में देखना गलत है। यह केवल आधिपत्य वर्ग के हितों की पूर्ति तथा अभिव्यक्ति करने वाली संस्था है। अतः जब तक समाज में राज्य का अस्तित्व है तब तक मानव-मात्र की मुक्ति नहीं हो सकती। मार्क्स ने सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक व्यवस्था में क्रांतिकारी परिवर्तन द्वारा राज्य की समाप्ति तथा एक राज्यविहीन एवम् वर्गविहीन समाज की स्थापना का सिद्धांत दिया।

मार्क्स के अनुसार राज्य किसी भी समाज की उत्पादन प्रणाली पर आधारित उत्पादन के ढाँचे के अनुरूप स्थापित ऊपरी ढाँचे का भाग होता है तथा वर्ग संघर्ष के संदर्भ में उत्पादन के संबंधों को दर्शाता है। यह एक विशेष प्रकार की आर्थिक व्यवस्था

का प्रतिनिधित्व करता है जिसकी यह सेना, कानूनी ढाँचे, पुलिस तथा अन्य वैचारिक साधनों से रक्षा करता है। किसी भी वर्ग विभाजित समाज में—उदाहरण के लिये पूँजीवादी समाज–राज्य सही अर्थों में प्रजातांत्रिक नहीं हो सकता क्योंकि असली प्रजातंत्र केवल एक वर्गविहीन समाज में ही स्थापित हो सकता है। मार्क्स का विचार था कि संपत्तिशाली वर्ग द्वारा राज्य तथा शासक वर्ग पर डाला जाने वाला दबाव, संपत्तिशाली वर्ग तथा शासक वर्ग में वैचारिक समरूपता, तथा उत्पादन एवम् पूँजी संचय के लिए आवश्यक सुरक्षा तथा अनुकुल परिस्थितियाँ जुटाना राज्य की अनिवार्यता–ये सभी तत्त्व राज्य को एक वर्ग का यंत्र बना देते हैं।

राज्य की उत्पत्ति
(Origin of State)

राज्य के वर्गीय चरित्र को मार्क्स के सहयोगी ऐंगल्स ने अपने राज्य की उत्पत्ति के सिद्धांत में और स्पष्ट किया। अपनी पुस्तक The Origin of Family, Property and State में परिवार, संपत्ति तथा राज्य का ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण करने के बाद ऐंगल्स इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचे कि राज्य किसी प्रकार भी समाज पर ऊपर से लादी गई संस्था नहीं है न ही यह नैतिक विचार की वास्तविकता अथवा तर्क बुद्धि की मूर्ति अथवा प्रतिबिंब है जैसा कि हीगल ने दावा किया है। इसके विपरीत, राज्य विकास की एक विशेष अवस्था पर समाज की उपज हैं। राज्य इस बात की स्वीकृति है कि समाज में अपने विरुद्ध बुरी तरह मतभेद पैदा हो गया है, यह ऐसे असाध्य अंतर्विरोधों से जर्जर हो गया है जिनसे छुटकारा पाने में असमर्थ है। पर कहीं ये अंतर्विरोध, विरोधी आर्थिक हितों वाले वर्ग, निष्फल संघर्ष में एक दूसरे को और सारे समाज को भस्म न कर दें, एक ऐसी शक्ति की आवश्यकता अनुभव की गई जो समाज से ऊपर लगे, एक ऐसी शक्ति जो आपसी टकराव को शांत करे, उसे व्यवस्था की सीमाओं में बांधे। यह शक्ति, जो समाज से पैदा होती है लेकिन जो अपने आपको उसके ऊपर रखती है और उससे अधिकाधिक बेगानी होती चली जाती है, राज्य है।''

राज्य तथा इससे पहले के पारिवारिक समाजों में अंतर करते हुए एंगेल्स लिखते हैं कि पुराने जमाने की पारिवारिक व्यवस्था के विपरीत राज्य की सर्वप्रथम विशेषता यह थी कि इसने अपनी जनसंख्या को निश्चित भूमि के अनुसार विभाजित किया। दूसरे, इसने सशस्त्र-सेना, पुलिस, जेलों आदि के रूप में एक सार्वजनिक शक्ति का निर्माण किया ताकि आवश्यकता पड़ते पर कमजोर वर्ग को जबरदस्ती दबाया जा सके। तीसरे, इस सार्वजनिक शक्ति को बनाए रखने के लिए लोगों से आर्थिक सहायता की अपेक्षा की गई। अत: सार्वजनिक कर-व्यवस्था की स्थापना की गई। सार्वजनिक शक्ति और कर लगाने के अधिकार के परिणामस्वरूप राज्य समाज का भाग होते हुए भी समाज से ऊपर उठता चला गया।

चूंकि राज्य की उत्पत्ति वर्ग-विभाजन से उत्पन्न संघर्षों को नियंत्रित करने के उद्देश्य से हुई और वर्ग-संघर्षों के बीच ही हुई, अत: शासन के रूप में राज्य आर्थिक दृष्टिकोण से शक्तिशाली वर्ग का शासन है जो राज्य के माध्यम से राजनीतिक स्तर पर उच्च वर्ग बन जाता है। राज्य शोषित-वर्ग के शोषण का नया हथियार है। पुराने समय में राज्य गुलामों के मालिकों का राज्य था, गुलामों पर शासन करने के लिए। सामंतवादी राज्य कुलीन लोगों का राज्य था, किसानों तथा भूमिहीनों पर शासन करने के लिए; तथा आधुनिक प्रतिनिधित्वमूलक राज्य पूँजीपतियों का है मजदूर-वर्ग पर शासन करने के लिए। राज्य के कई स्वरूप रहे हैं, जैसे राजतंत्र, कुलीनतंत्र, प्रजातंत्र आदि, परंतु इसके सार में कोई परिवर्तन नहीं आया। यह शासक वर्ग के हाथ शोषण का यंत्र बना रहा। ऐतिहासिक विश्लेषण के आधार पर एंगेल्स इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचा कि राज्य का अस्तित्व हमेशा से नहीं रहा। ऐसे समाज भी रहे हैं जिनमें राज्य अथवा राज्य सत्ता की कोई धारणा नहीं थी। राज्य की उत्पत्ति केवल सम्पत्ति के बाद जन्मे वर्ग-विभाजन के कारण हुई ताकि झगड़ों को व्यवस्था की सीमाओं में रखा जा सके। एंगेल्स ने विश्वास व्यक्त किया कि यदि समाज विकास की ऐसी अवस्था में पहुंच जाता है जब वर्गों का अस्तित्व समाप्त हो जायेगा तो वर्ग आधिपत्य के रूप में राज्य भी समाप्त हो जायेगा।

मार्क्स के अनुसार सर्वहारा वर्ग की क्रांति का उद्देश्य नई आर्थिक व्यवस्था पर आधारित एक नये समाज का निर्माण करना है। क्रांति के बाद इसका पहला कार्य मजदूर-वर्ग की तानाशाही के रूप में राज्य पर नियंत्रण करना होगा। मजदूर-वर्ग की तानाशाही का उद्देश्य एक वर्ग राज्य की स्थापना न होकर निजी संपत्ति की समाप्ति, समाजवादी अर्थव्यवस्था का निर्माण तथा एक वर्गविहीन समाज की स्थापना करना होगा। दूसरे शब्दों में, मार्क्सवाद राज्य का प्रयोग एक राज्यविहीन समाज की स्थापना के लिए करना चाहता है।

राज्य के कार्य
(Functions of State)

यद्यपि राज्य तथा समाज दो भिन्न संस्थायें है फिर भी राज्य समाज से स्वतंत्र नहीं होता। यह समाज के संचालकों की उद्देश्य पूर्ति का एक साधन है। अत: राज्य के कार्य क्या है या क्या होने चाहिए, यह बहुत हद तक इस बात पर निर्भर करता है कि समाज का प्रधान वर्ग कौन सा है और उसके हित क्या है। एक दास प्रथा पर आधारित राज्य का उद्देश्य मालिकों के हितों की रक्षा करना होता है। सामंतवादी राज्य राजा, जागीरदारों तथा जमीदारों के हितों की रक्षा के लिए होता है, एक पूँजीवादी राज्य पूंजीपति वर्ग के हितों की रक्षा करता है और एक भावी समाजवादी राज्य मजदूर वर्ग के हितों की रक्षा करेगा। दूसरे शब्दों में, पूंजीवादी तथा समाजवादी राज्य के कार्य कभी समान नहीं हो सकते। इसके अतिरिक्त, क्योंकि मार्क्सवाद ऐसे राज्य के बारे में बात कर रहा है जिसे वह अंततोगत्वा समाप्त करना चाहता है, अत: यह राज्य का प्रयोग समाजवादी क्रांति लाने, एक समाजवादी उत्पादन के ढाँचे और संस्कृति के निर्माण के लिये करना चाहता है।

पूँजीवादी राज्य में, मार्क्स के अनुसार, वर्ग आधिपत्य तीन प्रकार के कार्यों से होता है : राजनीतिक, तकनीकी-आर्थिक तथा वैचारिक। राजनीतिक कार्य अधिकतर जोर/जबरदस्ती के तथा दमनकारी होते हैं जो राज्य के कानून, पुलिस, सेना, न्यायालय आदि के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्त होते हैं। इन सभी कार्यों में राज्य की भूमिका प्रधान होती है। राज्य समाज में केवल विवादों का निबटारा नहीं करता, बल्कि सारे नियम भी बनाता है जिसके अंतर्गत ये विवाद हल किये जाते हैं। महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि ये कानून और नियम एक वर्ग के हितों की सुरक्षा करते हैं। कानून एवम् व्यवस्था का अर्थ विभिन्न वर्गों के लिए भिन्न होता है। **दूसरा,** राज्य के विशिष्ट ढाँचे का स्वरूप उस समाज के आर्थिक और तकनीकी संदर्भों में बनता है। पूँजीपतियों द्वारा राज्य की शक्ति प्राप्त करने का उद्देश्य मजदूरों को उनकी सीमाओं में रखना है। वर्ग-संघर्ष में राज्य तटस्थ प्रतीत हो सकता है, परंतु जिस व्यवस्था की यह सुरक्षा करता है, वह पूँजीपतियों की आवश्यकता होती है। जिस समाज में निजी संपत्ति का अस्तित्व है, वहां राज्य का मुख्य कार्य ऐसा वातावरण बनाये रखना होता है जिसमें निजी सम्पत्ति सुरक्षित रह सके। इसके लिए राज्य कल्याणकारी तरीके भी अपना सकता है या आर्थिक शोषण की तीव्रता को कम करने के लिए कराधान और नियमन शक्ति का प्रयोग कर सकता है। परंतु ये सभी कार्य निजी संपत्ति के मौलिक नियमों को प्रभावित नहीं करते। राज्य लाभ को न्यायसंगत मानता है और इसके कानून निजी स्वामित्व पर कोई प्रश्न चिन्ह नहीं लगाते। महत्त्वपूर्ण आर्थिक फैसले निजी व्यक्तियों के एकाधिकार में रहते हैं। मजदूर-वर्ग मजदूरी और अनुशासन पर अपने विचार प्रकट कर सकता है परंतु महत्वपूर्ण मामलों में उसे बोलने का कोई अधिकार नहीं होता। **तीसरे, वैचारिक** कार्य राज्य द्वारा सीधे तौर से नहीं किये जाते। ये अधिकतर धर्म, शिक्षा, परिवार, संचार साधनों, रेडियो, टी.वी., संस्कृति, साहित्य द्वारा संपन्न होते हैं। परंतु इन सभी कार्यों को स्वीकृति देने के रूप में राज्य की निर्णायक भूमिका बनी रहती है। समग्र रूप में ये सभी गतिविधियाँ प्रधान वर्ग के हितों की अभिव्यक्ति एवम् सुरक्षा करती हैं।

यदि व्यापक स्तर पर देखा जाये तो उपरोक्त सभी प्रकार के कार्यों को 'राजनीतिक' कहा जा सकता है क्योंकि इनका उद्देश्य एक वर्ग के आधिपत्य को न्यायेचित ठहराना है। निम्न वर्ग के दृष्टिकोण से ये सभी कार्य राज्य द्वारा समाज में वर्ग-विभाजन, वर्ग-संघर्ष, पूँजीवादी शोषण तथा अलगाव को सुदृढ़ करने में सहायता करते हैं। इस स्थिति पर केवल समाजवादी क्रांति तथा समाजवादी-साम्यवादी समाज की स्थापना कर के ही विजय पाई जा सकती है।

मार्क्सवाद राज्य का प्रयोग समाजवादी समाज के निर्माण के लिये भी करना चाहता है। क्रांति के बाद स्थापित मजदूर-वर्ग का राज्य भी एक वर्ग-राज्य होगा परंतु इसका उद्देश्य वर्ग विभाजन तथा वर्ग संघर्ष को समाप्त करके खुद को समाप्त करना होगा।

एक समाजवादी समाज में राज्य के कार्य होंगे : मजदूर-वर्ग की तानाशाही स्थापित करना, पूँजीवादी अर्थव्यवस्था तथा उत्पादन के ढाँचे को नष्ट करना, समाजवादी उत्पादन प्रणाली तथा राज्य की स्थापना करना तथा एक वर्गविहीन तथा राज्यविहीन समाज के निर्माण में जुट जाना। जैसा कि मार्क्स लिखता है : आर्थिक प्रणाली में परिवर्तन के साथ राज्य के ऊपरी ढाँचे में भी आमूल परिवर्तन किया जायेगा। केवल निजी संपत्ति समाप्त करके ही कानून, धर्म, दर्शनशास्त्र तथा साहित्य आदि में परिवर्तन किया जा सकता है। इस काल में पूँजीवादी वर्ग एवम् संस्कृति की समाप्ति के लिये मजदूर वर्ग की तानाशाही आवश्यक होगी। समाजवादी क्रांति का उद्देश्य निजी संपत्ति को समाप्त करके उत्पादन के साधनों को निजी स्वामित्व से निकाल कर सार्वजनिक स्वामित्व के हवाले करना हैं । सकारात्मक स्तर पर समाजवादी क्रांति आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक-सांस्कृति स्तर पर परिवर्तन लायेगी। आर्थिक स्तर पर इसका अर्थ है समाजवादी उत्पादन के ढाँचे का निर्माण। यह राष्ट्रीयकरण की उस व्यापक प्रक्रिया द्वारा संभव होगा जिसकी प्रमुख विशेषतायें होंगी : उत्पादन के सभी साधनों और यंत्रों पर राज्य का संपूर्ण नियंत्रण, ऋण प्रणाली का केंद्रीकरण, संचार और परिवहन साधनों का केंद्रीकरण, औद्योगिक सेना की स्थापना, योजनाओं के माध्यम से उत्पादन में वृद्धि, मजदूरों को आर्थिक अधिकार प्रदान करना आदि। श्रम को कार्य के अनुसार पुरुस्कृत किया जायेगा। हो सकता है धन में अंतर इतनी जल्दी समाप्त न हो परंतु इस अंतर को शोषण का कारण नहीं बनने दिया जायेगा। समाजिक-सांस्कृतिक स्तर पर ये कार्य वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा द्वारा किये जायेंगे जिसे औद्योगिक उत्पादन की आवश्यकताओं के साथ जोडा जायेगा। इसके अलावा, सर्वहारा वर्ग की तानाशाही जाति, धर्म, प्रांत, भाषा, राष्ट्रीयता आदि के भेदभावों को समाप्त करके सामाजिक समानता स्थापित करने का प्रयत्न करेगी। संक्षेप में, सर्वहारा वर्ग की तानाशाही का उद्देश्य सामाजिक क्रांति का विस्तार करना है और एक ऐसे समाज की रचना करना है जो आर्थिक-सामाजिक-सांस्कृतिक स्तर पर भिन्न हो, समाज से शोषणकारी वर्ग समाप्त हो जायें, एक नये बौद्धिक वर्ग का विकास हो और जनसाधारण में मानसिक परिवर्तन आ जाये।

वर्ग-विभाजन और वर्ग-संघर्ष की समाप्ति के बाद राज्य नये चरण में प्रवेश करेगा। यहाँ राज्य अपने 'विलोप (withering away) की परिस्थितियाँ पैदा करेगा। जैसे-जैसे समाज में निजी संपत्ति समाप्त होती चली जायेगी शक्ति और दमन अपना महत्व खो देंगे। समाज में सभी लोग सर्वहारा-वर्ग से संबंधित होंगे। समाज में केवल एक वर्ग होगा अर्थात् कोई वर्ग नहीं होगा। वर्ग-संघर्ष की समाप्ति के साथ राज्य की प्रभुसत्ताधारी भूमिका भी समाप्त हो जायेगी। साम्यवादी समाज एक वर्ग-विहीन तथा राज्य-विहीन समाज में परिवर्तित हो जायेगा।

संक्षेप में मार्क्स द्वारा प्रतिपादित राज्य के सिद्धांत के प्रमुख तत्त्व निम्नलिखित हैं :

(i) राज्य का मार्क्सवादी सिद्धांत ऐतिहासिक भौतिकवादी का एक अंग है।

(ii) यह समाज में वर्ग संघर्ष के साथ जुड़ा हुआ है। यह राज्य को वर्ग संघर्ष की उपज मानता है। राज्य के अस्तित्व का अर्थ है कि वर्ग संघर्ष समाप्त नहीं हुआ है।

(iii) एक वर्गीय-समाज ऐसे राज्य का निर्माण करता है जो केवल समाज के प्रधान वर्ग के हितों की पूर्ति करता है।

(iv) यह राज्य को एक वर्ग द्वारा दूसरे वर्ग के उत्पीड़न तथा शोषण का यंत्र मानता हैं। इसका मानना है कि राज्य का प्रमुख कार्य वर्तमान व्यवस्था में स्थापित वर्ग विभाजन तथा वर्गीय विशेषाधिकारों का संरक्षण करना होता हैं न कि व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व के विकास में वृद्धि अथवा सार्वजनिक हित।

