

**Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought**  
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**Lecture – 30**  
**Concluding Lecture**

Hello and welcome friends to this last and concluding lecture for this course on Introduction to Modern Indian Political Thought. And in this lecture today what we are going to do is not to look at a particular thinker and some of the key themes that we have been doing for many thinkers in this course. In this course basically one of the possible directions of doing research in modern political thought in contemporary times that I have been talking about throughout this course is to look at certain themes and through those themes try to connect or try to study the thinkers in the comparative perspective.

So, today in this lecture what we are going to do is to first discuss basically the reason why we should study political thought how it can contribute in helping us understand a society or the polity in a better manner. And also the difference between political theory and political thought and then we will focus on a certain key theme which is common to many thinkers and then we will try to analyse, try to study how they have different positions or articulations on a certain theme. So, be it religion and politics, nation or cosmopolitanism, caste and gender, socialism or democracy or secularism.

So, around these themes how different thinkers develop their understanding and how they differ from each other. So, in that way we are going to conclude this course by looking at certain key themes which are common to many thinkers. And then finally, will conclude by looking at the possible direction of doing research or doing further studies on modern Indian political thought in a way of assessing or also explaining the reason for inclusion and exclusion of certain thinkers from this course.

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**Why study modern Indian Political Thought?**

- To understand and interpret Indian society and politics better
- Through them, one can understand two centuries of Indian history, its various ups and downs as seen and interpreted by the men and women who themselves helped shape and define these most interesting period of Indian history.
- Their ideas emerged in the context of colonialism in response to orientalist thinking. They have metaphysical and epistemological assumptions that differ sharply from those of the west.

**Difference between Theory and Thought**

- In comparison to 'theory' which is broader, systematic and generalized statements that help in understanding or explaining politics in a country or a society i.e. concepts like freedom, equality, democracy, justice; Political 'thought' is narrow and limited to 'articulation' and 'reflection' upon structure and functioning of politics usually done by an individual or a group of individuals.

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So, the first thing that we need to examine or to understand is why to study modern Indian political thought. So, first reason for doing modern Indian political thought or political thought in any society for that manner is to understand and interpret Indian society and politics in a better manner. So, if we study the political thought of modern India and the closer engagement or critical engagement with the modern Indian political thought will enable us to understand the society and politics of contemporary India in a better manner.

The second is that through these thinkers we can also understand the two centuries of Indian history, the first two centuries of Indian history its various ups and downs as seen and interpreted by the men and women who themselves helped shape and define these most interesting period of history. So, the ideas or the themes that we have discussed in this course and the thinkers that we have included where someone who are deeply involved in the active politics of their time and they were also thinking about the future of India and also reflecting upon the various challenges that India was facing. So, by engaging with the thoughts and ideas of these thinkers we can possibly understand the two centuries of modern Indian history through the eyes or through the views of them who themselves help safe those interesting period of modern Indian history.

These thinkers were not someone just reflecting or contemplating about social and political challenges of India, they were themselves embedded in the politics of their time

and that activism and also reflection of on those activism and the challenges that the country and the world as a whole was facing will make their contribution even more interesting and fascinating to engage with to understand or to critically evaluate as well. So, where to we also find in many of these thinkers that their ideas and thoughts immerge in a context where India was ruled by the British. So, their ideas immerge in the context of colonialism in response to the orientalist thinking.

So, as one of the objective of this course is also to think about the concepts, ideas and methods which is not obsessed with the Eurocentric views concepts and method what to think about new concepts or methods to understand the society in a better way to explain and interpret it various challenges in the better way without relying exclusively on the Eurocentric concepts and methods. So, these thinkers um trying to think through various problems and challenges in the context of oriental challenge during the colonial rule in India and they have a kind of a metaphysical and epistemological assumption that differs sharply from the west.

So, on the nature of individual role in the society, role of religion in the politics, what should be the objective of human life? How to lead a good a good life? How to consecutive a desired nation or a state and what should be the role of a state and what should be the contribution of society community in helping individual realizing the objective of his or her life? So, to understand these questions and try to provide answer or the appropriate response to this orientalist challenges that there is no thought there is no philosophy there is no scientific approach in thinking about what they call the eminent world.

So, for many orient list writers and a scholars Indian philosophy is more esoteric and thinking or reflecting about otherworldly metaphysical kind of life these thinkers were trying to respond to such challenges to establish the to establish or assert the thinking about the modern contemporary or material, material life and how Indian thought about those eminent or material social political life as well.

