

**EPS-03: MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT
TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

**Course Code: EPS –03
Assignment Code: Asst /TMA /2016-17
Total Marks: 100**

Answer all questions. Try to answer in your own words.

A) DCQ: Answer the following in about 500 words each. 2x20

1. Discuss the British colonial intervention in India's economy in the early 19th century.
OR
Write an essay on different strands of liberalism in early colonial India.
2. Trace the circumstances leading to the social reform movement in colonial India.
OR
Describe the economic and social ideas of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

B) MCQ: Answer the following in about 250 words each. 4x12

3. What is Militant Nationalism? Explain it with reference to the Indian colonial context.
OR
Examine some of the political ideas of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
4. Write a note on salient features of tribal movements in colonial India.
OR
What was Jyotiba Phule's concept of universal religion? Elaborate.
5. Describe the Birsa Munda Revolt of 1895-1901.
OR
Describe the main trends of Muslim political thinking in early colonial India.
6. Examine Gandhi's critique of modern civilization.
OR
What was Gandhi's Constructive Programme? Explain.

C) SCQ: Answer the following in about 100 words each. 2x6

7. Discuss Subhash Chandra Bose's concept of Socialism.
OR
his views on Fascism.
8. Marxist thought in pre- independence India.
OR
M.N. Roy and the Indian social reality.

ASSIGNMENT SOLUTIONS GUIDE (2016-2017)

E.P.S.-3

Modern Indian Political Thought

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Answer all questions. Try to answer in your own words.

(A) DCQ: Answer the following in about 500 words each.

Q. 1. Discuss the British colonial intervention in India's economy in the early 19th century.

Ans. The exact nature of the colonial intervention in the indigenous Indian economy can be understood by studying its influence separately in different units of the economy like agriculture, trade and industry.

Impact on Agriculture: The British brought about important transformation in India's agricultural economy only for improving their own colonial economy. The British introduced two major land revenue and tenurial systems. One was the Zamindari system. (Later, a modified version of the same Zamindari system was introduced in North India under the name of the Mahalwari system). The other was the Ryotwari system. Through these both the systems, the peasant cultivators suffered badly. They were forced to pay very high rents and for all practical purposes functioned as tenants-at-will. They were compelled to pay many illegal dues and cesses and were often required to perform forced labour. The greatest evil that arose out of the British policies with regard to Indian agricultural economy was the emergence of the moneylender as an influential economic and political force in the country. Because of the high revenue rates demanded and the rigid manner of collection, the peasant cultivator had often to borrow money to pay taxes. In addition to paying exorbitant interest, when his crops were ready he was invariably forced to sell his produce cheap. The money-lender, on the other hand could manipulate the new judicial system and the administrative machinery to his advantage. In both the Zamindari and the Ryotwari areas, there occurred a large-scale transfer of land from the hands of the actual cultivators to the hands of money-lenders, merchants, officials and rich peasants. This led to landlordism becoming the dominant feature of land relationships all over the country. This process is referred to as 'Subinfeudation'. The impact of British rule thus led to the evolution of a new structure of agrarian relations that was extremely regressive. It was a new structure that colonialism evolved. It was semi-feudal and semi-colonial in character. The most unfortunate result of all this was that absolutely no effort was made either to improve agricultural practices or develop them along modern lines for increased production. Agricultural practices remained unchanged. Better types of implements, good seeds and various types of manures and fertilizers were not introduced at all. The poverty-stricken peasant cultivators did not have the resources to improve agriculture. The result was prolonged stagnation in agricultural production.

Impact on Trade and Industry: As with agriculture, the British Indian Government controlled trade and industry purely with a view to foster British interests. The growth of the Indian foreign trade was neither natural nor normal; it was artificially fostered to serve imperialism. The country was flooded with manufactured goods from Britain and forced to produce and export the raw materials that Britain and other foreign countries needed. Last but not least, the foreign trade affected the internal distribution of income adversely. The British policy only helped to transfer resources from peasants and craftsmen to merchants, moneylenders and foreign capitalists. A significant

feature of India's foreign trade during this period was the constant excess of exports over imports. These exports did not represent the future claims of India on foreign countries, but the drain of India's wealth and resources. We must also remember—the bulk of foreign trade was in foreign hands and that almost all of it was carried on through foreign ships. One of the most important consequences of British rule was the progressive decline and destruction of urban and rural handicraft industries. Not only did India lose its foreign markets in Asia and Europe, but even the Indian market was flooded with cheap machine-made goods produced on a mass scale. The collapse of indigenous handicrafts followed. Thus, it will be seen that industrial development in India till 1947 was slow and stunted.