(v) राज्य के कार्य इसके वर्ग-चरित्र पर निर्भर करते हैं (एक पूंजीवादी समाज में राज्य पूँजीवादी वर्ग, पूँजीवादी संपत्ति, पूँजीवादी संस्थाओं तथा संस्कृति को सुरक्षित तथा संपत्तिहीन वर्ग को नियंत्रित करने के कार्य करता है) इसके विपरीत क्रांति के बाद अस्तित्व में आये समाजवादी राज्य का कार्य पूँजीवादी उत्पादन प्रणाली, अर्थव्यवस्था संस्कृति को समाप्त कर के समाजवादी उत्पादन प्रणाली, शिक्षा तथा संस्कृति स्थापित करना तथा एक वर्गविहीन तथा राज्यविहीन समाज का निर्माण करना है।

(vi) वर्ग विहीन समाज की स्थापना केवल समाजवादी क्रांति द्वारा संभव है। जहाँ पूँजीवादी राज्य को नष्ट किया जायेगा वहाँ समाजवादी राज्य वर्गों के समाप्ती के बाद स्वयम् लुप्त हो जायेगा।

(vii) (वर्ग राज्य होने के बावजूद कई मामलों में राज्य वर्गों से ऊपर उठकर स्वतंत्र रूप से कार्य करने की शक्ति भी रखता है। राज्य की इस स्वायतत्ता को मार्क्स ने स्वीकार किया) हालांकि राज्य की सापेक्षिक स्वायत्ता की धारणा (Relative Autonomy of State) को बाद में आने वाले लेखकों जैसे ग्राम्शी, अल्यूसर, पोलांजे ने जोर शोर से उठाया। (परंतु सापेक्षिक स्वायत्तता से राज्य के वर्ग चरित्र में कोई अंतर नहीं आता। बल्कि यह स्वायत्तता राज्य को अपना वर्गीय भूमिका निभाने में सहायता ही करती है।)

आलोचना

(राज्य के संदर्भ में जहाँ परंपरागत मार्क्सवाद ने वर्ग-संघर्ष और वर्ग-आधिपत्य पर बल दिया, वहाँ द्वितीय विश्व युद्ध के बाद पश्चिमी देशों के मार्क्सवादी लेखकों ने ऊपरी ढाँचे की समस्यायें, संस्कृति, कला, सौंदर्यशास्त्र, विचारधारा आदि की तरफ ज्यादा ध्यान देना शुरू किया) (इन लेखकों ने पूँजीवादी समाज और राज्य, समाजवादी परिवर्तन की समस्यायें, नौकरशाही, तानाशाही आदि का गहराई से अध्ययन किया।) यह समकालीन

मार्क्सवाद कार्ल कोर्श, लूकाच, ग्राम्शी, कॉडवैल, थॉम्सन, मिलीबैंड, पोलांजे, ऑलथ्यूसर, फ्रैंकफर्ट स्कूल, न्यू, लेफ्ट, यूरो-कम्युनिज़म आदि के माध्यम से अभिव्यक्ति हुआ।

इन नये विचारों के परिणामस्वरूप राज्य के मार्क्सवादी दृष्टिकोण में कुछ नयी बातें जोड़ी गई। समकालीन दृष्टिकोण की नवीनता यह है कि इसमें अर्थव्यवस्था के स्थान पर राजनीति और राज्य को प्राथमिकता दी गई है। राज्य के इन नये सिद्धांतों ने वर्ग-परिप्रेक्ष्य, सामाजिक परिवर्तन और राजनीतिक रणनीतियों में काफी संशोधन किया है। हालांकि इन विचारों की झलक हमें मार्क्स की रचनाओं में मिलती हैं, फिर भी यह कहना गलत नहीं होगा कि इन नये मार्क्सवादी लेखकों ने उन राजनीतिक सिद्धांतों को विकसित किया जिसे मार्क्स ने अधूरा छोड़ दिया था। इन नये विचारों में दो बातें सामान्य थी:

1. ये सभी लेखक लेनिन के इस विचार को नहीं मानते कि राज्य एक वर्ग का यंत्र है। इनका विचार है कि मार्क्स और मार्क्सवादी परंपरा के अन्तर्गत राज्य का केवल यही यांत्रिक दृष्टिकोण नहीं है। यह बॉलशैविक क्रांति का अनुभव ज्यादा रहा है तथा इसने कई तरह के विरोधाभासों को जन्म दिया। समाजवादी-साम्यवादी राज्यों में राज्य विलुप्त होने के बजाय मजदूर-वर्ग की तानाशाही के नाम पर अधिकाधिक शक्तिशाली होता चला गया। इसके अतिरिक्त, समाजवाद के निर्माण में अत्यधिक बल प्रयोग ने कई समाजवादी लेखकों को इस बात से प्रभावित कर दिया कि प्रजातंत्र अधिकार और नागरिक स्वतंत्रतायों कुछ ऐसे विषय हैं जो आर्थिक संबंधो से क्षेयस्कर हैं।

2. इन नये लेखकों ने 'राज्य की सर्वव्यापी' व्याख्या को 'विशिष्ट राज्यों के विश्लेषण' मे बदल दिया। अर्थात् इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि पूँजीवादी राज्य का अस्तित्व सब जगह है परंतु प्रत्येक पूँजीवादी राज्य की ऐतिहासिक परिस्थितियाँ, वर्ग-संघर्ष की स्थिति और उत्पादन के ढाँचे भिन्न होने के कारण उनके कार्य भी भिन्न हैं। राज्य के शासक कौन हैं?—यह एक महत्त्वपूर्ण सवाल है परंतु यह शक्ति वाकई शासक-वर्ग के पास है, इस पर मार्क्सवादी लेखक शंका प्रकट करते हैं। अधिकतर लेखकों का मानना है कि राज्य की वर्ग-प्रकृति पूँजीवादी ढाँचे के विकास की स्थिति पर निर्भर करती है। इसके अलावा प्रधान वर्ग द्वारा राज्य पर नियंत्रण को राजनीतिक स्तर पर निम्न वर्ग तथा अन्य सामाजिक आंदोलन चुनौती देते हैं और सत्ता में भागीदार भी बन जाते हैं। राजनीतिक स्तर पर तथा समाज की अन्य संस्थाओं में प्रजातंत्र का उद्भव निम्न वर्ग की शक्ति का क्रमिक विकास है। बेहतर जीवन स्तर, वोट के अधिकार, मजदूर-वर्ग की उद्योगों में हिस्सेदारी, मजदूर-संगठन की शक्ति, मजदूरों के राजनीतिक दलों का उदय आदि प्रजातंत्र के मिले जुले परिणाम हैं जिन्होंने पूँजीवादी राज्य की प्रकृति में काफी परिवर्तन कर दिया है। संक्षेप में राज्य का मार्क्सवादी सिद्धांत मार्क्स के समय से काफी आगे आ चुका है।

❑❑❑

16

Locke on Rights and Property

[I]

JOHN LOCKE : GENERAL INTRODUCTION

John Locke (1632-1704) was a famous English philosopher who is regarded as the 'father of liberalism'. His most important works include *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (1689-90), *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Thoughts on Education* (1693). C.B. Macpherson (*The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism*: 1962) observes: "Locke was indeed at the fountain-head of English Liberalism." According to M. Seliger (*The Liberal Politics of John Locke*: 1968), "John Locke was the first political philosopher to elaborate modern liberalism as a comprehensive and influential system of thought." Locke's system of thought closely corresponds to the basic tenets of liberalism, such as

(a) He believed that man is by nature a rational being;
(b) He thought that human reason was superior to the knowledge of history;
(c) He recognized the natural rights of man;
(d) He treated private property as the epitome of individual rights consecrated by the law of nature ;
(e) He conceived 'contract' as the judicial basis of the state;
(f) He regarded civil society as an artificial contrivance invented for the convenience of man; and
(g) In his view, political authority was not indivisible, and he recognized the right to resistance against the established political authority.

In his *First Treatise of Civil Government* (1689) Locke sought to refute the particular version of the theory of divine right of kings, propounded by Robert Filmer (1588-1653). In his *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690), he postulated that by nature human beings are equal and therefore nothing can put anyone under the authority of anybody else except his own consent. Locke has elaborately distinguished political authority from other familiar relations of dominance, *viz.* master and servant, man and wife, parent and child, victor and the vanquished, etc. He asserts that all other relationships are confined to

a particular function or to particular circumstances; the realm of political authority is fairly wide, and it is by no means analogous to any of those relations.

THEORY OF DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

The theory that the authority of the sovereign is derived from God; hence obedience to the State is as imperative as obedience to God. In Europe this theory was developed during the ascendancy of monarchy. Its chief exponent was Robert Filmer (1588-1653).

[II]

NATURE OF RIGHTS

Locke is the chief exponent of the theory of natural rights. He makes use of the idea of the 'state of nature' to arrive at his theory of natural rights. State of nature implies the condition of human beings before the emergence of civil society. In this hypothetical condition, men lived together without a common superior on earth, following the dictates of the law of nature, *i.e.* natural law. Because man is by nature a rational being, he is able, by and large, to grasp the natural law even in the state of nature. According to Locke, natural law constitutes and protects *rights to life, liberty and property*. It requires men to keep their promises and put their efforts to secure their well-being along with the well-being of others. It also empowers them to punish any transgressions of these rights which belong to every human being. On this logic, the rights to life, liberty and property may be accepted as natural rights of man.

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), an English philosopher, had earlier drawn a gloomy picture of the state of nature where man's life was 'solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.' It was a state of war of everyone against everyone. In contrast, Locke depicts the state of nature as a state of 'peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation'. It is a state of liberty, not a state of licence. The majority of people at this stage obey natural law, that it the law of inward morality. Men are impelled by their inner nature to treat humanity—whether in their own person or in that of any other person—in every case as an end, never as a means only. But still, there are a few persons who set aside the rules of morality in pursuance of their self-interest. In the absence of any established authority in the state of nature, it becomes very difficult to deal with such offenders. If men become judges of their own cases, justice would not be secured. In this respect, the state of nature proves to be inconvenient. In order to rectify this defect, men abandon the state of nature and enter into civil society by means of a contract, *i.e.* the 'social contract' whereby they also set up political authority.

Natural law, according to Locke, consists in the rules of morality implanted in the human conscience. It makes them conscious of natural rights of all human

beings. Natural rights consist in the 'perfect freedom and equality' of every man 'not only to preserve his property, that is his life, liberty and estate, against the injuries and attempts of other men, but to be judge of, and punish the breaches of natural law' committed by others. When men enter into political society, they surrender their natural right to be judges in case of breaches of law. This power is now vested in the community instead of in individuals. But they still retain their natural rights to 'life, liberty and property'.

According to Locke, the 'social contract' is accomplished in serveral stages. As Jeremy Waldron has elucidated : "Contract and consent have three stages in Locke's description: first, men must agree unanimously to come together as a community and pool their natural powers so that they can act together to uphold one another's rights; second, the members of this community must agree by a majority vote to set up legislative and other institutions; third, the owners of property in a society must agree, either personally or through their representatives to whatever taxes are imposed on the people." (*The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought,* edited by David Miller; 1987). This theory of several stages of the contract marks a clear departure from Hobbes's position. Hobbes postulates that society and state are formed together; they are dissolved together. On the contrary, Locke believes that society and state were created in different steps: creation of society is the primary step; setting up of the government is a secondary step. So, if the government is dissolved, society does not disintegrate. Order will be restored by setting up another government in its place.

In Locke's system of thought the nature of government resembles a 'trust'. In other words, a government, like a trust, is bound to act within the terms of its constitution. By drawing a distinction between the process of formation of society and the state, Locke places government under the control of society. This leaves no scope for absolutism. As Waldron has significantly observed: "Absolutism of the kind Thomas Hobbes envisaged is ruled out on the grounds that people hold their natural rights to life and liberty as a sort of trust from God and therefore cannot transfer them to the arbitrary power of another. Since government is set up to protect property and other rights, and not to undermine them, the government may not take or redistribute property without consent!" *(Ibid.)*

ABSOLUTISM

A form of rule in which all powers of governance are held by a ruler or the ruling group. These powers are not restricted by any legal, constitutional, customary or moral limitations. The subjects are required to submit to the decision or command of the ruler; they have no opportunity to question or resist his command.

While Hobbes creates absolute sovereignty, Locke evolves a constitutional

government. Hobbes postulates an unconditional surrender of natural liberty to the sovereign, because in his system of thought natural liberty is the source of constant conflict and consequent anarchy. Locke postulates conditional and partial surrender of natural rights, because some natural rights are fundamental; they cannot be given up because they are the cornerstone of human freedom. According to Locke, people give up their natural right to 'judge of and punish the offenders of natural law' in their own case or in the case of other persons. This right is now vested in the community, 'common power' or the government which assumes the role of 'umpire'. But this right is surrendered by the people on the condition that their rights to 'life, liberty and property' will be protected and kept intact. Society retains the authority to watch whether the government is exercising its powers strictly in accordance with the terms of the contract or not.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT

A form of government in which powers of governance (legislative, executive and judicial powers) are exercised by those who are appointed through the prescribed procedure, in a prescribed manner and under regular legal and political restraints provided by a Constitution. A constitution in this context denotes a set of rules, procedures, practices and conventions which prescribe structures, functions, powers and responsibilities of different organs of government; the procedure of their formation, working and dissolution; relation between the state and its citizens, etc.

This implies: (a) in the first place, that government must govern with the 'consent of the people'. It is the people who are endowed with the faculty of 'reason'—conscience, sense of morality, knowledge of right and wrong. Government is created by the will of the people, but as an artificial device it cannot embody 'superior reason'; and (b) secondly, if in any case the government falters from its duty, the people have the right to overthrow that government and set up another government in its place. Thus, Locke recognizes the people's right to revolution. It is on this basis that he justifies the 'bloodless' or 'Glorious' revolution of 1688, which had led to the flight of James II from England and the establishment of William and Mary on the throne, converting an absolute monarchy into constitutional monarchy.

[III]

JUSTIFICATION OF PROPERTY

In Locke's system of thought, property is treated as a natural right. Locke shared the view of his predecessors, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) (Dutch jurist) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632-94) (German natural law philosopher), that the earth and its fruits were given by God to men in common. But he rejected their

claim that the distribution of this common heritage to individuals should be determined by convention. He argues that apportionment of natural resources among men should be determined by the amount of labour each man mixes with these resources. Thus Locke is the chief exponent of the theory of property as the 'fruit of labour'. Locke argued that every man by nature has a property in his own person: the labour of his body and the work of his hands are properly his. Whatsoever then he removes out of nature and mixes with his labour becomes his property, 'at least where there is enough and as good left in common for others'. (*The Second Treatise of Civil Government*; 1690). The authors of the American Revolution (1776) and French revolution (1789), who defended the institution of property so ardently, looked upon it primarily as the 'fruit of labour'. But the exponents of this theory failed to develop it on a logical basis. As Morris Ginsberg has pointed out :

> Locke recognizes that in his view a person is only entitled to such products of his labour as he can use and that everything beyond this is 'more than his share and belongs to others'...But instead of using his theory as a basis for criticizing existing inequalities, he accepts and justifies them. *(On Justice in Society;* 1965)

Locke attributes these inequalities to the consent of men, and argues that nature provides no principles for regulating inequalities. C.B. Macpherson (*The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism;* 1962) has termed Locke's view regarding the right to property as a typical expression of the idea of 'possessive individualism'. According to this view, man—the individual—is the absolute natural proprietor of his own capacities, owing nothing to society for them. He is, therefore, free to use his capacities in search of satisfactions, provided he does not harm others. Freedom is identified with domination over things as manifested in ownership or possession thereof. Accordingly, society is seen as a lot of free and equal individuals related to each other through their possessions, and not as those held together by reciprocal rights and duties. The relation of exchange, or market relation, is recognized as the fundamental relation of society. Finally, *political society is seen as a rational device for the protection of property of individuals where life and liberty are also reduced to their possessions.*

The position is further crystallized by the introduction of money. As Jeremy Waldron has aptly observed: "In any case, the acquisition of property is limited by Locke's insistence that an owner must not let resources spoil uselessly in his possession. This would be sufficient to generate a rough equality of possessions, were it not for the fact that the invention of money, a conventionally-sanctioned durable means of exchange, made it possible for men to own and get the benefit of much more land than they themselves could use the produce of. This legitimation of inequality, and the emphasis on private

acquisition and enclosure in Locke's theory, have led many to see him as an ideologist of early modern capitalism." (*The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, edited by David Miller; 1987).

CAPITALISM

An economic system in which means of social production (land, buildings, mines, forests, machinery and capital), distribution and exchange are owned by private entrepreneurs, and economic activity is primarily devoted to private profit.

It is, thus, evident that Locke starts with a progressive idea regarding the true basis of property, but ends up with expediency, instead of bringing that idea to its logical conclusion. Once even minor inequalities are sought to be justified, larger inequalities automatically find their way. These inequalities gave rise to the conditions where capitalism could flourish.

A Critical Appraisal

It is worth noting that Locke's philosophical and political beliefs represent the basic tenets of early liberalism which paved the way for rise of capitalism. Locke particularly promoted a line of thinking which was designed to protect the economic interests of the then newly emerging merchant-industrialist class, and pleaded for vesting political power in this class. This viewpoint implied two things : Firstly, political power is not a gift from God, but the product of rational nature of man; Secondly, it focused on an urgent demand for the trasfer of power from the feudal class (*i.e.* the land-owning class of the Middle Ages) to the capitalist class.

However, Locke's methodology for determining the basis of authority had an enduring effect. Two contemporary American political philosophers, viz. John Rawls (1921-2002) and Robert Nozick (1938-2002), adopted this methodology to investigate the principles of justice, although they arrived at different conclusions.

Locke also laid the foundations of constitutionalism became the order of the day.

Locke's vindication of right to property with consequent economic ineqaulities is no longer held valid. However, he advanced this view at a juncture when it was necessary to promote the newly emerging capitalism. Locke sought to make the right to property so sacrosanct and so powerful that it subsequently became the main issue of conflict between the property-owning and property-less classes.