In doing that they have a metaphysical and epistemological assumption which is sharply different from the metaphysical or epistemological assumptions of the west talking about individual or society or the relationship between individual and society or society and a state or a individual and the state in a very different manner that we have in the western

political thought to understand these things, to understand the society better, to understand how modern Indian political thought immerse in a context of colonialism and in response to the orientalist challenges. And also to see the unfolding of two centuries of modern Indian history through the eyes or through the views of those who themselves help shifts such unfolding or such processes. Indian political thought enclose are engagement with the Indian political thought will help us to understand these things in a better manner.

Second point that I want to discuss is a some of you have asked this questions also the difference between theory and thought. So, there is no as such hard and fast watertight compartment between political theory on the one hand and political thought on the other hand you will find many concepts or ideas overlapping between these two sub disciplines of politics because essentially both of them are talking about the politics in a society or in a country. So, however, one can make an analytical distinction between political theory on the one hand and political thought on the other. So, what we find in political theory is a kind of broader or systematic and generalized statements that help in understanding or explaining politics in a country or a society.

For example, through the concepts like say freedom equality democracy or justice, we these are normative concepts and they have their own connotations or conceptualization. Now by understanding these concepts we try to understand or explain the politics of any society. So, whether that society or politics in that society is a democratic or not we can understand or explain better if you understand this concept of democracy first or so, is the case with the concepts like liberalism, free freedom or equality justice so on and so forth.

So, basically political theory enables you provide us the concept through which we try to understand or explain the politics in a society or a country. So, it is a more broader or generalized statement about politics in a country or a society. Now in comparison to that political thought is more limited or narrow to the individual or group of individuals. So, political thought is narrow and limited articulation or reflection upon, these articulation and reflection is done usually by a individual or a group of individual.

So, for example, in this course we have selected few thinkers and through them we try to understand some key concepts or key themes and which is representative of modern

Indian political thinking. So, these themes we have tried to understand through the writings of some of the key thinkers of modern India. So, political thought in comparison to political theory is considered to be narrow and limited in a sense which is about the reflection or articulation of a individual or a group of individual about the structure and functioning of politics in any society.

So, this that is a kind of analytical conceptual distinction one can make between political theory and thought, but both are overlapping in more than one ways also. So, for a very long time political theory for its concepts and ideas was dependent on political thought. So, whether it is a concepts of a democracy, equality, freedom, justice, state sovereignty all these concepts and ideas are derived from the political thought. So, one cannot really make a kind of a clear cut water tight compartmentalization between political theory and thought the overlap more often and essential feature of both is to understand, explain and interpret politics in a society or a country also.

So, in Indian political thought with closer engagement with Indian political thought we can also find that it enables or it is conducive for the growth of Indian political theory as well. So, political theory in India or while explaining about a politics in India, there is still excessive reliance on Eurocentric views concepts and methods. By and this is my preposition by closer or critical engagement with modern political theory we can derive or we can develop certain vocabulary concepts and methods to explain or understand Indian society and politics in a better manner.

So, now if you look at the major concerns of modern Indian political thinkers they were trying to um combine or trying to harmonize between the between or among the contradictory forces in the society as a well.

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**Their Major Concerns**

- To harmonise between national unity and religious diversity or discord; advancement of the rights of the lower castes and women; individual freedom and social equity; material prosperity and spiritual accomplishments; nationalist ideals and global approach
- Several Indian political thinkers had the whole of humanity and not just the Indians as their audience. They offered theories for the resolution of not merely Indian predicaments or problems but of world problems or issues as well. In their efforts to unite their country and make it more democratic, they also explored the ways in which India could engage with other nations in an increasingly interconnected world.

**Three categories of thinkers**

- One group of thinkers favoured imitative reproduction of the modern western modes of political thinking, action and organisation
- Second group of thinkers believed in the revival of and admiration for India's classical traditions of social and political thought and ideas
- Third group of thinkers attempted to create a blending of the traditional Indian and the modern western paradigms of politics. Tradition and Modernity and the combination of both.

This lecture is about engaging with few common themes of the thinkers we have discussed in this course.

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So, their concern was to harmonize between national unity and religious diversity or even discord. So, um for most of the Indian political thinkers their concern was how to reconcile or harmonize between these contradictory forces of national unity or fighting for national liberation on the one hand and the religious acrimony or religious divide that was their throughout the anticolonial struggle as well.

So, the a major concern for these thinkers was to harmonize or reconcile between national unity on the one hand and religious diversity or even discord on the other. The other concern advancements of rights of the lower caste and women were largely excluded and marginalized in Indian society as well as in the polity too and this struggle for participation of women and the lower caste in the politics of our country is still going on and there are numerous struggle going on for them advancement of rights of lower caste and women. And the either concerns were like individual freedom on the one hand which is basis of all creativity and progress and the social equity.