Q. 2. Describe the economic and social ideas of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

Ans. Gokhale was one of the band of men, who laid the foundation of Indian Economic Thought. His economic thoughts were largely practical and not mere the theoretical interpretations. He was an active politician.

Gokhale's 'drain' Ideas : Gokhale's emphasis was on two aspects of drain, i.e. the excessive employment of British personnel and also the unfair charging of the Indian office establishment on India's account. These involved a continuous drain of savings out of India to the diminution of the country's development potential was stressed by Gokhale. Sometimes he expressed himself on this issue with an uncharacteristic bitterness, calling it 'bleeding', and arguing that if it were to cease, the military and civilian administration must be increasingly Indianized. He said that India was forced to create, year by year, an export surplus of which at least a portion was '*uncompensated*'. A backward economy which is continually forced to create such a surplus is obviously depleted of its domestic saving potential and finds its growth retarded by an exogenous political factor.

Gokhale's Land Revenue Settlement: Gokhale was a close observer of whole land revenue question. He excessively pleaded for the lowering of the assessment levels, especially in certain regions of Bombay, Madras and United Provinces where they were inordinately high. He advised so because he viewed that in India agriculturists has no capital and has but little credit and is simply unable to make proper use of nature's wealth that lies at his door, with the result that his cultivation is of the rudest and most exhausting type. For the Ryotwari areas, he suggested that the assessment should first be reduced and evened out, and then '*frozen*' in order to do away with the uncertainty of periodical revision; in another context, he suggested that land revenue revision should automatically follow the trend of prices—a system of '*fluctuating assessments*' later adopted in Punjab, and in modified form in Bombay.

His Remedy of Rural Debt: Gokhale maintained that the fundamental remedy for rural debt was not to restrict the right of transfer of land, but to 'introduce greater elasticity into their system of revenue collections', and even more importantly, to 'make provisions for reasonable needs of the agriculturists in the shape of agricultural banks, or a more liberal and flexible system of takavi advances'.

Gokhale's Ideas on Currency, Exchange and Finance: In the field of currency and exchange, the last quarter of the 19th century was one of the most disturbing periods of our economic history. The adoption of gold standards and the demonetization of silver by several countries had brought about a continuous fall in the world price of silver, and the rupee being a silver coin, suffered the inevitable consequences. Gokhale criticized the mechanism and viewed that the standard had a 'built-in' inflationary bias, especially since the Gold Standard Reserves was built out of the profits of rupee coinage. He supported the stoppage of the free coinage of rupees, and introduced an '*automatic*' Gold currency standard.

In the sphere of public finance Gokhale addressed himself primarily to three issues: the growth of public expenditure, high and regressive taxation and the 'large, continuous and progressive' budget surpluses. According to him, the increased public expenditure in India, under automatic management, defective constitutional control, and the inherent defects of alien domination, only helped to bring about a constantly increasing exploitation of our resources and retarded our material progress. Similarly, Gokhale subjected the Government's tax policy to continuous criticism. He particularly protested against the growth of regressive taxes such as land revenue, salt duty, customs, and the cotton excise. His plea for reduction of taxes was based not only on their regressive character, but also on the ground that there were 'large, continuous and progressive' budget surpluses.

So, it will be readily agreed that Gokhale's critique of British policy based upon a historical construct of the impact of British colonial policy on the backward economy of India into which fabric were woven such causal elements as the 'drain', land revenue settlements and the operations of currency and finance formed the basic ground work of thought which inspired our national movement.

Gokhale viewed that State stood for the moral and material interests of the people. Hence, the state should strive to remove cramping and unnatural restrictions from the path of their development. He opined that the people should be given opportunities to grow to the full height of their stature. He did not consider state as a mere police state. It was not a necessary evil which could be dispensed with whenever it was no longer considered indispensable. He wanted the state to play a positive role.

He suggested free and compulsory education, prohibition, and measures of public health and public utility in order to remove hindrances and hardships in the way of development of individual's personality. Ignorance, insanitation and vices like drinking must be eradicated by the state as they prevent proper enjoyment of life and a more refined standard of living. He considered state action essential to secure universal elementary education and stop evils like drinking.

He suggested that state should undertake developmental functions. The state should intervene for the industrial and agricultural development. Further, he suggested ways and means for raising finances. He emphasised on state borrowings and on reduction of expenditure on the police functions of the state in order to utilize the saved money on developmental functions. He, however was opposed to over-taxation. He also asserted that surplus budget should be devoted for promoting developmental functions of the state. He favoured a more equitable distribution of income.

He also upheld that the State should be used to bring about social change through legislation. The State should help the progressive elements in society to bring about the desired social change through legislative procedure. He supported the Civil Marriage Bill. He wanted the State to effect social change courageously even if it was not in tune with the feelings of the general masses. He considered the educated class as the natural leaders who think today what the masses will think tomorrow.