Q. "Locke sought to make the right to property a natural right, and thereby helped to strengthen the foundations of capitalism." Elaborate and comment.

MIKHAIL BAKUNIN.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

"IT is only by tracing things to their origin," writes Paine in his *Essay on Agrarian Justice*, "that we can gain rightful ideas of them," and the deepest foundations of the Russian Revolution owe much to the violence and perfervid genius of Bakunin, a name less frequently in the mouths of men than that of his adversary, Karl Marx. Marx, who recognized in himself a pioneer, comes within well-known categories, and his doctrines can be clearly tabulated, but Bakunin is more elusive. He was not, in any respect, leader of a party, nor founder of a sect; his enemies did at a time label his friends Bakuninists, but these always rejected the term. Bakunin was the typical revolutionary, an expression of the spirit of Russia, which had been and is still dominated by political conditions. Only seventy years ago, Konstantin Arkasov was forbidden by the police to wear a beard because the government of the Czar, at that moment, regarded the wearing of a beard as a revolutionary symbol. Bakunin is the outcome of these conditions.

He was a Russian to the finger nails, a gigantic figure. "His was a titan's figure with leonine head," wrote Herzen, "his energy, his sloth, his great bulk, and his appetite assumed gigantic proportions." "His giant bulk, his athletic figure, his great Rabelaisian face attracted sympathy," writes another observer.[1] The traits of the portraits from his enemies and followers agree, though Marx and his followers insist more on Bakunin's defects, and Herzen and his intimates, on the defects of his qualities. To one, he is the "great serpent": to Herzen, "that avalanche of a Bakunin."[2] In his *Diary* of 1848 Herzen notes that those well acquainted with him were already saying, "He is a man of talent, but a bad character."

[1] B. Malon, "L'Internationale," *Nouvelle Revue*, February 5, 1884, p. 749.

[2] *Correspondance de Michel Bakounine* (1860-74), ed. M. Dragomanov, Paris, 1896.

The leading traits of Bakunin's character were an immense and childlike simplicity and demonic violence. As Herzen knew well, he was the wildest of dreamers. "Divorced from practical life," as Herzen wrote to him, "from earliest youth immersed over head and ears in the German idealism out of which the epoch constructed a realistic outlook 'as per schedule,' knowing nothing of Russia either before your imprisonment or after your Siberian exile, but animated by grand and passionate desire for noble deeds, you have lived half a century in a world of phantoms and illusions, student-like unrestraint, lofty plans and petty defects....When after ten years you regained liberty, you showed yourself to be as of old, a mere theorist, a man utterly without clear conceptions, a talker, unscrupulous in money matters, with an element of tacit but stubborn epicureanism and with a persistent itch for revolutionary activity." Yet, "there was something childlike, frank and simple in his nature which was peculiarly charming," according to Herzen, who was no prejudiced observer.

He was avid of anarchy, uneasy when leading a calm life; after his stay in Siberia he cries: "I was not made for this calm and peaceful existence, and after having been condemned, against my will, to so many years of rest, it is time for me to plunge again into active life."[3] Now in England, now in France, now in Germany, Italy and Switzerland, he is always the prey of a revolutionary fever, in which agitation took the place of action. He had an immense confidence in human passions, and wished for a millennium in which the triumph of the proletariat would give free scope to those dammed up by social conditions. One of the phrases he was fond of repeating to his friends was: "We must let loose evil passions." In 1848 he wrote: "We need something very different from a constitution; we need storm and life, a world that is lawless and consequently free."[4] In Gue's *Reminiscences* we are told that Bakunin was asked what were his aims and beliefs. "I believe in nothing," was the answer, "I read nothing. I think of but one thing: twist the neck, twist it yet further, screw off the head; let not a trace of it remain." The same spirit, of which he was fully conscious, burns in the form of his work. He begs that a manuscript he has submitted may remain in its unattenuated violence, because, he says, "it is part of my nature, and nature cannot be transformed."[5]

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

[4] Quoted in Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. I, p. 457.

[5] *Correspondance*, p. 287.

His violence at moments was closely akin to the fervor of madness, and to some of his friends his feverish temperament, his brusque transitions from love to hatred of his fellow men seemed the symptom of a restless and unbalanced imagination. Blind to the real nature of the men he came in contact with, he was equally devoid of real knowledge of the world he lived in, and when living in a villa near Locarno, he had thoughts of boring a tunnel through which his followers could make their entry unnoticed into Italy and organize a rising! His strange credulity, his desultoriness, his rashness and Slav torpor were characteristic of a man who expects a miracle—the miracle of revolution. As a set-off against his impulsiveness, his ignorance of the real, his often aimless and turbulent activity, it must be said that he never shrank from the risks of his actions and was always willing to set his life upon a cast, a quality which deserves recognition when contrasted with the hesitating Herzen and the calculating Marx.[6]

Bakunin's life, like his temper, was stormy. He was born in 1814; his father, a wealthy retired diplomatist, lived at his estate in the government of Tver, his mother was related to Muraviev-Apostol, one of the executed Decabrists. He entered the School of Artillery in St. Petersburg, and was sent as an ensign to a regiment stationed in the government of Minsk where he found barrack life monotonous and spent a great deal of the day on his bed in his dressing-gown.[7] The Polish insurrection had just been crushed. This, according to Guillaume, "acted powerfully on the heart of the young officer, and contributed to inspire in him the horror of despotism." At any rate, he resigned his commission in 1834 and went to Moscow where he threw himself into the study of German philosophy and became a devout Hegelian. In 1839 he was still a Hegelian, and Ogareff, who was then in Moscow, speaks of him to Herzen as "plunged in the philosophy of Hegel when he is by himself; and if he is in company, he is immersed in chess, so that he is deaf to the conversation."[8] Ogareff and Herzen lent Bakunin a considerable sum to allow him to continue his studies in Berlin, and this was the beginning of a prolonged stay outside the borders of Russia, in Berlin, Dresden and Paris. In 1842 he was a confirmed revolutionary, as we see by his article in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, under the pseudonym of Jules Elizard. The

[6] Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 479.

[7] *Correspondance*, Preface, p. 7.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Russian government demanded him to return, and on his refusal, deprived him of his civil rights. Bakunin removed himself to Paris from 1843 to 1847, years which were important in the formation of his opinions, for it was in Paris that he met Proudhon, and also Marx and Engels, his lifelong antagonists.

In November, 1847, as the result of a speech at a Polish banquet commemorating the rising of 1830, Bakunin was expelled from France at the instance of the Russian ambassador Kisseleff, and the report was circulated that he was a secret agent of the Russian government, disavowed because he had gone too far. After a short stay in Brussels he returned to Paris after the February revolution and flung himself heart and soul into the organization of the workers. Caussidière, who hoped to "create order out of chaos," was somewhat embarrassed by Bakunin's zeal and said of him: "What a man! the first day of a revolution he is a treasure: the next day he ought to be shot." After leaving Paris he attended the Slav Congress at Prague, was leader of the Prague rising, and afterward took a leading part in the rising at Dresden which dominated that city for five days in May, 1849. Bakunin, who had been almost dictator in this brief space, was captured, at the same time as Richard Wagner; and his vivid and restless career was changed for the bitter lot of a prisoner.

He was condemned to death by the Saxon government in January, 1850, but the sentence was commuted and he was delivered to Austria which claimed the privilege of dealing with him. Again he was condemned to death, and the sentence was again commuted. Finally the Russian government in its turn claimed him, and from 1851 to 1854 he was imprisoned at St. Petersburg. He was visited in prison by Count Orlov, who told him that Czar Nicholas wished to have his confession. Bakunin, knowing that he "was at the mercy of the bear, that his activities were well known and that there was nothing to hide," wrote a letter to the Czar. According to Herzen the Czar said on reading this, "He is a good fellow and clever: he ought to be kept behind prison-bars." Later Alexander II struck Bakunin's name from the list of offenders to whom amnesty was granted. At another prison, Schlüsselburg, he suffered from scurvy and his health broke down completely; finally, after eight years of prison life, he was exiled to the comparative freedom of Siberia, whence he escaped by way of Japan and America to London.

For some years he lived in Italy, where he founded the Alliance of Socialist Revolutionaries. In 1867 he took part in the Congress of the League of Peace and Liberty at Geneva, and drew the

League's attention to the newly founded International Working Men's Association. Bakunin did not at first believe that the latter would prove a success, and did not join it until 1868. His later exclusion from the Internationale, in 1872, was but a symptom of the conflict between Bakunin's group and the followers of Marx. The two men were antipathetic. Bakunin, who always recognized Marx's superior and systematic genius, who translated the Communist Manifesto for Herzen's *Kolokol* and began to translate the first volume of Marx's *Kapital*, distrusted Marx's temperament, which was lacking, as he believed, "the instinct for liberty." "I have always praised him," Bakunin writes to Herzen, "and more than that, I have recognized his greatness."[9] "I should never forgive myself if I had tried to destroy or weaken his beneficent influence, for the pleasure of revenging myself on him."[10] "He calls me," Bakunin once wrote, "a sentimental idealist, and he was right; I called him vain, treacherous and sly, and I was also right." The Bakuninist following accused the German group of Socialists of self-seeking and trafficking for the prizes of civilization, and of carefulness for forms of law and order, while on the other hand the Marxian group accused their opponents of having no sound ideas of law or order, and of being visionaries and anarchists. By this time Bakunin's health was broken, and except for short intervals his last years were passed in retirement at Lugano in a villa lent him by Cafiero. In 1876, the old revolutionary, who would have preferred death on the barricades, died peacefully in a hospital at Berne.

Bakunin's written work, like his life, is fragmentary and interrupted. He was an organizer of revolts in which he stood in the forefront of the barricades, and most of his writing was done in the feverish interval between two insurrections. He was, as he himself said, no artist, and was quite without the shaping and architectonic gift.[11] His writings are chaotic, largely aroused by some passing occasion, abstract and metaphysical, except when they deal with current politics. "He does not come to close quarters with economic facts, but dwells usually in the regions of theory and metaphysics."[12] His essay in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* is a

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 288.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 391.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 892: "Je ne suis pas artiste, et le talent d'architecte en littérature me fait complètement défaut" (1869).

[12] B. Russell, *Roads to Freedom*, p. 62.

vivid expression of the revolutionary mood of his circle and his day, and is interesting from its philosophical conception of democracy as an outlook on the universe, a spirit moving upon the face of the waters. "The essence, the principle of democracy is the most general, the most all-embracing, the most intimate of factors; it is what Hegel speaks of as the spirit which reveals itself and develops itself in history."[13] His hopes are set on the imminence of revolution; in Russia he saw lowering clouds gathering, the heralds of storm: "The atmosphere is sultry and pregnant with tempests. To the proletariat we say: 'Open the eyes of your mind, let the dead bury their dead, realize at last that the spirit, the ever-young, the ever-reborn is not to be discovered in mouldering ruins!' To the compromisers we say: 'Throw open your hearts to the truth, clear your minds from pitiful and blind wisdom, free yourselves from the theorist's arrogance and the slave's dread, which have withered your souls and paralyzed your movements!' Let us put our trust in the eternal spirit which only destroys and annihilates because it is the unsearchable and eternally creative source of all life! The desire for destruction is also a creative desire."[14] Even more fragmentary is his *God and the State,* the most detailed of his philosophical writings published, which breaks off abruptly. The thesis is the development of his simple statement that the Church and the State were his two bugbears. The State is a stumbling-block in the way of liberty, for it guarantees the *status quo*—"to the rich, their wealth, and to the poor, their poverty." The Church is the main prop of the State, and must therefore be destroyed. "If God exists, man is a slave; but man can and must be free, therefore God does not exist." "As slaves of God, men must likewise become slaves of Church and State, in so far as State is sanctified by Church." Atheism is therefore to him a prime necessity, and in the program for the Peace Congress at Geneva (1867) antitheology was set besides federalism and socialism as the third essential demand.[15] He amusingly turns Voltaire's famous saying inside out: "If God really existed, it would be necessary to abolish him."[16]

The State is the cause of civil and external war, and is the "most flagrant, cynical and complete negation of humanity."[17] Baku-

[13] Masaryk, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 437.

[14] "L'empire knouto-germanique" (2d edition), *Œuvres,* Vol. III, p. 160.

[15] Masaryk, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 446.

[16] *God and the State,* London, 1910, p. 16.

[17] "Fédéralisme, socialisme et antithéologisme," *Œuvres,* Vol. I, p. 148.

nin's medicine for the real world of society was revolution and the destruction—pandestruction he calls it—of the existing order. There is no doubt he found a childish and acute pleasure in the stimulus of revolutionary activities, in the hubbub of insurrections, the tumults of the streets and public places, the tremor of anticipation and preparation, the agitated and continuous meetings and all-night sittings of committees, even in the minor weapons of the revolutionary, invisible ink and cypher. In attempting to formulate the philosophic principles of revolution, he goes so far as to presuppose an unborn need of revolt as a primary psychical element.[18] When actual revolutionary activities were impossible, he would find a cognate pleasure in the passionate negation of the social order.

He had no approval for reform and repair of the fabric of the State as it stood, but aimed at revolution from the prime foundation. Our State, he writes, "has nothing organic in it, and is held together mechanically. When it begins to break up, nothing can arrest the process, and sooner or later this Empire is bound to make an end of itself."[19] Total disorganization and destruction, chaos, pandestruction is to him a prerequisite of the new heaven and a new earth, the new society that will spontaneously upbuild itself from the ashes of the old order. Private property as well as the State must be destroyed, and Bakunin does not hesitate to speak of this anarchy as the "complete manifestation of the folk-life," and from this soil he expects absolute equality to flower. Forms of life, he imagined, would spring up from the soil thus deeply ploughed; and he inveighed against those who asked for an indication of the conditions of the future society. "It seems to us criminal that those who are already busied about the practical work of revolution should trouble their minds with this nebulous future, for such thoughts will merely prove a hindrance to the supreme cause of destruction."[20] To him as to some other passionate visionaries, the end justifies all means; poison, the knife and the noose were permitted in the holy war, "for the revolution sanctifies all equally." Terrorism he considered an accelerating instrument and a means of producing general panic. Of some of his methods Bakunin, to judge by a letter written in 1874, seems to have wearied, for his final word is that "no solid, no living structure can be built upon a foundation of jesuitical deception, and revolutionary actions must not rely upon vile and

[18] See letter of Herzen, quoted in *Correspondance*, Preface, p. 67.

[19] *Correspondance*, p. 244.

[20] Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 452.

base passions. The Revolution will never triumph unless it has a humane and high ideal."[21]

Influenced, no doubt, by his profound difference with Marx and his sympathy with Latin races, Bakunin distrusted Germany, the type of the sovereign and autocratic State. "In Germany," he writes, "one breathes the atmosphere of an immense political and social slavery, philosophically explained and accepted by a great people with deliberate resignation and free will. Since her definitive establishment as a unitary power, she has become a menace, a danger to the liberty of entire Europe. To-day, Germany is servility, brutal and triumphant."[22] In the Franco-Prussian War, he feared that the victory of Prussia would make an end of European progress for half a century,[23] and a few years later declared that he had set his hopes on the Slavs and Latins, who were to react against Pan-Germanism.

He, like Herzen, looked on the Russian people as predestined to establish the social revolution. His writings are blank as far as constructive ideas are looked for; at one moment he considers the significance of the Russian *mir*, a village community. In the opinion of the folk, he said, the soil belongs to the folk alone, to the tillers of the soil, and this outlook enfolds all the social revolutions of the past and future. By instinct, he continues, the Russians are socialistic, by nature they are revolutionary; the Russians therefore will institute the freedom of the world.[24] In 1866, however, he had strongly criticized Herzen's mystic belief in the Russian *mir* from which he hoped so much, and speaks of its arbitrary and despotic patriarchalism, the complete repression of the individual and the corruption of its members, always ready to sell right and justice for ten liters of brandy.[25]

Bakunin's stock of ideas was borrowed, for he assimilated those of others with facility. After subtracting what he owes to Feuerbach, to Auguste Comte, to Proudhon and to Marx, there is little small change left. What remains is his fervor, his belief in the imminent revolution that was so intense that he mistook, in Herzen's phrase, the second month of gestation for the ninth. No one could approach him without catching, if but for a time, his

[21] *Correspondance*, p. 379.

[22] *God and the State*, pp. 28-29.

[23] "Lettre à Esquiros," *Œuvres*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

[24] Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 460.

[25] *Correspondance*, p. 223.

revolutionary fire. The final word upon him is Belinski's who speaks of his "savage energy, restless, stimulating and profound mobility of mind, his incessant striving for remote ends, without any gratification in the present; even hatred for the present and for himself in the present; ever leaping from the special to the general." And in another context he admits that Bakunin has sinned and made many mistakes, but that there is something in him that wipes away all his faults of character, "the principle of eternal movement hidden in the very deeps of his soul."