So, the imagination of individual is very different of course, there are many differences within or among the modern Indian political thinkers, but largely if we compare it with the western conceptualization of individual in the society here we find certainly like in Aurobindo, Iqbal, Gandhi and many others the individual is embedded in the society or community. So, um to reconcile and again harmonize between the individual freedom on the one hand and social equity on the other hand was also the major concern of these

thinkers. Again the material prosperity and spiritual accomplishment and nationalist ideals and global approach on the other is some of the major concerns which these thinkers were trying to engage with or deal with in their reflection and articulation about society and politics of modern India.

So other feature of modern Indian thinkers, were that many of them several Indian political thinkers had the whole of humanity and not just the Indian as their audience. So, they will transcend the limits of not just caste class religion and language nation or nationalism of course, many of them were actively involved in the anticolonial struggle and wanted independence for India. But for many of them, the world as a whole was their audience and certainly for thinkers like Iqbal or Rabindranath Tagore, to get extend Gandhi or Jawaharlal Nehru and also Aurobindo Ghosh. They were trying to situate or trying to relate to or respond to the global problems as well.

So, for them the audience is then not just the Indian people, but also the whole humanity as such. So, they offered theories for the resolution of not merely Indian predicaments or problems, but of world problems or predicaments or issues as well. So, in their effort to unite their country and make it more democratic they also explore the ways in which India could engage with other nations in an increasingly interconnected world for them the national independence or national liberation is not to keep India isolated or a loop from the rest of the world.

Even during the time of anticolonial struggle many thinkers were engaged with say in Tagore we have seen how he emphasized on human unity or Aurobindo Ghosh talking about um or providing the theoretical basis for a kind of non European thinking about um organizing the world polity in a very different way. So, these thing these thinkers or especially Gandhi, Nehru and congress talking about liberation movement in parts of Asia and Africa and extending the solidarity to their anticolonial struggle as well.

So, for many of them the rule of India is not just about ensuring it is on independence from the imperial rule of them British, but also to extend its solidarity to them African or Asian countries fighting their colonizers or imperial rule in their countries and to help in democratizing the whole world or in bringing about peace harmony and stability in the world as a whole. So, for them their concern or ideas were not limited to India alone, but it transcended the limits or the boundary of a nation or nationality.

Now, in these thinkers we also find or this we merely for the analytical purpose to divide them broadly among the three kind of thinkers. The first among those will the thinkers who favoured imitative reproduction of the modern western modes of political thinking, action and organisation. So, there was the modernizing elite wanted to modernize India to work for its economic development organize it politically according along with modern line and they wanted to do it by imitating the concepts ideas or political thinking or organization from the modern west.

So, there were someone who wanted to reproduce by imitating the ideas concepts and political thinking from the modern west; in second group of thinkers we find there is many who believed and attempted to create a blending of traditional Indian and modern western paradigms of politics. So, in their thinking and thought we will find the blending of modern western political thinking on the one hand and deeper engagement with their classical tradition of a Indian thinking and ideas on the other. So, there is a kind of combination of tradition and modernity in their thought, Gandhi can be one of such thinker certainly Tagore and also Aurobindo can be regarded as thinkers who are trying to blend this modern western thinking with the traditional thinking as well.

In the second group of thinkers who believed in the revival of and admiration of Indian classical traditions of social political thought and ideas now for a analytical purpose we can broadly divide modern Indian political thinkers basically into three groups. So, um one group of thinkers favoured a kind of imitative reproduction of modern western modes of political thinking action and organization. So, these are the modernizing elite who were convinced or believed in the modern ideals of polity, economy, progress or development.

And they wanted to reproduce these ideas by blindly or by imitating the ideals of the modern west and modes of their thinking. Now in the second group of thinkers we find there were someone who believed in the revival of an admiration for India's classical tradition of social political thought and ideas. So, I have discussed about Rabindranath Tagore and how he was trying to articulate the reason for India's degeneration is that we have lost the connect with our inner self. Similarly in the thoughts of Vivekananda or Aurobindo are even to some extent Gandhi and Iqbal and many others.



They were trying to revive or admire the political thinking or social and political ideals that was there in the classical tradition of India and they wanted to revive such even the Jawaharlal Nehru a Jawaharlal Nehru when we discuss the discovery of India. So, in him there is a kind of blending of a modern western thing thinking which is a kind of third group of thinkers who attempted to create a blending of traditional Indian and the modern western paradigm of politics. So, in their thought and thinking we will find a kind of blending or combination of tradition and modernity. Now, in the rest part of the lecture we are going to discuss some of the common and how a different thinkers have articulated about these themes

So, first major theme for many of these thinkers was though idea of religion and how it is related to politics.