(B) MCQ: Answer the following in about 250 words each.

Q. 3. Examine some of the political ideas of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Ans. Tilak was one of the greatest figures in the political history of modern India. He was first who gave to the people of India the first lessons in the consciousness of the right of Swaraj. He enlightened the population of India into a political recognition of the general will of the nation. Valetine Chirol is correct in characterizing him as "*the father of Indian unrest*". At a time when apathy and prostration and frustration were rampant in the country, he appeared as the prophet of Swaraj. He taught the people of India to hate slavery. Hence, he appeared before the people of India as a link in the chain of the great Indian heroes, who have championed the cause of liberty against injustice and subjugation. He taught the people of India the gospel of incessant toil and activity for the sake of the good of the country as a whole. He realized the glaring evils and inequities of a foreign regime and he had the boldness and the moral courage to publish the catalogue of sins of the British imperialism. Tilak, as a political philosopher has given us a theory of nationalism. He did not have the time to elaborate upon the other conceptions of Political Science like sovereignty, justice, property, etc. although he referred to these. His theory of nationalism was synthesis of the teachings of both eastern and western thinkers. He was thorough believer in democracy. He did not adopt an idealistic or conceptual and speculative approach to politics. He decidedly belonged to the school of realism. His school of Political Thought can be characterized as nationalism founded upon "*Democratic Realism*". He was an extremist in outlook and envisaged a significant role to religion in the national movement, but at the same time opposed its misuse to divide the society. Although his political philosophy was rooted in Indian tradition, he was not opposed to modernisation. He adapted the best of the Modern Western Thought currents and institutions to Indian situation. He led the Indian National Movement on the right track and invigorated it by popularising the four-point programme of action namely, National Education, Boycott, Swadeshi and Passive Resistance.

Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a leader of such qualities by which destiny of India was changed. He has not given us any picture of the politically perfect society in this sense of the term political philosophy. He does not discuss the features and possibilities of best state as Plato, Aristotle and Cicero. His main concern in life was the political emancipation of India. He discovered an element of realism in the political ideas and outlook of Tilak. His political thought reflects a rare blend of ancient Indian thought and the nationalistic and democratic ideas of the modern West.

He was a Vedantist. He considered spirit as the supreme reality. Since all men are portions or aspects of that absolute essence, all have the same autonomous spiritual potentiality. This led him to believe in the supremacy of the

concept of freedom. According to him, freedom is the very life of the individual soul which Vedanta declares to be not separate from God, but identical with him. The Western theories of national independence and self-determination exercised a great influence upon Tilak's mind.

He was of the opinion that keeping on the constitutional methods of struggle was without foundation as India did not have its constitution. Moderates gave importance to administration and its improvement, while Tilak liked it through non-cooperation, obstruction and passive resistance. He trusted self-sacrifice, suffering and service of the people. Most leaders appealed to intelligent class while Tilak appealed to the masses in millions. He used village mandaps for voicing the feelings as platform and used Indian dialects to communicate. Tilak declared, "Swaraj is my birth-right and I will have it". He thought of freedom to be never achieved by charity, but was to be demanded as a right. Freedom was quite necessary for social, political and economic upliftment of the public. Freedom was a political and spiritual necessity of the people for by that they can remove their misery, stravation and degradation.

Tilak's political philosophy centres around 'Swaraj'. The word Swaraj is an old term—a Vedic term. Tilak borrowed it from Hindu *shastras* and from the time of Shivaji. Tilak regarded Swaraj not merely a right, but also a Dharma. He gave a political, moral and spiritual meaning of 'Swaraj'. Politically, *Swaraj* meant home rule. Morally, it signified the achievement of the perfection of self-control which is necessary for discharging one's duty. Its spiritual importance lays in the realization of spiritual inner freedom and contemplative delight. In the words of Tilak, "Swaraj is a life centred in self and dependent upon self. There is Swaraj in this world as well as world hereafter. The Rishis who laid down the law of duty who took themselves to forests, because the people were already enjoying Swaraj of people's dominion which was administered and defended in the first instance by the Kshatriya kings..... Swaraj in the life to come cannot be the reward of a people who not enjoyed it in the world." It is evident that Tilak's Swaraj stood both for political liberty and spiritual freedom. He proclaimed that "Swaraj is my birth-right and I shall have it."

To achieve this Swaraj he placed before the nation four-fold programme of effective political action for the attainment of Swaraj *viz.*, Boycott, 'Swadeshi', national education and passive resistance. Tilak is described as an extremist on account of the advocacy of these methods for the attainment of Swaraj.