11

लोकतन्त्र पर नेहरू एवं जयप्रकाश नारायण
(Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan on Democracy)

जवाहरलाल नेहरू के शब्दों में, "लोकतन्त्र अच्छा है। मैं ऐसा कहता हूँ क्योंकि अन्य प्रथा सबसे बुरी हैं।" संसार में उस समय प्रचलित सभी राजनीतिक व्यवस्थाओं का उन्होंने गह अध्ययन किया और इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचे कि लोकतन्त्र सबसे उत्तम प्रकार का शासन है हालाँकि उन्होंने उनके लोकतन्त्र के साथ अनुभव के आधार पर मौजुदा लोकतन्त्र के प्रकार क परिवर्तित किया, फिर भी वह इस विचार के थे कि लोकतन्त्र अति उत्तम है। नेहरू ने एक उत्साही राष्ट्रवादी, एक व्यावहारिक समाजवादी तथा धर्मनिरपेक्षतावादी आदर्शों के संयोजन क प्रस्तुत किया। नेहरू में बुद्धिमता, तर्कवाद, चुम्बकीय तथा करिश्माई व्यक्तित्व का असाधारण तथा अपवादिक सम्मिश्रण मौजूद था। वह एक महान स्वप्नदर्शी तथा संसदीय लोकतन्त्र के निष्ठावान अनुयायी थे। उन्होंने गरीबो तथा शोषित वर्ग के लिए नीतियाँ प्रतिपादित कि, ज कभी-कभी उनके द्वारा लोकतन्त्रीय मूल्यों में परिवर्तन तथा समाजवादी मूल्यों के प्रति झुकाव को दर्शाती है।

जवाहरलाल नेहरू (1889-1964), भारत के प्रथम प्रधानमंत्री, 1947 से 1964 तक भारत के मुख्य निर्माता, प्रारूपकार, अभिकल्पक (designer), आयोजक तथा ग्रह व विदेश नीतियों के अभियन्ता थे। उनका जन्म एक आर्थिक रूप से सम्पन्न कश्मीरी ब्राह्मण परिवार में हुआ औ उन्होंने ऑक्सफर्ड विश्वविद्यालय (लंदन) में अपनी शिक्षा प्राप्त की। नेहरू ने हिन्दु स्त्रीयों के उद्धार के लिए तथा उन्हें समानता दिलाने के लिए कानूनी सुधारों का एक ताँता प्रारम्भ किया नेहरू ने पूरे मन से स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा बन्धुत्व रूपी आदर्शों का समर्थन किया। इस अध्याय में हम लोकतन्त्र के संदर्भ में उनके विचारों का विस्तारपूर्वक अध्ययन करेगें। उनकी तारीफ में वी० आर० कृष्ण अय्यर (V.R. Krishna Iyer) लिखते हैं, "जवाहरलाल नेहरू अभिजातीय जन्म, विशिष्ट वर्गीय शिक्षा तथा उग्रवादी राष्ट्रवाद के एक मिश्रण होने के कारण इतिहास के आख्यान (annals) में एक बुलन्द प्रेरणा बने रहेगें।"

लोकतन्त्र पर नेहरू
(Nehru on Democracy)

प्रधानमन्त्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु ने, 13 अक्तूबर, 1949 को संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका की कांग्रेस के दोनों सदनों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहा, "संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका ने पिछली डेढ़ शताब्दी से स्वतन्त्रता तथा अद्वितीय प्रचुरता के लिए संघर्ष किया और आज यह एक महान् तथा शक्तिशाली राष्ट्र है। इसके भौतिक विकास में तथा वैज्ञानिक तथा शिल्पविज्ञानीय (technological) उन्नति में इसका आश्चर्यजनक विवरण है। इसे वह तब तक हासिल नही कर सकता था ज

तक कि वह अपने इतिहास के प्रारम्भ में जन्म दिए गए महान् नियमों पर अडिग न रहा हो, क्योंकि भौतिक प्रगति तब तक सम्भव नही है अथवा रह नही सकती जब तक इसका आधार नैतिक नियमों तथा उच्च आदर्शों पर आधारित न हों। वे नीतियाँ तथा आदर्श तुम्हारी स्वतन्त्रता की घोषणा में मौजूद है और यह घोषित करते है कि यह आत्म-व्यक्त सत्य है कि सभी मनुष्य समान उत्पन्न किए गए हैं, और उनके जन्मदाता ने उन्हे कुछ अहस्तान्तरकरणीय अधिकार प्रदान किए हैं और उनमें से जीवन, स्वतन्त्रता तथा सुख की प्राप्ति होती है।" नेहरु, संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका के आदर्शों से पूर्णत: प्रभावित थे। इसी सम्मेलन में नेहरु ने समान विषयों को भारत तथा अमरीका के सामने रखा, और कहा "फिर भी, भारत तथा संयुक्त राज्य के विचारों में भिन्नता भी प्रतीत होगी, लेकिन इसके बावजुद उनके मध्य अनेक समानताएँ है। तुम्हारी तरह हमने भी क्रान्ति के द्वारा अपनी स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त कि, हालाँकि हमारे तरीके तुम्हारे तरीके से भिन्न थे। तुम्हारा जैसा ही हमारा गणतन्त्र होगा जो संघीय नियमों पर आधारित होगा, जो इस महान् गणतन्त्र के संस्थापकों की उत्कृष्ट देन है। इस महान् संयुक्त राज्य के गणतन्त्र की तरह, भारत जैसे एक विशाल देश में, यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम केन्द्रीय नियन्त्रण तथा राज्य स्वायत्तता के मध्य एक व्यवहार-कुशल सन्तूलन को स्थापित करें। हमने अपने संविधान के सामने उन मौलिक मानव अधिकारों को रखा है जो सभी मनुष्यों जो स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा प्रगति को प्यार करते हैं व व्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता, मानव में समानता तथा कानून के शासन की आकांशा करते हैं। इसलिए हम, जिनकी संस्थाएँ तथा जिनके लोगों के विचार लोकतन्त्र में, अन्त:स्थापित है, स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्रों के समुदाय के रूप में प्रवेश करते हैं।"

26 जनवरी 1995 को भारतीय संसद में पंड़ित जवाहरलाल नेहरु की प्रतिमा के अनावरण के अवसर पर नेल्सन मंडेला (Nelson Mandela) ने अपने भाषण में कहा, "पंडित जी ने उस सूक्ष्म प्रकार के जोशीले तथा शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रवाद को सिखाया है जो लोगों को संघर्ष करने के लिए जागरुक कर सकता है। परन्तु यह विजय प्राप्त करने के लिए अथवा स्थाई शान्ति प्राप्त करने के लिए अपर्याप्त है। हमारे अनुभव ने यह सत्य दिखाया है कि अनन्यता में स्थाई सहयोजन (co-operation) तथा अन्तर्निर्भरता होनी चाहिए। यह एक ऐसा सबक है जो संघर्ष मे गढ़ा हुआ है और तीव्रता से बदलती हुई विश्व व्यवस्था में अंकित है, जिसे हमने अपने देश की रंगभेद नीति (apartheid) की परम्परा की समस्याओं को सम्बोधित करने तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय समुदाय के प्रति हमारे दृष्टिकोण के लिए अपने दिल में उतार लिया है।"

लोकतन्त्र की मुख्य विशेषताएँ
(Major Characteristics of Democracy)

जवाहरलाल नेहरु का दृढ विचार था कि केवल लोकतन्त्र में एक व्यक्ति का व्यक्तित्व सही ढ़ग से विकसित हो सकता है। व्यक्ति के विचारों, अभिव्यक्ति, विश्वास, विचार तथा उपासना की स्वतन्त्रता पर प्रतिबन्ध के अभाव में, उसका वास्तविक स्वरुप निखर उठेगा। नेहरु के लोकतान्त्रिक विचार नवीन नहीं है, परन्तु उनके द्वारा लॉक, रुसो, बेन्थन, जे. एस. मिल. कार्ल मार्क्स आदि के विचारों का मिश्रण, अवश्य ही नूतन है। उन्होंने व्यक्ति के सर्व विकास पर जोर दिया। उनके द्वारा व्यक्ति के विकास पर जोर देने के कार्य ने उन्हे, उनके समय का एक सच्चा लोकतान्त्रिक बना डाला। उनके शब्दों में, "व्यक्ति को ही महत्व देते हैं ..... कोई

पूर्ण अवसर दिया जाना ..... (Quoted by M. Brecher in his "Nehru : A Political Biography")।

लोकतन्त्र को परिभाषित करते हुए उन्होंने कहा, "लोकतन्त्र केवल राजनीतिक नही है, केवल आर्थिक नहीं है, परन्तु मस्तिष्क का कुछ है ..... यह जहाँ तक हो सके सभी के लिए राजनीतिक तथा आर्थिक क्षेत्र में अवसर की समानता को शामिल करता है। यह व्यक्ति को विकास करने की स्वतन्त्रता तथा उसके सामर्थ्यो तथा क्षमता के सर्वोत्तम को प्रयोग करने को सम्मिलित करता है। यह दूसरों की सहनशीलता को सम्मिलित करता है तथा वे दूसरों के ऐसे विचारों को भी सम्मिलित करता है जब वे तुम्हारे विचार से भिन्न हों .....। यह गतिशील है, न की निश्चल वस्तु .....। यह मानसिक पद्धति है, जिसे हमारी राजनीतिक आर्थिक समस्यओं पर लागू किया जाता है।" ("Democracy is not only political, not only economic but something of mind..... It involves equality of opportunity to all as far as possible in the political and economic domain. It involves the freedom of the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability. It involves a certain tolerance of others and even on other's opinion when they differ from your's.... It is dynamic, not a static thing.... It is a mental approach, applied to our political economic problems."—N. Cousins, "Talks with Nehru").

लोकतन्त्र पर नेहरु के विचारों की मुख्य विशेषताएँ निम्नलिखित है :

1. **राष्ट्रवाद** (Nationalism)—लोकतन्त्र पर नेहरू का विचार राष्ट्रवाद तथा समाजवाद जैसी दो चीजों के साथ सम्बन्धित है। उनका यह विश्वास था कि भारत की मौलिक एकता का, धर्म जैसी संकीर्ण भावना द्वारा नही परन्तु सांस्कृतिक नींव द्वारा पोषण किया गया है। (Jawahar Lal Nehru, "Unity of India")। उनके अनुसार, राष्ट्रवाद का तात्पर्य 'आत्म के द्वारा शासन' (Rule of the self) है। वे आत्मनिर्णय में अटूट विश्वास रखते थे।

2. **लोकतन्त्र** (Democracy)—नेहरू का लोकतन्त्र पर अवलोकन, प्रकृति में अति व्यापक तथा विस्तृत था। उन्होंने संसदीय लोकतन्त्र के आदर्शों का समर्थन किया। लोकतन्त्र कहलाने के लिए प्रतिनिधियों को निर्वाचित करना ही काफी नही है। उनके लिए लोकतन्त्र एक ऐसी शासन पद्धति है जिसमें स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा बन्धुत्व जेसे मानव मूल्यों को कार्योन्वित किया जाता है। इसमें कुछ प्रशासनिक संस्थाएँ तथा प्रक्रियाएँ मौजूद हैं। यह एक ऐसी सामाजिक संरचना है जिसमें सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानता एक स्वप्न नही होगा। नेहरू ने कहा कि सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानता रूपी आदर्शों की प्राप्ति के लिए हमें राजनीतिक समानता का सहयोग लेना होगा और यह, उनके अनुसार, केवल लोकतन्त्र में ही सम्भव है।

नेहरू के लिए, लोकतन्त्र पूर्णत: लोगों के विश्वास, गरिमा, आत्म-सम्मान, व्यक्ति के गुण तथा हमारी मानवता पर आधारित है। नेहरू का मानना था कि साम्प्रदायिक अथवा सामाजिक क्रिया का अनिवार्य उद्देश्य अधिकांश लोगों का सन्तोष, कल्याण तथा सुख होना चाहिए। नेहरू ने लोकतन्त्र को परिभाषित करते हुए कहा कि यह एक ऐसा समाज है जिसमें सारी सामाजिक शक्तियाँ लोगों में निहित है अथवा प्रभावात्मक रूप से लोगों के प्रति उत्तरदायी है जिन पर इसका प्रयोग किया जा रहा है। लोकतन्त्र इसलिए एक सामाजिक व्यवस्था है क्योंकि यह सामाजिक शक्ति की समानता द्वारा पहचाना जाता है। यह न केवल एक प्रकार की सरकार

है परन्तु एक किस्म का समाज है। प्रभावात्मक लोकतन्त्र केवल प्रशासनिक शक्ति ही नही परन्तु सभी सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक शक्ति पर लोकतन्त्रात्मक नियन्त्रण चाहता है। और चूँकि सरकार के पास सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक शक्ति के वितरण सम्बन्धित नियमों को निश्चित करने की शक्ति, सत्ता तथा नियन्त्रण है, इसलिए लोकतन्त्रीय सरकारी संस्थाओं को प्रतिनिधित्व लोकतन्त्रीय समाज की संरचना में मेहराब, ठीक ही कहा गया है।

नेहरू के अनुसार लोकतन्त्र व्यक्ति के सम्पूर्ण विकास के लिए ही केवल आवश्यक नही है, परन्तु यह विविध विकास के लिए भी आवश्यक है। केवल लोकतन्त्र की मदद के द्वारा ही आखिरकार लोगों का कल्याण सम्भव हो पाएगा। क्रियात्मक आर्थिक अर्थव्यवस्था तथा उसके अनुपूरक के रूप में सामाजिक समानता, अच्छा जीवन उत्पन्न करने के लिए अत्याधिक आवश्यक है। नेहरू ने लोकतन्त्र को व्यक्ति तथा समाज की समस्याओं के प्रति कुछ संभावनाओं, व्यवहारों तथा दृष्टिकोणों के आधार पर परिभाषित किया था। इसलिए कभी-कभी उन्हे व्यक्तिवादी भी कहा जाता है। परन्तु उनके व्यक्तिवाद की अवधारणा प्रारम्भिक राजनीतिक चिन्तकों के विचार से भिन्न थी।

3. **व्यक्तिवाद** (Individualism)–उन्होंने कहा कि आखिरकार व्यक्ति को ही गिना जाता है। व्यक्ति के दृष्टिकोण से ही सभी समस्याओं को आँका जाना चाहिए। लोकतान्त्रिक देश में मानव मूल्यों के बृहत्त लक्षों तथा व्यक्ति के बौद्धिक विकास की प्राप्ति के लिए पूर्ण स्वतन्त्रता तथा बुद्धिसम्पन्न निर्बन्धन (restrictions) है। वे असीमित स्वतन्त्रता के पक्ष में नही थे, परन्तु जैसा उन्होंने एक बार संसद में कहा, "एक लोकतान्त्रिक समाज में व्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता की अवधारणा को सामाजिक स्वतन्त्रता के साथ तथा व्यक्ति तथा सामाजिक समूह के साथ सम्बन्ध सन्तुलित होना चाहिए। व्यक्ति को चाहिए कि वह दूसरों की स्वतन्त्रता का अतिक्रमण न करें", ("In a democratic society, concept of individual freedom has to be balanced with social freedom and the relation of the individual with the social group. The individual must not infringe on the freedom of other individuals",—Nehru's Speeches, Volume II, Speech in the House of People) । हालाँकि वे व्यक्ति की स्वतन्त्रता के समर्थक थे, फिर भी उन्होंने उन्नीसवीं शताब्दी की अहस्तक्षेप नीति (*laissez faire* policy) को समर्थन नही दिया। उन्होंने रूसी समाजवाद को भी समर्थन नही दिया क्योंकि वह व्यक्ति की पूर्णत: उपेक्षा करता है। नेहरू के लिए स्वतन्त्रता तथा लोकतन्त्र के लिए दिए गए कारणों की वजह से वे उन्हें कभी अलग नही कर सकते : (क) दोनों सामाजिक शक्ति की समानता पर निर्भर करते हैं; (ख) लोकतन्त्रीय संस्थाओं के प्रयोग द्वारा लोग अपनी स्वतन्त्रता की रक्षा कर सकते हैं; तथा (ग) लोग अपनी लोकतान्त्रिक संस्थाओं को अपनी स्वतन्त्रता के प्रयोग द्वारा सुरक्षित कर सकते हैं।

4. **प्रतिनिधित्व सरकार** (Representative Government)–नेहरू देश के नागरिकों के द्वारा निर्वाचित सदस्यों की मदद से प्रतिनिधित्व सरकार के संचालन के पक्ष में थे। उन्होंने कहा कि प्रतिनिधित्व सरकार लिखित संविधान के जाल, सार्वभौम वयस्क मताधिकार, आवर्ती निर्वाचनों, उत्तरदायी राजनीतिक दलों तथा बहुमत के उत्तरदायी राजनीतिक नेतृत्व द्वारा क्रियाशील है तथा यह ही उत्तम प्रकार की सरकार है। नेहरू के विचार में, सार्वभौम वयस्क मताधिकार के विस्तार के द्वारा, बिना वर्ग, रंग, मत, सम्पत्ति तथा लिंग के आधार पर भेदभाव

किए, सभी को मताधिकार देना, लोकतन्त्र का आवश्यक तत्व है। केवल राजनीतिक समानता के द्वारा ही अन्य समानताओं को कायम रखा जा सकता है।

नेहरू का यह विचार था कि केवल उत्तरदायी राजनीतिक दलों के द्वारा ही सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानता रूपी आदर्शों को कार्यान्वित किया जा सकता है। उन्होंने इस बात पर भी जोर दिया कि स्वतन्त्रता, समानता तथा बन्धुत्व रूपी पूर्वनिर्धारित लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि शासन के शीर्ष स्थर पर उत्तरदायी राजनीतिक नेतृत्व मौजूद हो।

5. **आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक समानता** (Economic and Social Equality)–नेहरू ने स्पष्टता से कहा, "लोकतन्त्र का तात्पर्य समानता है और लोकतन्त्र केवल समान समाज में ही सम्भव है", ("Democracy means equality, and democracy can flourish only in an equal society"—Jawaharlal Nehru, "Glimpses of the World 'History"). उनके अनुसार, केवल लोकतन्त्र में ही हम सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानताएँ प्राप्त कर सकते हैं। लोकतन्त्र, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक समानताओं को अपने में समाविष्ट करता है और इनके अभाव में राजनीतिक समानता का कोई मूल्य ही नही है।