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**Religion and politics**  
(Rammohan Roy, Gandhi, Tagore, Vivekanand, Iqbal, Savarkar)

- Scientific and rational approach to religion
- Protection of religious rights as important as civil and political rights
- Fighting dogmas and superstitions
- Religion as the basis of harmony for Individual as well as for society
- Exclusionary ideas on religion

**Hinduism or Hindutva**  
(Vivekanand, Aurobindo, Gandhi, Savarkar)

- A liberal, inclusive, and pragmatic interpretation of Hinduism to more exclusionary ideals of Hindutva: a political ideology distinct from Hinduism and which asserts Hindustan as fatherland as well as the holy land of all Hindus. The ideals of Hindu Nationalism.

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So, religion and politics so, in the political thought of Ram Mohan Roy Gandhi, Tagore, Vivekananda, Iqbal, Savarkar and many others we see how their thought was deeply intertwined with the idea of religion. So, they differ from each other about the understanding of religion and also the role of religion in the politics, but nonetheless religion remains a deeply embedded concepts in their social and political thought. So, in Ram Mohan Roy to begin with what we find is a kind of scientific and rational approach to religion. And that scientific and rational approach towards religion a lot many thinkers

following Raja Ram Mohan Roy to fight many dogmas, irrational practices and superstitions that was carried out in the name of religion.

So, various social and religious reforms movement in the early 19th century or the throughout the 20th century in India is a kind of result of such kind of approach to religion Ram Mohan Roy interestingly also equated religious rights or protection of religious rights is necessary as protection of civil and political rights. So, in many of his memorandums as we have discussed we find him defending the religious rights of the individual and community as well and challenging or criticizing the Christian missionary and the conversion carried out by them missionaries as well.

In Gandhi, Tagore and Vivekananda how we can find a kind of practical and pragmatic approach to religion which is a kind of liberal interpretation based on the inclusion or accommodative principles of other. Now in the thoughts of Iqbal and Savarkar certainly in Iqbal we find the role of religion and using religion as a basis for articulation of nation or pan Islamic thought as well as in Iqbal. Similarly in Savarkar we find the idea of Hindu nation or Hindutva based on the religious practices of a particular community in that. So, there is a kind of scientific rational approach to religion towards two more a kind of flexible inclusive and accommodative understanding of religion and its role in the polity to a more exclusionary kind of understanding or interpretation of religion as we find in Iqbal and Savarkar.

For different thinkers there is a kind of different approach to the religion and politics which we have discussed, but the dominant understanding or the major articulation of the role of religion in politics certainly through the thought thinking of Gandhi, Tagore even Aurobindo Ghosh or Vivekananda. They thought of religion else something which enables the individual as well as the society to harmonize, to attain peace or to realize it is on true nature. So, in the thought of Aurobindo Ghosh we have seen how he articulated the role of religion in the life of individual and also in the community life as well.

The other major theme is the notion of Hinduism and Hindutva. So, again the for the many modern Indian thinkers they have a very liberal inclusive and pragmatic interpretation of Hinduism which is accommodative of other. So, the interpretation of Hinduism in Gandhi, Tagore or Aurobindo or even Vivekananda is very different from the articulation of Hindutva as it is done by Savarkar which is a more exclusionary kind

of articulation. And that articulation or exclusionary ideals which Savarkar articulated as Hindutva becomes a kind of political ideology which is very distinct from this liberal inclusive kind of Hinduism as interpreted by say Aurobindo Gandhi or Vivekananda his ideals of Hindutva was very distinct from such articulation. And for him Hindustan is both as the fatherland and the holy land this we have discussed and that to understanding becomes the basis of Hindu nationalism.

So, in this thinkers the Hinduism and Hindutva also becomes the major theme in their social and political thinking and there again we fall also find a kind of variety of approach to understand Hinduism or interpret it and use it as the basis for forming a kind of exclusionary ideals or identity like Hindutva as done by Savarkar. The other themes that is dominant in the political thought of many thinkers is the idea of secularism.

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**Secularism**  
(Gandhi and Nehru)

- Religious pluralism and tolerance
- Equal respect for all religions
- Protection of minority right
- Separate domain of politics and religion

**Self and Community**  
(Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi, Iqbal)

- Individual soul: reflection of divine
- Individual: basis of all progress and creativity
- Realization of self ultimate purpose of life and role of community

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So, what should be the nature of state, should it be a secular state or a theocratic state and as we have seen the emergence of modern Indian political thought is about reforming the society and the religious practices in India and that led to a kind of mobilization around the history of religion caste language and so on and so forth.