संयुक्त राज्य अमरीका की स्वतन्त्रता की घोषणा यह घोषित करती है कि "सभी को समान रूप से उत्पन्न किया गया है।" यह ही लोकतान्त्रिक राज्य का नियम तथा सारभाग है। लोकतान्त्रिक राज्य के द्वारा आवश्यक समानता, सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक शक्ति की समानता है। इसका तात्पर्य सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक शक्ति की पूर्ण ग्रन्थि में समानता होनी चाहिए। सामाजिक शक्ति की पूर्ण संरचना में, "राजनीतिक लोकतन्त्र," "सामाजिक लोकतन्त्र", तथा "आर्थिक लोकतन्त्र" पर जोर देना केवल परिणामी है तथा उसके एक तरफा पहलु पर जोर देना तक महत्त्व रखता है। वास्तव में यह पहलु अन्योन्याश्रित हैं। लोकतन्त्र की सफलता के लिए आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक समानता में सम्पूर्णता अति आवश्यक है। लोकतन्त्र अविभाज्य तथा अपृथक्करणीय है तथा सम्पूर्ण समाज की एक शर्त है। नेहरू कहता है, "आज के समाज के संदर्भ में, जाति व्यवस्था तथा वे सभी जो इसके साथ है, वह पूर्णतः असंगत, प्रतिक्रियात्मक, प्रतिबंधक तथा प्रगति के विरूद्ध अवरोध है। इसके अन्तर्गत स्थिति तथा अवसर की समानता नही हो सकती, न ही राजनीतिक लोकतन्त्र तथा आर्थिक लोकतन्त्र सम्भव हो सकता है," (Jawahar Lal Nehru, "Discovery of India")। नेहरू के इन ऊपर वर्णित नियमों पर आधारित होकर भारतीय संविधान का प्रारूप तैयार किया था। संविधान में 'राज्य के नीति निर्देशक सिद्धान्त' तथा 'मौलिक अधिकारों' को शामिल करना, स्पष्ट रूप से संवैधानिक सभा के सदस्यों के उद्देश्य तथा महत्वाकाक्षांओं को चित्रित करता है कि वे भारत को एक आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक रूप से समान राज्य के रूप मे देखना चाहते थे।

6. **आर्थिक लोकतन्त्र** (Economic Democracy)–नेहरू रूसी आर्थिक योजना व्यवस्था तथा पूँजीवादी देशों की 'अहस्तक्षेप नीति' का अध्ययन करने के पश्चात् इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचे कि दोनों ही व्यवस्थाओं में कुछ न कुछ समस्या है। उन्होंने यह देखा कि दोनों आर्थिक व्यवस्थाओं की अच्छाईयों पर आधारित अर्थव्यवस्था भारत जैसे विकासशील देशों के लिए अति उत्तम व्यवस्था साबित हो सकती है। इसलिए उन्होंने भारतीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए लोकतान्त्रिक समाजवाद रूपी अवधारणा कि पैरवी की। उन्होंने कल्याणकारी राज्य को पसन्द किया। संक्षिप्त में, उनके लोकतन्त्र के आदर्शों का उद्देश्य भारतीय लोगों को सामाजिक न्याय दिलाना था।

नेहरू के लिए, राजनीति के समान अर्थशास्त्र भी उतना ही महत्वपूर्ण था; और इसी प्रकार, मानव अधिकार तथा उसके विभिन्न आयाम उनके लिए महत्वपूर्ण थे। उन्होंने सोवियत प्रयोग के अनेक विचारों को स्वीकार किया और उनमें से कुछ विचारों को अपनाया, जैसे, विकास की योजनाओं को निर्मित करने के लिए योजना आयोग। वे सामाजवादी अवश्य थे परन्तु, सिद्धान्तिक रूप से इतने कट्टर भी नही थे। अपने राजनीति की नीति के लिए वे व्यावहारवादी भी थे। नरेन्द्र देव (Narendra Dev) ने एक बार कहा, "वह (नेहरू) किसी निश्चित "वाद" से जुड़ा हुआ नही है और वह न ही किसी समूह को नेतृत्व प्रदान करने के लिए स्वभावत: लायक है। वह वैज्ञानिक समाजवाद के कुछ मौलिक नियमों पर विश्वास करता है, फिर भी, वह मार्क्स तथा लेनिन के द्वारा सिखाए गई बातों को स्वीकार करने के लिए तैयार है; वह किसी भी विचारधारा पर दृढ़तापूर्वक विश्वास नही करता। वह अपने आपको हर प्रकार के उन विचारों के दावों को जाँचने के लिए स्वतन्त्र अनुभव करता है; जो सामाजिक लक्ष्यों की पूर्ति का प्रचार करते हैं, और वह निरन्तर अपने विचारों को, प्राप्त नए अनुभवों के प्रकाश में, सुधारता रहता हैं," (G. Austin, "The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation")।

स्मिथ के शब्दों में, "व्यवहार में लोकतन्त्र तब प्रचलन में न आया होता अगर, उदाहरण के लिए, प्रतिनिधित्व संस्थाओं को विरोधी व्यक्तियों के अधिकारों को कुचलने के लिए प्रयोग किया जाता, अथवा एक ऐसी आर्थिक संरचना को बनाये रखा जाता जो अधिक असमानता को जन्म दे, अथवा, स्थापित प्रक्रियाओं तथा आत्म-अनुशासन के द्वारा संस्थाओं को संचालित न किया जाता," (Donald E. Smith, "Nehru and Democracy")।

उपसंहार
(Conclusion)

नेहरू के विचारों तथा सिद्धान्तों ने लोकतन्त्र को राजनीतिक, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक समानता के आधार पर परिभाषित किया। नेहरू एक महान् लोकतन्त्रवादी थे तथा व्यक्तियों की काबीलियतों पर उन्हें पूर्ण विश्वास था। जवाहरलाल नेहरू के लिए जाति, रंग तथा पन्थ के आधार पर भेदभाव का अभाव तथा आर्थिक लोकतन्त्र, लोकतान्त्रिक राज्य के महत्वपूर्ण संघटक हैं।

लोकनायक जयप्रकाश नारायण
(Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan)

जयप्रकाश नारायण (1902-1979), जिन्हें व्यापक रूप से जे.पी. नारायण, जयप्रकाश अथवा लोकनायक के रूप में जाना जाता है, भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता सेनानी एवं राजनेता थे। इन्हें विशेष रूप से 1980 के दशक में इंदिरा गांधी के विरोध में शान्तिपूर्ण समग्र क्रान्ति लाने के लिए नेतृत्व प्रदान करने वाले अग्रदूत के रूप से जाना जाता है। इनकी जीवनी, 'जयप्रकाश', इनके राष्ट्रवादी मित्र एवं हिन्दी साहित्य के प्रख्यात लेखक रामवृक्ष बेनीपुरी, द्वारा लिखी गई। सन् 1998 में इन्हें मरणोपरांत भारत के सर्वोच्च प्रतिष्ठित नागरिक सम्मान 'भारत रत्न' से अलंकृत किया गया। इनको लोकसेवा हेतु 1965 में मैग्सेसे सम्मान से भी सम्मानित किया गया था। पटना के हवाई अड्डे का नाम भी इन्हीं के नाम पर रखा गया है।

यद्यपि जे.पी. व्यावहारिक रूप से एक समर्पित मार्क्सवादी थे फिर भी इस बात पर विशेष बल देते थे कि भारत में साम्यवादियों (कम्युनिस्टों) को राष्ट्रीय स्वतन्त्रता हेतु संघर्ष की मुख्य धारा से जुड़ना चाहिए, भले ही यह तथाकथित बुर्जुआ वर्ग के आधिपत्य के अधीन रहे हो। अपनी भारत वापसी के दौरान वे रजनी पाम दत्त के भाई क्लीमनस दत्त से मिले थे। साथ ही साथ, वे लंदन में अन्य साम्यवादी नेताओं से मिले और उन्होंने उनके साथ भारतीय स्वतन्त्रता एवं क्रान्ति के मुद्दे पर विचार-विमर्श किया। दास देशों के साम्यवादियों को राष्ट्रीय संघर्ष में सक्रिय भाग लेने के आह्वान पर केन्द्रित लेनिन की सुप्रसिद्ध रचना, 'कालोनियल थीसिस' को जे.पी. ने पढ़ रखा था, इसलिए वे दत्त के तर्कों से सहमत नहीं थे। बाद में जब जे.पी. राष्ट्रवादी स्वतन्त्रता आन्दोलन में सम्मिलित हुए तो उन्हें यह जानकर बड़ा आश्चर्य हुआ कि भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट उसी दिशा का अनुसरण कर रहे थे जिसकी वकालत क्लीमनस दत्त ने की थी। जे.पी. भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस, जो देश की स्वतन्त्रता के लिए संघर्षरत थी, के विरुद्ध संघर्ष के औचित्य को नहीं समझ पाए थे।

लोकतन्त्र पर जयप्रकाश नारायण के विचार
(Jayaprakash Narayan on Democracy)

अपने बहुचर्चित निबन्ध "A reconstruction of Indian Polity" से जयप्रकाश नारायण ने इस बात की वकालत की कि वर्तमान राजनीतिक संस्थाओं को प्राचीन भारतीय राजनीति के सिद्धान्तों पर आधारित होना चाहिए और उसी तरह से व्यवहार करना चाहिए क्योंकि–

(क) उन्हें विश्वास था कि इससे सामाजिक उद्‌भव एवं विकास की प्राकृतिक दिशा एवं रेखा का सूत्रपात होगा।

(ख) ये सिद्धान्त अन्य किन्हीं सिद्धान्तों की अपेक्षा सामाजिक विज्ञान के दृष्टिकोण से अधिक मान्य होंगे।

उन्होंने आगे यह भी कहा है कि वर्तमान पाश्चात्य राजनीतिक व्यवस्था आणविक समाज पर आधारित है जो एक ऐसा अवस्था है जिसमें व्यक्तियों के अकार्बनिक (inorganic) योग का सम्मिलन दिखाई पड़ता है। यह व्यक्ति की सामाजिक प्रवृत्ति एवं समाज के वैज्ञानिक संगठन दोनों के ही विरुद्ध है। प्राचीन भारतीय राज्यव्यवस्था इन दोनों के साथ अत्याधिक सुसंगत थी।

उन्होंने आगे कहा कि लोकतन्त्र के प्रवेशद्वार पर ही–इसके स्वरूप व संरचना को ध्यान में रखे बिना–ऐसे शब्द लिखे गए हैं जिन्हें लोकतन्त्र को मिटाए बिना नहीं मिटाया जा सकता। लोकतान्त्रिक स्वतन्त्रता के बिना किसी प्रकार का लोकतन्त्र जीवित नहीं रह सकता और यह स्वतन्त्रता अन्तःकरण की स्वतन्त्रता, संघ की, अभिव्यक्ति तथा विधि के शासन से जुड़ी हुई है। "जहाँ ये स्वतन्त्रताएँ नहीं हैं और कानून का शासन भी नहीं, वहाँ कोई लोकतन्त्र भी नहीं हो सकता है (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या 506, अक्तूबर, 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।"

(क) पुरातन ग्राम समुदाय
(Old Village Communities)

जयप्रकाश नारायण के अनुसार प्राचीन ग्रामीण समुदाय अपने भौतिक अस्तित्व के

अतिरिक्त किसी अन्य रूप से आज जीवित नहीं है। वे व्यक्तिगत अथवा सामुदायिक समस्याओं के समाधान हेतु तथा उनके नैतिक व भौतिक जीवन के विकास हेतु अब वे सामूहिक रूप से कार्यवाही करने वाले जीवित रूपी समुदाय नहीं रहे हैं। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि यहाँ ग्राम्य समुदायों की विनाश लीला की कहानी बतानी आवश्यक नहीं है। यहाँ केवल यही जान लेना काफी है कि यह एक ऐसी विदेशी सरकार द्वारा जानबूझकर बनाई गई ऐसी नीति का परिणाम थे जो न केवल सामुदायिक राज्यव्यवस्था के स्वरूप को समझ पाई और न ही स्वशासन एवं स्वयं सहायता समूहों की मजबूत परम्पराओं की उपस्थिति में अपने आपको सुरक्षित महसूस कर पाई। इन सबके रहते हुए सत्य बात तो यह है कि ग्राम भौतिक रूप से हमें एक तैयार नींव प्रदान करते हैं, जिस पर हमें केवल भवन निर्माण करना था। प्राचीन अनुस्मृतियों से जो शब्द उभरकर सामने आता है वह है धर्म। भारतीय राज्यव्यवस्था के अनुसार राज्य, धर्म के नियमों के अधीन हुआ करता था और बदले में इसका कर्तव्य था कि वह राज्य का विकास एवं इसकी संरक्षा करे। प्राचीन भारत में धर्म की अवधारणा का बहुत बड़ा महत्व था। धर्म जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों से जुड़े व्यक्तिगत एवं समूहगत व्यवहारों को दिशा प्रदान करता था एवं इन्हें विनियमित भी करता था। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या 506, अक्तूबर, 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

(ख) धर्म
(Dharma)

धर्म की यह अवधारणा एवं भारतीय राज्यव्यवस्था में इसकी भूमिका तथा समाज का व्यापक जीवन जयप्रकाश नारायण के लिए एक अन्य उदाहरण था, जो भारतीय समाज के समिक्षित, अवयवीय, सामुदायिक संगठन पर केन्द्रित थे। इन पर पहले ही चर्चा की जा चुकी है। भू-क्षेत्रीय अथवा क्रियात्मक समुदायों ने अपने समुदायों एवं समूहों के आन्तरिक जीवन को विनियमित करने हेतु व्यवहार के कानून एवं संहिताओं का विकास किया एवं समाज के साथ उनके सम्बन्धों को जोड़े रखने से संबंधित नियम भी बनाए। इसके अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्य संहिता एवं कानून भी थे जो सभी के लिए सामान्य रूप से लागू होते थे और जिनका पालन सभी के द्वारा किया जाता था और वह सार्वभौम सामाजिक आचारशास्त्र बना। इन सामाजिक नीतियों का राज्य पर काफी व्यापक एवं सुदृढ़ प्रभाव पड़ा।

जयप्रकाश नारायण के अनुसार सामुदायिक जीवन के पूरी तरह नष्ट हो जाने के कारण, धर्म की जड़ों को अपने विकास हेतु कोई भी मृदा नहीं मिल पा रही थी। इसलिए, धर्म का पतन हो गया और इसका प्रभाव न केवल वर्तमान राज्यव्यवस्था, जो पूरी तरह से विदेशीकरण से ओत-प्रोत है, से जाता रहा वरन् भारतीय मिट्टी से धर्म की जड़ें लुप्त हो जाने के कारण, इसका प्रभाव सभी सामाजिक क्रियाकलापों जैसे कि वाणिज्य, शिक्षा, श्रम, प्रशासन एवं पुजारीपन, आदि से भी जाता रहा। जब तक स्व-निर्धारण एवं पारस्परिक समन्वयन एवं एकीकृत समुदायों के आधार पर भारत पुनर्संघटित नहीं हो जाता तब तक धर्म की अवधारणा का प्रतिनिधित्व करने वाले स्व-नियमित समाज की संभावना की आशा नहीं की जा सकती, साथ-ही-साथ ऐसा न हो पाने पर लोकतन्त्र लोगों के जीवन से दूर ही रहेगा। उन्होंने आगे यह भी कहा कि उदाहरण के रूप में विनोबाजी पहले से ही कथित ग्राम धर्म (गाँव का धर्म) की बात कर रहे (की थी) थे। लेकिन उन्होंने बल देते हुए यह भी कहा कि जब तक ग्राम समुदाय के रूप में परिवर्तित नहीं हो जाता तब तक ग्राम धर्म का उद्भव असंभव ही है। तभी ग्राम के

लिए यह संभव हो पाएगा कि वह अपना धर्म ग्रामीणों के कल्याण हेतु अंगीकार करे जिसके अन्तर्गत कोई भी भूखा, बिना कपड़े का, बिना छत का न रहे अर्थात सभी के पास, करने को काम हो और कोई बच्चा तीन 'R' पठन, लेखन एवं अभिकलन (गणित शिक्षा) के ज्ञान से अछूता न रहे, के स्थान पर, कोई भी बच्चा तीन 'H' (दिमाग, दिल एवं हाथ) के ज्ञान से अछूता न रहे (instead of no child goes without a knowledge of the three R's—Reading, Writing and Arithmatic—he replaced them with three H's—Head, Heart and Hands); और साथ-साथ कोई भी न्यूनतम स्वास्थ्य सेवा के लाभ से वंचित न हो। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या 506, अक्तूबर, 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

धर्म की प्राचीन अवधारणा को पुनः जीवित करना आवश्यक है एवं लोकतन्त्र हेतु एक उपयुक्त धर्म विकसित किया जाना चाहिए। प्राचीन धर्म की ही तरह उसे किसी विदाई प्रक्रिया द्वारा नहीं स्थापित किया जा सकता। इसे केवल आत्मिक ढंग से ही प्राप्त किया जा सकता है–धर्म जीवन से ही उत्पन्न होना चाहिए–इस प्रकार सक्रिय वास्तविक, आत्मिक एवं विविधताओं से युक्त जीवन अपने आन्तरिक विनियमन हेतु संहिताओं का सन्निवेषण करने में समर्थ हो सकता है। वर्तमान सामाजिक अभियांत्रिकी का अनुभव इस दिशा में सहायक सिद्ध हो सकता है। परन्तु जीवन का मुख्य स्वभाव अनिवार्य रूप से देशी तथा भारतीय सामाजिक संगठन के अनुरूप स्थिर होना चाहिए (जयप्रकाश नारायण)।

(ग) संसदीय लोकतन्त्र एवं इसकी समस्याएँ (Parliamentary Democracy and its Problems)

जयप्रकाश का विश्वास था कि, यहाँ तक कि संसदीय लोकतन्त्र के प्रबल पक्षधर भी इस बात से सहमत हैं कि इस व्यवस्था में भी अनेक गंभीर दोष हैं। लेकिन वे निम्नलिखित विचारों से अपने आपको संतुष्ट कर लेते हैं,

(क) कि इससे बेहतर कोई अन्य विकल्प नहीं है; एवं

(ख) कि सीमाओं के अन्तर्गत इसमें संशोधन एवं इसका सुधार करना संभव है।

पर बात ठीक भी जान पड़ती है क्योंकि इस बात से कोई इन्कार नहीं करेगा कि यह प्रणाली अनेक सुधारों के लिए सक्षम है और इसके अंतर्गत सदैव कुछ न कुछ परिवर्तन होते रहते हैं, हालांकि हमेशा बेहतर के लिए नहीं। लेकिन इस बात से परे कि इससे जितना भी सुधार किया जाए, इसके मौलिक दोष फिर भी ज्यों के त्यों बने रहेंगे क्योंकि वे दोष ही असली बुनियाद है जिस पर समस्त संरचना को खड़ा किया गया है।