So, the identity on the basis of religion or say caste or language or reason is something dominant in Indian, Indian politics now in such contexts they articulated the nature of state which should not be having any religion of its own. So, there is a kind of tripartite approach towards religion where there is a kind of Hindu nationalism approach which

want to assert and define India as a Hindu nation. On the other hand you have the Muslim separatist approach we promoted the idea of two nation theory, separate to these two is the ideals of Gandhi and Nehru who talked about a secular India where a state has nothing to do with religion or it maintains a kind of equidistance or a kind of neutrality from all religion or provide our protection or equal respect to all religion.

So, in the thoughts of Gandhi, Nehru, Tagore and many other thinkers we find the ideals of secularism which talks about religious pluralism, tolerance and accommodation equal respect for all religions and also protection of minority rights that is there in Indian constitution. So, one can find there is a kind of difference between Gandhian ideals of say religion and its role in the polity or Nehruvian understanding of religion and its role in the polity where here wanted to make it a kind of separation between these two domain of religion and politics, but for Gandhi there is role of religion in the public political life as well. So, Nehru talks about a separate domain of religion and politics, but nonetheless share this ideals of secularism as the defining feature of Indian state.

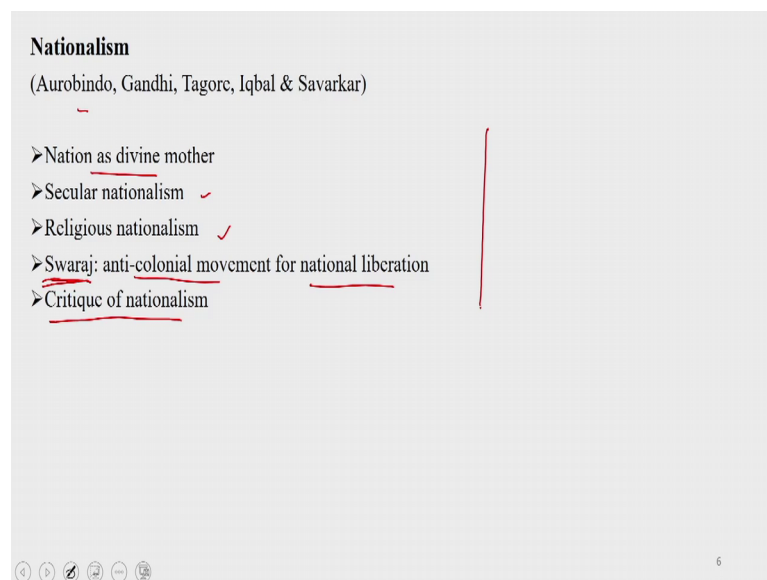
The other theme in modern Indian thinkers are self and community. So, in the thoughts of Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi and Iqbal we find the focus on individual or individual self as reflection of divine or the activities of individual their ultimate objective is to realize his or her true self. And that realization of true self requires the individual to connect it with the say universal man or universal self as in the thought of Tagore, Aurobindo and many other modern Indian thinkers which they thought of individual self as the part of larger self or the universal men or universal self. So, this connection of individual sole to the larger universal sole or self is something very unique to modern Indian political thinkers and therefore, in their understanding of individual, individual is not confined to his or her biological beam, but it extend towards the a spiritual side of the human existence on the one hand and the social and the community life on the other hand.

So many of this thinkers also thought about the role of community in the realization of true ideals of the individual. So, and for many of these thinkers see a as we have discussed Gandhian ideals of oceanic circle. So, there is the kind of interdependence of self and the community where individual is regarded as the basis of all progress and creativity. So, even when the individual is embedded in the collective life of community

he or she has the freedom to excel his or her on a skill and develop his or her on creativity and contribute in the larger life of the society and community also.

So, for many of the modern Indian thinkers the idea of self and community remains one of the dominant theme. The idea of nationalism again is something very important for many modern Indian thinkers and they differ from each other as well.

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So, for someone like Aurobindo nation is a kind of divine mother, as a prophet of Indian nationalism as Aurobindo is regarded by many scholars he conceptualized India or Indian nation as a divine mother. So, from that kind of understanding of nationalism you have the secular nationalism as in the thought of Gandhi Nehru and congress to a religious conceptualization of nation and nationalism as in the thought of Savarkar or Iqbal or any other Muslim separatist leader.

In comparison to that kind of a circular or religious nationalism you also have a ideals of Swaraj which is much broader and bigger than the audio of mere political independence. It is about the self rule and self rule is the ability to govern oneself. So, the anti colonial movement for national liberation from the British rule and in that process the ideals of Swaraj in not just political sphere, but also in social economic and individual sphere is something which is very crucial to understand the complexities of thinking or theorization about nationalism.