जयप्रकाश नारायण के अनुसार, मौलिक दोष जिससे अन्य गंभीर दोष उत्पन्न होते हैं, वह लोकतन्त्र का यही रूप है जो व्यक्ति के मत पर आधारित है। हमने पहले ही इस स्थिति का परीक्षण किया है और यह पाया कि यह समाज का परमाणुवीयकरण ही है जो समाज की इस प्रकार की राजनीतिक प्रणाली हेतु उत्तरदायी है। लेकिन इससे इस तथ्य में कोई बदलाव नहीं आता कि यह प्रणाली गलत संरचना पर आधारित है क्योंकि राज्य व्यक्तियों का अंकगणितीय योग नहीं हो सकता। व्यक्ति, राष्ट्र व समुदाय कभी भी व्यक्तिगत मतदाताओं के योग के साथ समीकृत नहीं किए जा सकते। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या 506, अक्तूबर, 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

संसदीय प्रणाली के शिल्पकार इस बात का दावा करते हैं कि इसके अधीन सरकार संपूर्ण जनता की न सही, कम से कम अधिकांश मतदाताओं का प्रतिनिधित्व तो करती है। सर्वप्रथम, जयप्रकाश के विचार से यह सही नहीं है। अधिकांशतया, जैसा कि आमतौर पर विश्वास नहीं किया जाता कि सार्वभौमिक मतदान प्रणाली के अन्तर्गत चुनी गई सरकारें अल्पसंख्यक सरकारें होती हैं क्योंकि वे अल्पसंख्यक मतदाताओं का ही प्रतिनिधित्व करती हैं। जहां दो से अधिक दल होते हैं वहाँ तो यह अक्सर होता है, लेकिन द्विदलीय प्रणाली में भी ऐसा घटित हो जाना कोई आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है। बहुल निर्वाचक क्षेत्रों के विकल्प, समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व, वैकल्पिक मत, उनके बीच सामान्य सहमति होने के बावजूद, जो कि हो नहीं पाती, हमें दूरगामी परिणाम नहीं देते।

यह दावा कि संसदीय लोकतान्त्रिक सरकारें कम से कम अधिकांश मतदाताओं का प्रतिनिधित्व तो करती है, उपर्युक्त बात से भी अधिक गंभीर बात से असत्य साबित हो जाता है। अनुभव यह बताता है कि वर्तमानमालिक जनचुनाव में शक्तिशाली एवं केन्द्र नियन्त्रित दलों का दबदबा रहता है। अत्याधिक वित् विधान की मदद एवं बाहुबल एवं संचार की सर्वोच्च विधियों द्वारा मतदाताओं को अपने हित अथवा अपने ही पक्ष में खींचने में वे कामयाब हो जाते हैं। जनता की भावनाओं के साथ खिलवाड़ केवल सर्वसत्तात्मक देशों में ही नहीं होता। मूल अन्तर मात्र इतना है कि लोकतन्त्र में उल्लंघनकर्ताओं के बीच प्रतिस्पर्धा होती है जबकि सर्वसत्तावाद में कोई प्रतिस्पर्धा नहीं होती। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या, 506, अक्तूबर 2001, रिफार्मिंग पॉलिटिक्स)।

जयप्रकाश नारायण के अनुसार, दल प्रतिद्वंद्विता, जनोत्तेजन करना, राजनीतिक आचरणों का दमन करते हैं तथा बेतहाशा फिजूलखर्ची के बलबूते हेराफेरी करने कराने में सफल हो जाते हैं। राजनीतिक दल, एकता उत्पन्न करने के स्थान पर कलह व फूट का वातावरण उत्पन्न करते हैं। मतभेदों को कम करने के स्थान पर उन्हें बढ़ा-चढ़ा कर प्रस्तुत करते हैं। दलीय हितों को राष्ट्रीय हितों के ऊपर मानते हैं क्योंकि शक्ति का केन्द्रीकरण नागरिकों को सरकार में भागीदारी पर अंकुश लगाता है; यह कहा जा सकता है कि दल राजनेताओं के लिए छोटे-छोटे चौगुटे (cáncuses) होते हैं जो जनता के नाम पर शासन करते हैं, एवं लोकतन्त्र एवं स्वशासन का भ्रम उत्पन्न करते हैं। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या, 506, अक्तूबर, 2001, रिफार्मिंग पॉलिटिक्स)।

इस बात में कोई संदेह नहीं है कि दलीय प्रणाली के अपने अच्छे गुण हैं क्योंकि संसदीय लोकतन्त्र इसके बिना कार्य नहीं कर सकता। जो लोग उस प्रकार (एक अलग ढंग) के लोकतन्त्र की शपथ लेते हैं और इसका कोई अन्य विकल्प नहीं रखते, ने दलीय व्यवस्था की बुराइयों को अवश्यंभावी के रूप से स्वीकार कर लेने के लिए तैयार है तथा उसके गुणों की दिशा में संकेत करके अपने आपको सन्तुष्ट कर लेते हैं। जयप्रकाश नारायण के दृष्टिकोण में दलीय प्रणाली ही मुख्य दोषी नहीं है, अपितु संसदीय लोकतन्त्र स्वयं भी दोषी है जो इसे जन्म देती है। मेरे द्वारा प्रस्तावित समुदायवादी लोकतन्त्र में शायद दल होंगे, लेकिन उनका कार्यक्षेत्र स्थानीय होगा, और किसी मामले में राज्य में उनकी भूमिका उतनी अधिक प्रभावशाली नहीं होगी जितनी की यह संसदीय लोकतन्त्र में होती है। (सेमिनार, अंश विषय संख्या, 506, अक्तूबर 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

(घ) समुदायवादी लोकतन्त्र : भारतीय राज्यव्यवस्था पुनर्निर्माण के उपकरण
(Communitarian Democracy : Tool which Reconstruct Indian Polity)

समुदायवादी राज्यव्यवस्था की नींव अनिवार्य रूप से स्व-शासित, आत्म-निर्भर, कृषि-औद्योगिक, शहरी-ग्रामीण स्थानीय समुदायों की ही होनी चाहिए। वर्तमान गाँव तथा कस्बे ऐसे पुनर्निर्माण के लिए एक भौतिक आधार को प्रदान करते हैं। इस दिशा में एक प्रशंसनीय शुरुआत, ग्राम पंचायतों की स्थापना करके, तथा सामुदायिक विकास, 'सघन क्षेत्र' विकास (खादी तथा ग्रामीण उद्योगों आयोग), तथा ग्रामीण अर्थव्यवस्था के सहकारिताकरण जैसे कार्यक्रमों का सूत्रपात करके किया है (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या, 506, अक्तूबर 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

परन्तु यह कार्यक्रम अनेक गंभीर विकारों से पीड़ित है–

(क) इनमें एक एकीकृत सामाजिक दर्शन का अभाव है;

(ख) इनमें समुदाय की अवधारणा का स्पष्टीकरण का अभाव है;

(ग) वे समुदाय के भीतर कृषि व उद्योग के मध्य एक सन्तुलन उत्पन्न करने का उद्देश्य नहीं रखते; तथा

(घ) हालांकि निचले स्तर पर समुदायों का सृजन करना (महत्वपूर्ण नहीं कि इसे कितना अस्पष्ट रूप से समझा गया) उद्देश्य है, उच्च स्तरों पर सामाजिक संगठन का सिद्धान्त वही रहता है जो पश्चिम में नाभिकीय औद्योगिक समुदायों का होता है (जिससे हमारे उद्देश्यों के लिए रूस शामिल है)।

जयप्रकाश नारायण के लिए हमारी राज्यव्यवस्था की नींव आत्म-शासित, आत्म-निर्भर, कृषि-औद्योगिक, शहरी-ग्रामीण स्थानीय समुदायों की ही होनी चाहिए। स्थानीय समुदाय की सर्वोच्च राजनीतिक संस्था सामान्य सभा (General Assembly) को ही होना चाहिए–ग्राम सभा–जिसका सभी वयस्कों को सदस्य माना जाना चाहिए। कार्यकारिणी का चयन–पंचायत–सभा में सामान्य विचार पर सर्वसम्मति द्वारा होना चाहिए। इसमें कोई भी 'उम्मीदवार' (प्रत्याशी) नहीं होना चाहिए, अर्थात्, किसी को भी किसी पद के लिए खड़ा नहीं होना चाहिए। समस्त चयनशील पदों के लिए, प्राचीन समय के समान, स्पष्ट योग्यताएँ निर्धारित होनी चाहिए। कोई भी व्यक्ति एक निश्चित पदवी को निर्धारित अवधि से अधिक समय के लिए नहीं रखेगा। पंचायत को इनके उप-समितियों के द्वारा कार्य करना चाहिए तथा इनको विभिन्न दायित्व सौंपे जाने चाहिए। पंचायतों तथा इसकी उपसमितियों में कोई भी अधिकारी अथवा सदस्य, राज्य सरकार द्वारा नियुक्त अथवा मनोनीत नहीं किया जाएगा। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या, 506, अक्तूबर 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

जयप्रकाश नारायण ने सुझाव दिया कि ग्रामीण परिषदों एवं पंचायतों के निर्वाचनों में एकमात्र वैकल्पिक पद्धति पर्ची निकालने का ही उपयोग होना चाहिए। आम समझौते द्वारा अथवा पर्ची द्वारा चयन करने में कुछ भी गैर-लोकतान्त्रिक नहीं है। वैकल्पिक रूप में यह किया जा सकता है कि गाँव पहले सामान्य समझौते वाली पद्धति लागू करें और असफल होने पर पर्चा निकालने वाली पद्धति को अपनाएँ। उन्होंने आगे यह भी कहा कि युवा को शिक्षित करने का, उन पर जिम्मेदारी डालने से बेहतर, और कोई तरीका नहीं है। इसी तरह से ग्रामों को स्वशासी, स्वनिर्भर तथा आत्म-परिपूर्ण बनाने का एकमात्र रास्ता, उन पर वास्तविक जिम्मेदारियाँ

डालना है। एक समय था जब भारतीय ग्रामीण गणतन्त्र स्विस समुदायों के भाँति स्व-सृजित थे व उनकी शक्तियाँ व कार्य उन्हें ऊपर से नहीं दिये जाते थे। वर्तमान परिवेश में, यदि भारतीय लोकतन्त्र को एक दृढ़ आधार व सजीव वास्तविकता प्राप्त करनी है तब, जिम्मेदारी डालने के लिए विचारपूर्ण व साहसिक प्रक्रम द्वारा तथा विकेन्द्रीकरण द्वारा उनका पुनर्सृजन करना होगा। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या 506, अक्तूबर 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

उनका विचार था कि ग्राम सभा व पंचायत को दी गई जिम्मेदारी उन मसलों से संबद्ध हो जो वास्तव में महत्व रखते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, ग्राम सभा व इसकी पंचायत की जिम्मेदारी यह सुनिश्चित करना होना चाहिए कि गाँव में कोई भी भोजन, वस्त्र व छत के बिना न हो, कोई भी बच्चा प्राथमिक शिक्षा से वंचित न रहे, हर किसी को प्राथमिक चिकित्सा सुविधा प्राप्त हो। सभा व पंचायत को देखना चाहिए कि गाँव जितना शीघ्र हो सके, भोजन व वस्त्र में आत्म-निर्भर बन जाए। आगे, उन्हें ऐसी योजना बनानी चाहिए कि पाँच वर्षों के भीतर, हम यह मान कर चलें, गाँव में कोई बेरोजगारी न हो व प्रत्येक परिवार रहन-सहन के एक न्यूनतम मानक को प्राप्त करें। स्व-शासन, को सत्य बनने के लिए, जीवन की समस्याओं पर केन्द्रित होना चाहिए।

जयप्रकाश नारायण ने आगे कहा था कि पंचायत समिति के निर्माण के समय एक महत्वपूर्ण बिन्दु पर ध्यान दिया जाये, और वह यह है कि पंचायत समिति का निर्वाचन ग्राम पंचायतों द्वारा होना चाहिए न कि उनके सदस्यों द्वारा। प्रथम दृष्टि में, छः तथा आधा-दर्जन में भिन्नता सा प्रतीत होता है, किन्तु यह ऐसा नहीं है। यहाँ हमारे पास इसमें सामुदायिक जीवन का एक महत्वपूर्ण सिद्धान्त शामिल है। यह ग्राम पंचायत ही है जो एक निकाय के रूप में ग्राम समुदाय का प्रतिनिधित्व करती है, न कि इसके सदस्य। वहीं पंचायत समिति ग्राम पंचायतों के प्रतिनिधि हैं तथा यह ग्राम पंचायत का निरूपण उसी रूप में करना चाहिए न कि उनके सदस्यों के रूप में। इसी समान, राज्य की समस्त जिला परिषदें मिलकर राज्य विधानसभा का सृजन करेंगी। राज्य विधानसभाएँ इसी समान, मिलकर लोकसभा को निर्मित करेगी। इस प्रकार, प्रत्येक स्तर पर राजनीतिक संस्थाएँ, निचले स्तर पर समस्त संस्थानों का एक एकीकरण है। (सेमिनार, अंश, विषय संख्या 506, अक्तूबर 2001, रिफार्मिंग पालिटिक्स)।

उपसंहार
(Conclusion)

जयप्रकाश नारायण द्वारा भारत की राजनीति की व सामान्य रूप में सामाजिक संगठन की बनाई तस्वीर कदाचित् आदर्शवादी प्रतीत हो सकती है। हालांकि, उनकी भारतीय राज्यव्यवस्था के पुनर्निर्माण की विधि अनेक कमियों को दिखा रही है जो भारत के लोकतन्त्र में है, किन्तु, ऐसे तो विश्व की प्रत्येक व्यवस्था में कोई न कोई कमी है। वर्तमान परिवेश में, एकमात्र व्यवस्था, जो राजनीति, आर्थिक, व सामाजिक स्थिरता प्रदान करती है, वह लोकतन्त्र है, और इसलिए जयप्रकाश नारायण का विकल्प अथवा अन्य शब्दों में, लोकतन्त्र की उनकी यह राह, सुनने में अच्छी लगती है परन्तु इसमें काटने के लिए दाँत नहीं है। जयप्रकाश नारायण की राजनीति कल्पना निःसन्देह भारतीय राज्यव्यवस्था के लिए ही थी किन्तु इसके आदर्शवादी दृष्टिकोण के कारण हम लोकतन्त्र पर उनके विचारों को स्वीकार करने के लिए अनिच्छुक हैं।

Nehru and Jayaprakash Narayan on Democracy

Nehru on Democracy

In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru, "Democracy is good. I say this because other systems are worse". He thoroughly analysed all the political systems prevalent at that time around the world and came to the conclusion that democracy is the best form of government. Though he modified the prevalent form of democracy according to his own experiences with democracy yet, he is of the view that democracy is the best. Nehru embodied a fusion of ideals of an ardent nationalist, a pragmatic socialist, and secularist. Nehru had possessed an extraordinary and exceptional amalgamation of intellect, rationalism, and magnetic and charismatic personality. He was a great visionary and a staunch follower of parliamentary democracy. He formulated policies for the poor and underprivileged class, which at times reflects both his modification of democratic values and leaning towards socialist ideas.

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), India's first prime minister, was the chief architect, draftsman, designer, planner and engineer of domestic and foreign policies of India between 1947 and 1964. Jawaharlal Nehru was born into a wealthy Kashmiri Brahman family and was educated at Oxford University. Nehru initiated a series of legal reforms intended to emancipate Hindu women and bring equality. Nehru wholeheartedly supported the ideals such as liberty, equality, and fraternity. In this chapter we shall discuss in detail his views on democracy. In the praising words of V. R. Krishna Iyer, "A blend of aristocratic birth, elitist education and militant nationalism, Jawaharlal Nehru remains a towering inspiration in the annals of history".

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in a speech in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate, Washington D.C., on October 13, 1949, said, "The United States of America has struggled to freedom and unparalleled

prosperity during the past century and a half and today it is a great and powerful nation. It has an amazing record of growth in material well-being and scientific and technological advance. It could not have accomplished this unless America had been anchored in the great principles laid down in the early days of her history, for material progress cannot go far or last long unless it has its foundations in moral principles and high ideals. Those principles and ideals are enshrined in your Declaration of Independence, which lays down as a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". Nehru was completely influenced by the democratic ideals of the United States of America. Nehru in the same conference put forward the similar points between India and America, and said, "However the voices of India and the United States may appear to differ, there is much in common between them. Like you, we have achieved our freedom through a revolution, though our methods were different from yours. Like you we shall be a republic based on the federal principle, which is an outstanding contribution of the founders of this great Republic. In a vast country like India, as in this great Republic of the United States, it becomes necessary to have a delicate balance between Central control and State autonomy. We have placed in the forefront of our Constitution those fundamental human rights to which all men who love liberty, equality and progress aspire - the freedom of the individual, the equality of men and the rule of law. We enter, therefore, as the community of free nations with the roots of democracy deeply embedded in our institutions as well as in the thoughts of our people".

Nelson Mandela in a speech at Indian Parliament on the occasion of unveiling the Statue of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, on 26 January 1995, said, "Panditji taught that narrow forms of nationalism, intense and powerful as they may be in awakening people to struggle, are inadequate as a basis for achieving victory or for lasting peace. Our experience has shown us the truth of this lesson that exclusiveness must give way to cooperation and interdependence. It is a lesson, forged in struggle and inscribed in the rapidly changing world order, which we have taken to heart both in our task of addressing the legacy of apartheid in our country, and in our approach to the international community".

Major Characteristics of Democracy

Jawaharlal Nehru strongly viewed that only in democracy the personality of an individual can grow properly. In the absence of restraints on the freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship of an individual, the true self of him can nurture. The democratic ideas of Nehru were not new but his blend of the ideals of Locke, Rousseau, Bentham, J.S. Mill, Karl Marx, etc., is a new one. He emphasized on the all around development of an individual. His

emphasis on the development of individual turned him into a true democrat of his times. In his words, "It is the individual that counts...no individual is trivial. Every individual has an importance and he should be given full opportunities to develop" (M. Brecher, "Nehru: A Political Biography").

While defining democracy he said, "Democracy is not only political, not only economic but something of mind... It involves equality of opportunity to all as far as possible in the political and economic domain. It involves the freedom of the individual to grow and to make the best of his capacities and ability. It involves a certain tolerance of others and even on other's opinion when they differ from your's...It is dynamic, not a static thing...It is mental approach, applied to our political economic problems" (N. Cousins, "Talks with Nehru"). Major characteristics of Nehru's Democracy are discussed below:

1. Nationalism–Nehru's ideas on democracy are closely connected with two things, that is, nationalism and socialism. He believed that fundamental unity of India is nurtured on cultural foundations which were not religious in the narrow sense of the term" (Jawaharlal Nehru, "Unity of India'). For him nationalism means the rule of the self. He was a firm believer in self-determination.

2. Democracy–Nehru's vision of democracy was very broad and comprehensive in its nature. He supported the ideals of parliamentary democracy. To elect the representatives is not enough for him to be a democracy. For him, democracy is a form of government where human values such as liberty, equality and fraternity would be realised. It consists of certain government institutions and procedures. It is that structure of society where social and economic equality would not be a dream. Nehru said that for achieving the ideals of economic and social equality, we have to take the help of political equality. And this according to him would be possible only in democracy.

For Nehru, Democracy is completely based on a faith in people, in the dignity, self-respect and worth of the individual and in our shared humanity. Nehru assumes that the indispensable purpose of communal or social action should be the welfare, contentment and happiness of the greatest number of people. Democracy is best defined by Nehru as a society in which all social power is held by or is effectively responsible to the people over whom it is exercised. Democracy hence is the social order characterized by equality of social power. It is not simply a form of government, but a type of society. Effective democracy requires democratic control over all social and economic power, and not merely government power. And because, the government has the power, authority and control to determine the rules governing the distribution of social and economic power, democratic government institutions have rightly been considered the keystone in the structure of representative democratic society.

Democracy according to Nehru is not only necessary for the overall development of individual but it is also necessary for the multifarious development. It is only with the help of democracy welfare of the people at large would be possible. For the production of good life, it is essential to have economic democracy at work and social equality to complement it. Democracy was defined by Nehru in terms of a certain outlook, attitude and approach to problems on the part of the individual and society. Therefore, sometimes he was also termed as an individualist. But his concept of individualism is different from what was preached by the earlier political thinkers.

3. Individualism–Nehru said that ultimately it is individual that counts. All the social problems must be judged according to the point of view of an individual. In a democratic state there is a complete freedom with reasonable restriction for the realisation of the larger goals of human values and the intellectual development of the individual. He was not in favour of unlimited freedom but as he once said in the parliament, "In a democratic society, concept of individual freedom has to be balanced with social freedom and the relation of the individual with the social group. The individual must not infringe on the freedom of other individuals" (Nehru's Speeches, Volume II, Speech in the House of People). Though he was a supporter of individual freedom yet, he never supported the *laissez faire* policy of the nineteenth century. He did not even support the Russian socialism, because they ignored the individual completely. Freedom and democracy are inseparable for Nehru for the following reasons: (1) Both depend on equality of social power; (2) Through using their democratic institutions people can protect their freedom; and (3) Through the exercise of their freedom people can protect their democratic institutions.

4. Representative Government–Nehru favoured the conduct of the representative government with the help of the elected members elected by the citizens of the country. He said that representative government worked with the help of the web of the written constitution, universal adult franchise, periodic elections, responsible political parties, and responsible political leadership of the majority, and it is the best form of government. Nehru viewed that the widening of the right to universal adult franchise to allow right to vote to every body, without any discrimination on the basis of class, colour, creed, wealth and sex are the essential elements of democracy. It is only on the basis of political equality, the other equalities can be sustained.

Nehru opined that it is only with the help of the responsible political parties the ideals of social and economic equality are realizable. He also said that it is necessary to have responsible political leadership at the top in order to sail the boat of the government in order to promote the predefined ideals of liberty, equality and fraternity.

5. Economic and Social Equality–Nehru clearly stated, "Democracy means equality and democracy can only flourish in an equal society" (Jawaharlal

Nehru, "Glimpses of the World History"). According to him, it is only in democracy that we can achieve the social and economic equality. Democracy incorporates both social and economic equalities because without these the political equality has no value at all.

American Declaration of Independence declares that "all men are created equal". This is the core value and principle of democratic state. The equality required by democratic state is equality of social and economic power. This means, there must be equality in the total complex of social and economic power. "Political democracy," "social democracy" and "economic democracy" are only consequential and significant in emphasizing single aspects of the total structure of social power. In reality these aspects are interdependent. It is essential to have integrity of economic and social equality for the success of democracy. Democracy is indivisible and inseparable is a condition of the whole society. Nehru says, "In the context of society today, the caste system and much that goes with it are wholly incompatible, reactionary, restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its framework nor can there be political democracy and much less economic democracy" (J. Nehru, "The Discovery of India"). Indian Constitution is drafted on the above principles of Nehru. The inclusion of Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights clearly portrays the aims and aspirations of the members of the Constituent Assembly that they are keen to see India as a state with economic and social equality.

6. Economic Democracy–Nehru, after studying the Russian economic planning system and *laissez faire* of the capitalist countries, comes to the conclusion that both the systems are suffering from one or the other problem. He found that the economic system based on the merits of both the forms of economic system would be the best system suited for the developing country like India. Hence, he advocated the concept of democratic socialism in the Indian economy. He opted for Welfare State. His ideals of democracy, in short, are aimed to provide Social Justice for the people of India.

For Nehru, "Economics was as important as politics; so too, human rights in their many dimensions. He accepted many ideas from the Soviet experiment and adopted some of those ideas like the Planning Commission to prepare projects for development. Socialist he was but not cast-iron ideological. Pragmatism was part of his calculus of political policy. Narendra Dev once observed: "He (Nehru) is not wedded to any particular 'ism', nor is he temperamentally fit to be the leader of a group. He believes in some of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism, yet he is not prepared to swear by everything taught by Marx and Lenin; he does not subscribe to any rigid ideology. He considers himself free to examine the claims of every system of ideas which professes to serve the social purposes and he is always revising his ideas in the light of new experiences gained"(G. Austin, "The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation").

In the words of Smith, "In practice, democracy would not be in operation if, for example, representative institutions were used to trample over the rights of the non-conformist individual or to perpetuate an economic structure of vast inequality or if institutions were not used according to established procedures and with a measure of self-discipline" (Donald E. Smith, "Nehru and Democracy").

Conclusion

Nehru's ideas and principles define democracy in terms of political, economic and social equality. Nehru was a great democrat and believer in the capabilities of the individual. Absence of discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, creed and economic democracy, are the important ingredients of the democratic state of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan

Jayaprakash Narayan (1902–1979), widely known as JP Narayan, Jayaprakash, or Loknayak, was an Indian independence activist and political leader, remembered especially for leading the opposition against Indira Gandhi in the 1970s and for giving a call for peaceful Total Revolution. His biography, Jayaprakash, was written by his nationalist friend and an eminent writer of Hindi literature, Ramavriksha Benipuri. In 1998, he was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, in recognition of his social work. Other awards include the Magsaysay award for Public Service in 1965. The airport of Patna is also named after him.

Though JP was practically a committed Marxist, he was convinced that the communists in India must join the main stream of the struggle for National Liberation even if it was under the hegemony of the so-called bourgeoisie. On his way back to India, he had met Clemenus Dutt, brother of Rajani Palme Dutt and other communist leaders in London and discussed with them the issue of India's freedom and revolution. JP, who had read Lenin's famous "Colonial thesis" calling upon the communists in the "Slave" countries to take active part in the national freedom struggle, was not convinced of Dutt's argument. Later when JP joined the nationalist freedom movement, he was surprised to find that Indian communists were following the line which Clemenus Dutt advocated. JP could not understand the rationality of the fight against the Indian National Congress which was fighting for the freedom of the country.

Jayaprakash Narayan on Democracy

Jayaprakash Narayan in his essay "A Reconstruction of Indian Polity" pleaded that present political institutions to be based on the principles that had been enunciated and practised in the ancient Indian polity because

(a) He believed that would be in line with the natural course of social evolution; and

(b) Those principles are more valid from the point of view of social science than any others.

Present Western polity he said is based upon an atomized society, the state being made up of an inorganic sum of individuals. This is both against the social nature of man and the scientific organization of society. Ancient Indian polity was much more consistent with both these.

He further said that on the very portals of democracy – irrespective of its form and structure – are words written that can never be wiped off without wiping off democracy itself. No kind of democracy can exist without the democratic freedoms – freedom of conscience, of association, of expression – and the rule of law. "Where these freedoms do not exist, nor the rule of law, there can be no democracy (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics)."

A. Old Village Communities

According to Jayaprakash Narayan the old village communities have survived in nothing else than their physical existence. They are no longer living communities acting jointly for the solution of individual or communal problems and for the development of their moral and material life. He further says that it is not necessary here to go into the story of the destruction of the village communities. It would be enough to note that it was a result of the deliberate policy of an alien government that neither understood the character of a communitarian polity nor felt secure in the presence of such strong traditions of self government and self help. Nevertheless, the very fact that the villages do exist physically provides us with a readymade foundation to build upon. A word that figures boldly on the ancient signpost is dharma. Indian polity held that the state was subject to the rule of dharma, which it was its duty to uphold and protect. The concept of dharma was of great importance in ancient India; it prescribed and regulated individual and group behaviour in all walks of life (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

B. Dharma

This concept of dharma and its role in Indian polity and the wider life of society is another example for Jayaprakash Narayan of that synthetic, organic, communal organization of India society which has been discussed above. Communities, territorial or functional, had developed laws and codes of behaviour to regulate the internal life of their communities and groups and their relations with the rest of society. There were in addition codes and laws that were common to and accepted by all of them and that made up the universal

social ethics. The ensemble of these social ethics exercised a powerful influence over the state.

According to Jayaprakash Narayan the Communal life having been completely destroyed, the roots of dharma have no soil from which to draw sustenance. Dharma has therefore declined and ceased to exercise any influence not only upon the present polity, which is a wholly foreign implantation and has no roots in the India soil, but upon all social activities such as commerce, education, labour, administration and priesthood. Unless life in India is again organized on the basis of self-determining and mutually coordinating and integrating communities, that organic self-regulation of society, which the concept of dharma represented, will not be possible. To that extent democracy will remain distantly removed from the life of the people. He further says that Vinobaji is already speaking, for instance, of a gram dharma (the dharma of the village). But gram dharma will not arise, as he has stressed, unless the village becomes a community. Only then will it be possible for the village to adopt as its dharma the welfare of all the villagers so that none goes without food, clothing, a roof over his head, work to do; no child goes without a knowledge of the three R's; none goes without the benefit of a minimum health service (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

The ancient concept of dharma has to be revived and the appropriate dharma for a democracy has to be evolved. This, as of old, will not be brought about by a legislative process. It can be done only in an organic manner: dharma must arise from life itself – life that is vital enough, real enough, organic enough to be able to throw up codes and laws for its internal regulation. The experience of recent social engineering may and should be drawn upon, but the main mould of life must be indigenous and consistent with the genius of Indian social organization (Jayaprakash Narayan).

C. Parliamentary Democracy and its Problems

Jayaprakash Narayan believes that it would be fair to say that even the most ardent defenders of parliamentary democracy agree that it has serious defects. But they console themselves with the thought,

(a) That there is no better alternative; and

(b) That, within limits, it is possible to amend and improve it.

No one will deny that the system is capable of much improvement and it is undergoing change all the time, though not always for the better. But no matter how much improved, its fundamental defects will yet remain because they are the very premises on which its entire structure has been raised.

The fundamental defect, according to Jayaprakash Narayan from which other serious defects arise, is that this form of democracy is based on the vote of the individual. We have already examined this situation and found that it is

the atomization of society that is responsible for this kind of political system. But that does not alter the fact that the system is based on a false premise; the state cannot be an arithmetical sum of individuals. The people, the nation, the community can never be equated with the sum of individual voters (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

The partisans of parliamentary democracy claim that under it the government is at least representative of the majority of the voters, if not of the people. First of all, for Jayaprakash it is not true. More often than not it is commonly believed that governments elected under universal adult suffrage are minority governments, in the sense that they represent a minority of the voters. Wherever there are more than two parties, this happens quite often, but even under two party systems it is not a rare phenomenon. The alternatives of plural constituencies, proportional representation, alternative vote cannot, even if there was general agreement about them, which there is not, take us far.

The claim that parliamentary democratic governments at least represent a majority of the voters breaks down in a still more serious manner. Experience has shown that present-day mass elections, manipulated by powerful, centrally controlled parties, with the aid of high finance and diabolically clever methods and super media of communication, represent far less the electorate than the forces and interests behind the parties and the propaganda machines. It is not only in the totalitarian countries that the 'rape of the masses' happens. The basic difference is that in a democracy there is a competition between the violators while there is no competition in totalitarianism (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

According to Jayaprakash Narayan the party rivalries, demagoguery, depress political ethics, put a premium on unscrupulousness and aptitude for manipulation and intrigue. Political Parties create dissensions where unity is called for exaggerate differences where they should be minimized. Parties often put party interests over the national interests because centralization of power prevents the citizen from participating in government; the parties, that is to say, small caucuses of politicians, rule in the name of the people and create the illusion of democracy and self-government (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

No doubt the party system has its good points and because parliamentary democracy cannot work without it, those who swear by that type of democracy and see no alternative to it, are prepared to accept the evils of the party system as inevitable and satisfy themselves by pointing out their virtues. For Jayaprakash, it is not the party system that is the main culprit, but parliamentary democracy itself, which gives rise to it. In the communitarian democracy that I have proposed here, there may conceivably be parties, but they are likely to be local factions, and, in any case, their role in the state will not be as

commanding as that of the parties in the parliamentary system (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

D. Communitarian Democracy : Tool Which Reconstruct Indian Polity

The foundation of communitarian polity, must necessarily be self-governing, self-sufficient, agro-industrial, urbo-rural local communities. The existing villages and townships provide the physical base for such reconstruction. A laudable beginning has been made in this connection by establishing gram panchayats and instituting such programmes as community development, 'intensive area' development (of the Khadi and Village Industries Commission), and co-operativization of the rural economy (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

But this programme suffers from several serious defects:

(a) They lack an integrated social philosophy;

(b) They have no clear concept of community;

(c) They do not aim to create a balance within the community between agriculture and industry; and

(d) Even though the aim is to create communities (no matter how vaguely understood) at the bottom level, the concept of social organization at the higher levels remains the same as that of the atomized industrial society of the West (which for our purpose here includes Russia).

For Jayaprakash Narayan the foundation of our polity, must be self governing, self sufficient, agro-industrial, urbo-rural local communities. The highest political institution of the local community should be the General Assembly – the gram sabha – of which all the adults should be considered members. The selection of the Executive – the panchayat – should be by general consensus of opinion in the sabha. There should be no 'candidates', i.e. no one should 'stand' for any post. There should be clear-cut qualifications, as in ancient times, laid down for all selective posts. No individual should hold the same post for more than a defined period of time. The panchayat should function through subcommittees charged with different responsibilities. There should be no official or member appointed or nominated by the state government in the panchayat or its sub-committees (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

Jayaprakash Narayan proposed that the only alternative method of election of village councils or *panchayats* was that of drawing lots. There is nothing undemocratic in selection by general agreement or by drawing lots; alternatively, it might be provided that the villages first try the former method, and failing therein take recourse to the latter. He further said that there is no better way to teach the young except by giving them responsibility. In the same manner the

only way to make the villages self-governing, self-reliant and self-sufficient is to throw upon them real responsibilities. There was a time when the Indian village republics were self-created, like the Swiss communes, and their powers and functions were not given to them from above. But in the present conditions they have to be recreated by a deliberate and bold process of devolution and decentralization if Indian democracy is to have a firm base and living reality (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

He believed that the responsibility given to the *gram sabha* and the *panchayat* should be in things that really do matter. For instance, it should be the responsibility of the *gram sabha* and its *panchayat* to ensure that no one in the village goes without food, clothing and shelter; no child without primary education; every one receives primary medical care. The *sabha* and *panchayat* should see that the village becomes self-sufficient in the matter of food and clothing as soon as possible. Further, they should so plan that within five years, let us say, there is no unemployment in the village and every family reaches a minimum standard of living. Self-government, to be real, should be about essential problems of life.

Jayaprakash Narayan further said that there is one important point to emphasize in connection with the formation of the *panchayat samiti* that it should be elected by the *gram panchayats* and not by their members. This at first might appear to be a distinction between six and half-a-dozen. But that is not so. We have here a major principle of communal life involved. It is the *gram panchayat* as a body that represents the village community and not its members. The *panchayat samiti*, in its turn, is a representative of the *gram panchayats*, and it is the latter that should be represented as such and not their members. In a similar manner all the district councils of a state would come together to create the state assembly. The state assemblies, in like manner, would bring into being the *Lok Sabha*. Thus the political institution at each level is an integration of all the institutions at the lower level (Seminar, extract, Issue No. 506, October 2001, Reforming Politics).

Conclusion

The picture drawn by Jayaprakash Narayan about the polity of India, and of social organization in general, might perhaps appear to be idealistic. His reconstruction of Indian Polity though is providing many flaws that democracy of India has but then every system in the world is subject to some flaws. In the present context, the only system which provides political, economic and social stability is Democracy, and therefore, the alternative of Jayaprakash or in other words, his way of democracy sounds beautiful but has no teeth to cut. The political vision of Jayaprakash Narayan beyond doubt was for the welfare of Indian Policy but because of its idealist perspective we are reluctant to accept his views on democracy.