We also have critique of nationalism when the ideals of nation or nationalism was shaping the thinking of many modern Indian thinkers. So, most importantly in the thoughts of Tagore we have discussed how for Tagore he is not just again a form of nationalism, but the very ideals of nationalism which for him is obstructing the unity between and among the nations. So, instead of mutual love all trust it is based on selfish interest and develop mistrust among communities or among the nations. So, therefore, in Tagore you have the strong critique of the very ideals of nationalism and ideals of nationalism was thinking the thoughts of a separate separatist or secular nationalist like Gandhi and, Gandhi and Nehru.

So, similarly Iqbal as we have discussed he was thinking about nation or theorizing it on the basis of Islam and yet he developed a critique of any kind of nationalism and thought about pan Islamism or develop a critique of territorial definition of nation and nationalism also. In many modern Indian political thinkers we have seen and discussed how they have different approach or understanding about nationalism.

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**Cosmopolitanism & Internationalism**  
(Tagore, Gandhi, Aurobindo and Iqbal) *Nehru*

- Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam (the whole world is one family)
- Rooted or practical cosmopolitanism; not derive its justification through the theoretical contemplation of abstractions, rather, the motivation to be a cosmopolitan is ultimately grounded in an existential orientation of being in the world.
- Religious basis of cosmopolitan thought
- Nehru & Gandhi combination of nationalism and internationalism

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Also on cosmopolitanism and internationalism we see in the thinking of Tagore, Gandhi, Aurobindo and Iqbal, also Nehru the ideals of nation in combination with the global um politics or the international and cosmopolitan approach in their thought and thinking. And this is part of the ideals of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam which is there in Indian tradition of thought is considered the whole world as one family.

Many modern Indian thinkers develop their own understanding and as we have discussed for them the audience is not just the Indians they were equally embedded and engaged with the problems and predicaments of the world as well. So, in the thoughts of Tagore we find a kind of rooted and practical approach of approach to cosmopolitanism. So, unlike many other scholars and thinkers who talked about contemplative are a kind of abstract, theorization of cosmopolitanism Tagore argued about a kind of practical approach to cosmopolitanism which is rooted in its own tradition and culture or sensibility and yet opened to relate or learn from other cultures histories and traditions.

So, that dialogue on the unity between and among different particularities that is what champion by Tagore and thinking about cosmopolitanism as a way of being in the world, not merely a kind of contemplative or theoretical exercise as argued by many other scholars also. In the thoughts of Iqbal we also find a kind of religious basis of cosmopolitan thoughts so is in the thoughts of Aurobindo Ghosh.

Nehru and Gandhi very interestingly combine the nationalism with internationalism. So, for them India to play effective role in the global politics it needs to first attain its independence. So, for Gandhi and Nehru they did not limit the aspiration of Indian people merely to political independence, but for them political independence is as necessary as India's role in the global politics. So, in Nehru and Gandhi we find combination of nationalism and internationalism, in the thought of Tagore Aurobindo Iqbal we see the idea of cosmopolitanism. So, that is also make something very interesting about modern Indian political thinkers.

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**Democracy**  
(Gandhi, Nehru, Ambedkar)  
> Legal and political; social and economic  
> Strong/interventionist state  
> Idea of decentralized democracy where power flows from bottom up rather than top down  
> Constitutional morality

**Socialism**  
(Lohia)  
> Distinct Indian brand of socialism & Panchamarhi speech  
> *Sapt Kranti* (Seven revolutions): a)for equality between man and woman; b)against political, economic and spiritual inequality based on color or race; c)for the destruction of castes; d)against foreign domination and democratic world government; e)for economic equality, planned production and against private property; f)against interference in private life and for democratic method; and g)against arms and weapons and for *Satyagraha* .  
> Four pillar state (*Chaukhambha Raj*): a)the village; b)the district; c)the province; and d)the center

Now, on ideas of democracy they thought about democracy in a very distinctive way which was a more sensible or rooted or embedded in the Indian context as well. So, they were not or just thinking about legal and political democracy that ensure that everyone is equal, and they have equal opportunity in the political process of their country. Many of the thinkers, certainly in Ambedkar we have seen how he put equal emphasis to the social and economic democracy as well. So, it is not just enough to have a political democracy, but to sustain that political and legal democracy there is a need for social and equal social and economic democracy as well.

And throughout the nationalist we see a kind of contestation between political those who were arguing for the political reforms or political independence first, and those who were thinking about social equality and contesting or fighting against the social hierarchy on the other hand throughout the national movement. So, Ambedkar and many other thinkers talking about the social reforms, social equality, and the congress and many other thinkers talking about political liberation from the British rule first and then we can think about social reforms and so on. So, in Indian thinkers their conceptualization of democracy does talk about do talk about um social and economic democracy as well along with legal and political democracy.

Now, there is a kind of understanding about the role of state where we find in the ideas of Ambedkar and Nehru a kind of a strong support for a interventionist state. So, for them



to regulate a society like India governed by so many irrational practices, rituals or superstitions there is a need of a strong and interventionist state to modernize the society and polity of India. So, they are used for a strong and interventionist state.

Now, in contrast to that kind of idea in the ideals of say Gandhi and also Ram Manohar Lohia we find a kind of a decentralized understanding of democracy where power flows from bottom up rather than top down. Again on constitutional morality in them thoughts of Ambedkar we have discussed how he argued that the constitutional morality is something which we need to nurture. It is not given or we do not have this culture because we have a constitution.

So, he wanted Indians to forgo certain method of politics which he considered as the grammar of anarchy, such as Satyagraha or any means of politics which is extra constitutional. So, constitutional morality is something which is also very fascinating to think about understanding or to engage with understanding of democracy in the thoughts and thinking of many modern Indian thinkers.

Again on socialism we find Lohia arguing for a distinct Indian brand of socialism which is different from both capitalism or communism and also any other ism, so democratic socialism and so on and so forth. And he wanted to conceptualize a very distinct or innovative understanding of socialism which is very distinct from its experience in the Europe and he was very critical of such Eurocentrism while thinking about socialism. And the panchmarhi speech that we have discussed is very crucial to understand Lohias brand of socialism his idea of sapt kranti and a four pillar state which is also considered Chaukhambha Raj is a kind of combination of Gandhian ideals and also the socialist ideas also where we talks about the decentralized form of democracy from the village to the district to the province and the centre.

Now, in this 7 revolution again Lohia tries to restructure Indian society along the socialist line and his arguments for these reforms in the society, politics and um state is something very crucial to understand their thinking about the future Indian society and also the innovative ideals of socialism that we have in modern Indian political thought.

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**Gender and Caste**  
(Gandhi, Ambedkar, Ramabai & Lohia)

- Reforming the caste
- Annihilation of caste
- Men women equality

**Language**  
(Rammanohar Lohia)

- Angreji Hatao (Banish English)
- Hindi as the 'national' language
- Support for Indian languages

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Now, gender and caste is something which dominates the thinking of most of the modern Indian thinkers. But what we also find is a kind of distinction between those who wanted to reform caste, from those who wanted to annihilate the caste such as Ambedkar also. So, this debate over caste and how it prevent social, equality and obstruct equal participation in the political process is something which most the modern Indian political thinkers thought about. But we can broadly divide them between those who wanted to reform the caste and those who wanted to annihilate the annihilate the caste. More in Ramabai and Lohia we also find the equal emphasis on the men and women equality as well; so in the thought of Gandhi and many other modern Indian thinkers.

Again on the issue of language most importantly Ram Manohar Lohia, but you also find out Raja Ram Mohan Roy when he was talking about translating the classical Sanskrit text into the vernacular language, and Gandhi championing the cause of Hindi or Hindustani. Similarly many other modern Indian thinkers, the issue of language remains very important. Ram Manohar Lohia himself championed the cause of Angreji Hatao. So, banish English movement or Angreji Hatao movement for Lohia is not against a language per say, but the status of the privilege that is associated with the language. So, for him the English language enables a kind of privilege for a few who can speak comprehend or express themselves in that particular language and that is at the cost of the mother tongues for the Indian languages.

So, he was the great champion of Indian language. He did not support Hindi and for that reason he is also regarded by many as the linguistic chauvinist. But for Lohia the struggle for Indian language is not to replace one kind of privilege status with the other kind of privileged language or the status that is attached to a particular language. But to democratize the whole issue of language and its status the divide between English and the Indian language or the privileged or the status that is associated with the English language is something which troubled Lohia and he supported the Indian languages and wanted to promote Indian language in the polity and the state as well. So, the language is the another major theme in many of the modern Indian political thinking.