12

Pandita Ramabai on Patriarchy

Pandita Ramabai

Pandita Ramabai, (1858–1922) was an extraordinary woman of her time—an educator, scholar, feminist, and social reformer, whose life was an example of how womanhood and religious identity were negotiated against the backdrop of Brahmanical culture, Christianity, and colonialism. For Hindus and Christians, her life and work, including her intellectual probings and hermeneutical clashes with Hindu social reformers and Christian missionaries, seemed to signal contradictory and confusing messages. As a learned scholar of her own tradition, she vigorously questioned the status of women within Hinduism. Later, when she became a Christian, she challenged institutionalized Christianity with its creeds, which she felt stifled the power of the gospel, and she subsequently quarreled with Bible translators for their unwitting use of Vedantic terms in the Marathi version of the Bible. She seems to have lived and worked out her life on the margins of traditions, constructing her own independent agency.

For Meera Kosambi, Ramabai was born into a Chitpavan Brahman family in Karnataka. She was the youngest child of Anant Shastri Dongre, a devout Hindu and erudite Sanskrit pundit, and his much younger wife, Lakshmibai. Contrary to the prevailing mood of the time, Anant Shastri believed in women's education and he opposed outdated customs like child marriage, having witnessed the sad fate of his daughter Krishnabai's child marriage. Ramabai had an unconventional upbringing in that she was taught at home, receiving Sanskrit education mainly from her mother, who herself was taught by her husband despite fierce opposition from their community. From an early age, Ramabai was exposed to a life of never-ending pilgrimage and the reciting of the Puranas in various locations, a traditional religious vocation, which her family undertook in order to earn a modest living. While this kind of precarious

ving brought untold hardship later, it freed Ramabai from domesticity and any form of patriarchal control. Ramabai's life was marked by a series of unfortunate deaths in her family. She lost her parents, elder sister, elder brother, husband, and finally her daughter shortly before her own death. Her travels around India with her brother after her parents' demise not only offered her the opportunity to visit several important Hindu holy places, but it also enabled her to witness the plight of women, which led her to champion their cause.

It was Ramabai's visit to Calcutta in 1878 that brought a dramatic turn of events. Her knowledge of the Sanskrit language and literary and religious texts came to be widely known and appreciated, and in recognition of her Sanskrit learning the title pandita (learned) was conferred on her. She defied traditional caste norms by accepting an offer of marriage from a non-Brahman Brahmo Bengali lawyer, Bipin Behari Das, but he died within two years of their marriage, leaving her with an infant daughter, Manorama. While her early widowhood deepened her concern for women in a similar predicament, her faith in the kind of Puranic and ritualistic Hinduism in which she was raised was beginning to wear off. When she later became acquainted with other Hindu texts, such as the Dharmasastras, with a pronounced patriarchal bias, she was not convinced that Hinduism as such had any hope for women. She found, however, that her early forays into reform movements, such as the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, were fruitless as alternatives to Hinduism because in her view these movements focused more on philosophical aspects than on the plight of women.

According to Meera Kosambi, Ramabai came into contact with Christian missionaries but had no intention of becoming a Christian until much later in 1883 while she was in England, much to the dismay of Hindus back home. She was not wholly accepting Christianity at this stage. She was not willing to substitute one form of patriarchy with another. She proved to be a thorn in the flesh of Anglicans when she questioned such basic tenets as the Trinity, miracles, the divinity of Christ, and the resurrection. What is extraordinary is that Ramabai was able to make an impression in the strongly male-dominated public discourse of her time. Her highly persuasive books, both in the vernacular and in English, established her as one of the important voices of the era. The fact that she wrote *Stri Dharma Niti* (Morals for women, 1882) in order to finance her trip to England (where her hope of studying medicine never materialized), testifies that her reforming zeal preceded her attraction to Christianity. In this book she urges women to educate themselves and transform their lives, citing mythological examples of Hindu womanhood. The High Caste Hindu Woman (1887) is a trenchant feminist critique of a Brahmanical patriarchy that accords its women a low position. *United Statenchi Lokasthiti ani Pravasavritta* (The Peoples of the United States, 1889) is an account of her visit to the United States, and it reflects her feminist concerns whilst contrasting freedoms in the

United States and colonial India. A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure (1907), her last public discourse, was a pamphlet narrating a spiritual odyssey that culminated in her final acceptance of the Christian faith. The last decade of her life was spent translating the Bible into Marathi and producing Greek-Marathi and Greek-Hebrew lexicons.

Ramabai, according to Meera Kosambi, put teaching into practice. It was her early disappointment with her own community that made her turn to England and the United States to solicit help for her work among women. Realizing the importance of education for empowering women, she ran a number of vocational programmes. Sharada Sadan (Home of Learning), initially a home for high-caste child widows but later for destitute women and children of all castes, provided training and education. Although the school was initially secular in orientation, it gradually became explicitly Christian. There were allegations of conversions at Sharada Sadan, which caused a major rift between Ramabai and Hindu social reformers; although Ramabai was exonerated, the rift remained. The fact that Ramabai's commitment to Christianity coexisted with her conscious attempt to declare herself a Hindu and Indian in public discourses, continues to puzzle Hindus and Christians who would like to categorize her neatly (Meera Kosambi, "Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter: The Peoples of the United States).

In this chapter, we in detail are going to discuss the views of Pandita Ramabai on Patriarchy and how she formulated her ideas and how she against the stream of the society, went ahead and talks on extreme subjects of her times, that is, Rights of Women, plight of Women under Patriarchy, Women Reforms, etc.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a form of social organization in which a male is the head of the family and descent, kinship, and title are traced through the male line. It is a social system in which the father is the head of the family and men have authority over women and children.

To understand the views of Pandita Ramabai on Patriarchy it is essential to study her thought under the following heads.

1. Contestation of Patriarchy

The major contestation in Ramabai's educational and missionary activities was that of patriarchy. In a sense she had been complicit in such a resistance since her father's insistence on her education in Sanskrit, the 'divine language' reserved for upper-caste men (D. Spender). Thus armed, Ramabai experienced her first public encounter with the forces of patriarchy when she set up the Arya Mahila Samaj in 1882 to mobilise women, and aroused instant hostility in the conservative camp. The Kesari commented:

"In reality, it is the task of men to eradicate these and other evil customs in our society. Women cannot interfere in it for many years to come – even if they are 'panditas' and have reached the ultimate stage of reform ... Our women will have to be under the control of men for a long time to come (Kesari, 8 August 1882)."

The hostility which had initially greeted Ramabai's leadership role in the Arya Mahila Samaj surfaced also when she testified before the Hunter Commission in 1882. The conservative Anglo-Marathi paper, The Native Opinion, was generally critical of her testimony and refused to share "the urgency of supplying this desideratum [of women doctors]. We do not just now need lady doctors; but ... a class of respectable midwives (The Native Opinion (Anglo-Marathi weekly published in Bombay), 17 September, 1882,)".

Predictably, a society which valued women chiefly as mothers naturally felt a greater need for midwives than for doctors, and was content to leave women to suffer in silence. It is, therefore, significant that Pandita Ramabai contributed visibly to the cause of getting foreign medical aid as well as medical education for Indian women. This was no mean feat, because even the simple non-professional education for women as discussed by the Hunter Commission was only partially endorsed by the Western-educated conservatives. After recommending some sort of "opening of the mind" and "a habit and inclination to reason", the conservative press asserted: In educating our females our first care must be to try to make them good house-wives and good mothers ... If we want our girls to be useful they must learn to read and write, to keep accounts, to sew and above all to cook. These we think can be better taught at home than in a public school (The Native Opinion, 17 September 1882).

As the **"opening of the mind"** and the **"habit and inclination to reason"** was to lead women no further than their wife-mother-housewife role, it was inevitable that Ramabai's insistence on women's education, self-confidence and self-reliance was vehemently opposed. But if the Indian version of patriarchy was staunch, Ramabai's encounter with the patriarchy of the Anglican Church across the globe was equally harsh. It was sparked initially by Miss Beale's offer of a professorship in 1884, which would involve her teaching male students. The Bishop of Bombay was quick to protest: Above all things, pray believe that her influence will be ruined forever in India if she is known to have taught young men. Suffice it to say that it would cause scandal even among the better sort of native men, and that nothing would ever undo the harm it would do her among native women (Shah, Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai). Ramabai's prompt rejoinder was that "It surprises me very much to think that neither my father nor my husband objected [to] my mother's or my teaching young men while some English people are doing so" and that her having addressed mixed or solely male audiences in India "did not seem to take away my influence with my country people, and why should

it be so now, I cannot see (Shah, Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai)."

In the words of Meera Kosaambi, "It remained for a woman to transgress the boundaries of patriarchy through educational and religious activism and to re-inscribe women into the male discourse. This woman, Pandita Ramabai, thus enjoyed the distinction of being the sole woman champion of the women's cause in the male-dominated world of gender reform in Western India. But the distinction proved to be more symbolic than real, because she was almost totally obscured from the official histories of Western India, condemned both during her lifetime and after her death for her challenge to the Hindu, patriarchal social order of the day."

2. Widow's Plight : Patriachry's After Effect

The 'High-Caste Hindu Woman' written by Ramabai also reflects her emerging commitment to minister the India's high-caste child widows. The book delivers a heart-rending yet culturally sensitive feminist critique of the plight of these women and girls. While it is more complex than can adequately be addressed here, Ramabai presents the issue, at its base level, as such:

(i) When Brahmin women are married off as children, they usually live with their husband's family. If the husband dies young, the child widow is often blamed for the death and despised by the family, as prescribed by a particular interpretation of Hindu scriptures.

(ii) The widow must wear a single coarse garment, white, red, or brown.

(iii) The widow must eat only one meal during the twenty-four hours of a day.

(iv) The widow must never take part in family feasts and jubilees, with others.

(v) The widow must not show herself to people on auspicious occasions.

A man or woman thinks it unlucky to behold a widow's face before seeing any other object in the morning. A man will postpone his journey if his path happens to be crossed by a widow.

3. The Mukti Mission

Ramabai returned to India in 1889 with a renewed sense of vision and generous financial support from the newly-formed American Ramabai Association. She soon opened the Sharada Sadan, a secular residential school for high-caste child widows. Ramabai made a point to make both Hindu and Christian texts freely available, although she conducted Bible study for those interested. The school operated for several years, until the bubonic plague epidemic of the late 1890s forced Ramabai and her students to flee to the rural village of Kedgaon. It was in Kedgaon in an unusual place with unusual circumstances that Ramabai's Christian feminist vision became fully actualized

in the Mukti (Salvation) Mission. Unlike the secular Sharada Sadan, Mukti was overtly Christian and ministered to all in need of help, eventually growing to house and educate over 2,000 girls and women. In addition to high-caste child widows, Mukti opened its doors and provided services for those who suffered from sexual abuse, famine, and disability of every caste. While presiding over the flourishing Mission until her death in 1922, she continued to write and lecture. She later had translated the entire Bible from its original Hebrew and Greek into her native Marathi, and was awarded the government's Kaiser-e-Hind gold medal in 1919.

4. Education

Pandita Ramabai had a deep concern for the education of the women. For Ramabai the plight of the women deteriorates because of the lack of education to her. She made Patriarchy responsible for the plight of the women. She further said that only education can improve the condition of the women in India and abroad. The education has a power to transform the traditional, orthodox and unreasonable customs, which made women as secondary to men.

Ramabai's reform convictions grew out of a deep personal commitment to improving the condition of Indian women. Her concerns about Indian women's "uplift" were shared by a growing number of late nineteenth-century Indian social reformers, some of whom were women—though few of these were as plain-speaking about either the problems confronting Hindu widows or the urgent need for institutional reform to ameliorate their situations (Antoinette Burton). Tarabai Shinde, the Maratha Brahman woman whose pamphlet, 'A Comparison between Men and Women', offered a blistering critique of gender relations in colonial India, was one among several women in western India contemporary with Ramabai who engaged with Hindu tradition in public before Rukhmabai's trial exploded onto the Indian newspaper scene in the mid-eighties and after. Shinde's exposition had been prompted by the case of Vijaylakshmi, the widowed daughter of a Gujarati Brahman family, who was sentenced to hang for killing her newborn, illegitimate baby daughter.

Ramabai's public pronouncements were motivated by the less sensational but equally moving instances of Indian women's suffering that she had observed in her wanderings throughout the Indian subcontinent. She told the sisters at Wantage that while traveling with her brother she had had "a good opportunity of seeing the sufferings of Hindu women" and was "much touched by their sorrows . . . This made us think of how much it was possible to improve the condition of women and raise them out of their degradation. We were able to do nothing directly to help them but in towns and villages we often addressed large audiences of people, and urged upon them the education of women and children. In order to be able to converse with the different races we were obliged to learn Hindi (as it is a general language in India) and Bengalee".

After her husband's death, she spoke at various gatherings and meetings, giving publicity to the cause of female education throughout India. Together with likeminded men and women in Poona, Ramabai also helped to found the Arya Mahila Samaj, or Aryan Women's Society, which was committed to Indian women's education and social reform.

A crusading zeal for women's education was an inheritance from her father. Having received a rigorous traditional education from her parents and having been trained in public speaking through the recitation of sacred stories, Ramabai was equipped for this career as few other women of her generation were. It was a relatively easy transition to writing books and lecturing to women on reform issues. A progressive reviewer of Ramabai's Stree Dharma Neeti found it "commendable that the task of championing the women's cause and of speaking or writing on their behalf, which used to fall to the lot of men so far, has now been undertaken by one belonging to the female sex herself (Kesari, 1 August 1882)."

Importantly, Ramabai's idea of education was comprehensive in scope. It was informed from the outset by her conviction of women's need for social awareness and self-improvement, which she propagated through the Arya Mahila Samaj. "Self-reliance" was her password for progress which ran through the Stree Dharma Neeti and formed part of the programme outlined at the end of The High-caste Hindu Woman and translated into the organisation of the Sharada Sadan and the Mukti Mission (Meera Kosambi).

5. Ramabi's own way of Reforms

In addition to defending her right to do as she chose in England, Ramabai was intent on defining her own concepts of reform in India and, more specifically, what shape her reform work there would take. She said once that that I am anxious to do away with all kinds of prejudices which deprive a woman in India of her proper place in society. She went on to ask: "Can I confine my work only to women in India and have nothing to do with men? I do not think so. To help women to come forward in the society I must first of all . . . teach men of poorer classes. Then when men are convinced of the necessity of elevating the condition of their women, I shall have access to their Zenanas (The part of a house for the seclusion of women). Unless she said I begin to have regular and pure intercourse with men, I shall in vain hope and try to help my countrywomen." Ramabai's vision of how social reform should proceed was dearly at odds with the gender-specific, gender-targeted evangelical strategies articulated by the Anglican bishops—strategies that in fact underpinned the entire ideological apparatus of evangelization in the nineteenth century. What is more, in this passage at least, her reform concerns seem, in the absence of any explicitly evangelical language, to be quite secular (Antoinette Burton).

Conclusion

Ramabai's attempts to negotiate sisterhood within the confines of imperial culture in Britain, to determine her personal role, and to respectfully differ with the terms outlined by Christian imperial and feminine authority constitute in no small measure a self-conscious reworking of an imaginative geography of the world of women. As Meera Kosambi has noted, Ramabai's motto was "self-reliance for women." It was a maxim whose value she no doubt came to appreciate at least in part because of her struggles for autonomy at Cheltenham and Wantage—struggles that dramatized the tension between her desire to bear witness to God, on the one hand, and her determination to control her own destiny, on the other. Ramabai's time in England thus demonstrates that feminist consciousness can develop not only within the context of "sisterhood," but often does so in spite of it.

Her particular history is equally compelling evidence that in the geopolitical context of imperialism, even and perhaps especially encounters between women could not, and indeed cannot, be totally free of its ideological effects. Although she may have initially believed herself to be free to wander "all over the map," she could not comfortably remain in the imperial metropolis. Imperial England proved to be inhospitable ground for Ramabai's developing female reform consciousness. The United States, where she went after England to raise money for the widows' home she established in Bombay in 1889, was more hospitable, at least where financial support for her reform projects were concerned. Her travels from Philadelphia to San Francisco to Boston continued her pilgrimage and are a part of her biography yet to be fully historicizcd. Meanwhile, this particular segment of her story is equally compelling evidence that the field of power laid out by imperial culture, whether in the metropolis or in the colonial possessions, was historically and remains today an eminently contested and continually contestable terrain (Antoinette Burton).

Pandita Ramabai's life, according to Meera Kosambi, was a narrative of parallel but discursively distinct contestations: that of a woman against male hegemony both in Hindu society and the Anglican Church, that of an Indian Christian convert against the British Anglican bishops and nuns, that of an Indian Christian missionary (in both the covert and overt phases) against the oppression of Hindu women. Following these contestations, she was marginalised both during her lifetime and the subsequent 'gate keeping of history' in retaliation for her dual interrogation of Hinduism and patriarchy. The Anglicans, however, came to accept her non-denominational Christianity and independent stance; in fact it was the Christian networks worldwide which aided her endeavours during her lifetime and have done so since.

If Ramabai transgressed the boundaries of patriarchy in her educational and missionary activities, she also paid a predictably heavy price. So complete

was her 'erasure' from the history of Western India that it is only now, three-quarters of a century after her death, that we are beginning to make a fresh appraisal of the extent of her 'transgressions' and contestations, as well as their price, and to reclaim her manifold contribution to the cause of Indian women (Meera Kosambi).

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by the term Patriarchy?
2. Analytically discuss the views of Pandita Rambai on Patriarchy.
3. Who is the founder of Mukti Mission?
4. Discuss the Hindu High Caste Widow's plight in detail.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Ramabai, Pandita,	:	A Testimony of Our Inexhaustible Treasure
Ramabai, Pandita,	:	Stree Dharma Neeti
Ramabai, Pandita,	:	The High Caste Hindu Woman
Frykenberg, R. E.,	:	Pandita Ramabai's America
Kosambi, Meera,	:	Pandita Ramabai's American Encounter: The Peoples of the United States
Rajan, Sunder and Rajeswari Women	:	Imagined Gender, Culture and Postcolonialism
Shah, A.B.,	:	The Letters and Correspondence of Pandita Ramabai
Spender, D.	:	Women of Ideas and What Men Have Done to Them