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**Conclusion**

- Political thinking or reflections with deeper engagement with active politics was the defining features of modern Indian political thinkers. And critical engagements with their thought will help Indian political theory to grow. Despite major exclusions such as: Savitribai Phule; Jyotirao Phule; Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Verrier Elvin, E. V. Ramasamy Periyar; Jayaprakash Narayan; Bal Gangadhar Tilak; Gopal Krishna Gokhale; Deen Dayal Upadhyay; Madan Mohan Malaviya, the course does represent the major shades of ideas and opinion that constitute modern Indian political thought.
- Idea is not to replace excessive reliance upon Eurocentric concepts and methods with a narrow indigeneity. But to focus more on *samvad* or dialogue. In the words of Norman D Palmer 'from India may come influences which will widen the horizons of Western political thinkers and which will give political ideas a sounder foundation of philosophical and metaphysical speculation'.
- A more fruitful exercise would be to move away from thinker specific thought to thematic study engaging with them in a social context within a particular temporalities. Engagements with various *bhasha* traditions will also help us understand various critical dimensions and complexities of modern Indian political thought.
- Their ideas and concepts continue to shape the public political discourse of our country. And in fact we can better understand and explain the contemporary challenges of our politics by critically engaging with the ideas and political thought of these thinkers.

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Now, by way of conclusion what we find is that political thinking or reflections with deeper engagement with active politics was the defining feature of modern Indian political thinkers. So, many of the thinkers that we have discussed the defining feature of their engagement is that while they were reflecting or thinking about the politics at the same time they will deeply engaged with the active politics of their time. And the critical engagement and not blind imitation or support or rejection or parcel appropriation as we have seen and discussed in the case of many thinkers like Aurobindo Vivekananda.

So, the critical engagement not just blind following are rejecting with their thought will help political theory that we hope will strengthen by this critical engagement with the thinking or thought of modern Indian political thinkers. So, we do have major exclusion

such as Savitribai Phule, Jyotirao Phule, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Verrier Elwin, E V Ramasamy Periyar, Jayaprakash Narayan or Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Deen Dayal Upadhyay and Madan Mohan Malaviya these are the major exclusions which we could not include in our discussion.

But despite of such exclusion we I do hope that this course does represent the major sets of ideas and opinions that constitutes modern Indian political thought. And one can also or must or should engage with this other thinkers as well, but I hope the thinkers we have discussed in the course do represent the various states and opinion which constitutes modern Indian political thought.

Now, one thing that we have discussed in this course is that modern Indian political thought and critical engagement with the modern Indian political thought will help us to move away from the excessive reliance upon Eurocentric views, methods, and concepts and use the vocabulary and concepts which is rooted in Indian society or polity.

Now, the objective is then not to replace a kind of excessive reliance upon Eurocentric concepts, ideas and methods with a narrow indigeneity. So, we should not actually replace such of session on of Eurocentrifuse methods with a kind of narrow or limited focus on indigeneities or indigenous approach, but to focus more on dialogue or samvad as a way forward, as a way to reengage with or critically engage with the with the thoughts of Indian tradition as well as in other traditions.

So, one of the socials political scientist Norman D Palmer did recognize the role of Indian political thought in widening or expanding the horizon of modern political thinking. And he writes and I quote: “from India may come influences which will widen the horizons of Western political thinkers and which will give political ideas is sounder foundation of philosophical and metaphysical speculation.”

So, the idea is not to replace this, Eurocentric views with narrow and limited indigeneity kind of approach. But to focus more on engagement with the other traditions other cultures at the same time critically engaging with once own on traditions. And that dialogue with the other than help in giving political thought thinking is sounder foundation or a kind of expanded horizon rather than a kind of limited or narrow approach either Eurocentric or a kind of narrow limited indignity kind of approach.

The more fruitful exercise of doing political thought would be to move away from thinkers specific thought to thematic study, engaging with them in a social context within a particular temporality. And this is something which we have been trying to discuss throughout this course. And today also we tried to look at different thinkers by focusing on particular theme. So, that kind of exercise and doing it in a particular context within a historical temporalities will enable us to understand or engage with their thought more critically.

So, this method of doing political thought will be more fruitful and engagement with the various Bhasha traditions which I have emphasize in my introductory lecture as well. We will also help us understand what is critical dimensions and complexities of modern Indian political thought. So, modern Indian political thought is much broader then the thought and thinking merely key thinkers and even in while doing that we have seen that we have extruded a number of other major thinkers while trying to understand the major debates and ideals and that constitute modern Indian political thought. The engagement with the Bhasha traditions or Indian languages will enable us to understand the complexities or the various critical dimensions of modern political thought in a more broader way.

The significant aspect of these thinkers are that their ideas and concepts continue to save the public political discourse of our country even in contemporary times, and in fact we can better understand and explain the contemporary challenges of our politics by critically engaging with ideas and political thought of this thinker. So, that is the major objective of this course through which we hope that we can better understand and explain the contemporary challenges that the country is facing. So, that is how I have tried to look at and discuss some of the key themes of the major thinkers of modern Indian political thought. And I hope you have enjoyed this course. Let us know your feedbacks and comments.

Thank you thanks for listening.