Q. 4. What was Jyotiba Phule's concept of universal religion? Elaborate.

Ans. Jyotiba Phule, a lower caste social reformer of the 19th century Maharashtra developed a critique of Indian social order and Hinduism. Phule wanted to establish a society founded on principles of individual liberty and equality and in place of Hinduism he liked to put universal religion. Phule was born in a *Mali* (Gardner) family of Poona in 1927. The Malis belonged to *Shudra varna* and were placed immediately below peasant caste of Maratha-Kunbis of Maharashtra. In 1848 Phule began his work as a social reformer interested in education of low caste boys and girls. Phule supported the movement for widow remarriage in 1860 and in 1863 established a home for the prevention of infanticide. The organisation which was established by him in 1843 for which he is remembered even today is the "Satya Shodhak Samaj". It aimed at the organisation of lower castes against the Hindu social order based on *varna* and caste system. From his writings it could be concluded that his thinking on social and political issues was influenced by Christianity and the ideas of Thomas Paine. As a recognition of his great work for the lower castes, he was felicitated and a title of 'Mahatma' was conferred on him by the people of Bombay in 1888.

The idea of the emancipation of the lower castes and the untouchables required a critique not only of the Indian social order or that of the colonial economic policy, but also of Hinduism and an attempt to visualise some kind of emancipatory religion. Phule believed in one God. He regarded God as a creator of this world and all men and women his children. Phule discarded idolatry, ritualism, asceticism, fatalism and the idea of incarnation. No intermediary between God and devotee was considered essential by him. Apparently, it might appear that Phule's approach was similar to that of M.G. Ranade and his Prarthana Samaj. But, actually he differed from both. Ranade wanted to work within the structure of Hinduism. He was proud of the Hindu tradition and never thought of breaking from it. On the contrary, Phule visualised Sarvajanic Satya Dharma (Public True Religion) to take place of Hinduism. His true religion broke from Hindu tradition altogether. Moreover, he differed from reformers like Ranade when he severely criticized the mythology and sacred books like *Smritis* and *Vedas* of Hindus. He tried to prove that the history of Hinduism was in fact, the history of Brahmin domination and slavery of Shudras. He found cunningness, selfishness and hypocrisy in sacred scriptures than a discussion of true religion. The elite reformers criticized the

contemporary, degenerated form of Hinduism, while Phule attacked it for its very inception and showed that Brahmins had deceived lower castes throughout history. Phule interpreted Hinduism as a relation based on *varna* and caste system devised by the cunning Brahmins to deceive the lower castes.

But though he dismissed Hinduism altogether, he did not reject the very idea of religion or Dharma. He tried to put in its place universal religion based on principles of liberty and equality. His Sarvajanic Satya Dharma put emphasis on truth seeking without the aid and any *Guru* or text. His religious ideas were definitely influenced by Christianity, but he never advocated conversion.

His universal religion was liberal and in many respects very different from traditional religions. His religion was mainly and primarily concerned about secular matters. Phule had visualised a family where each member of that family might follow his own religion. In his ideal family a wife might embrace Buddhism while her husband might be a Christian and children might follow other religions because Phule believed that there might be some truth in all the texts and scriptures and therefore one of them could not claim the ultimate truth. He thought that the Government should not close its eyes to inhumane religious customs of unjust traditions and practices of Hinduism. There was no place for any communalism or unwarranted neutralism in matters of religion so far as Phule's religious ideas were concerned.

Q. 5. Describe the main trends of Muslim political thinking in early colonial India.

Ans. British colonial rule triggered a number of changes in Indian society along with the spread of modern education which generated consciousness of nationalism in Indians of all religions. Nationalistic feeling found expression through political, socio-religious, cultural processes and activities. The enlightened individuals belonging to the Muslim and Hindu communities generated consciousness in society and particularly in their respective community. In the second part of 19th and first half of the twentieth century there emerged several social, religious, political and cultural movements and organisations in India. These movements were led by Hindu and Muslim leaders in their respective communities. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Mohammad Iqbal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Abul Kalam Azad were among many others who marked their influence of Indian society. These renowned leaders developed their politics, democracy and rights of individuals, sovereignty and nationalism. Islam was crux of their views. But they did not make what can be termed as original contribution to political thought. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan was born on October 17, 1817, he was a great Musalman leader. Although opposed to Pan-Islamism, he wanted that his coreligionists should be a forward and progressive people. He stressed on two basic points: (i) the importance of liberal education or western pattern and (ii) loyalty to the British empire. He was a significant leader of Modern Muslim Political Thought. Muhammad Iqbal was born on February 22, 1873 at Sialkot in Punjab. He was a poet, religious philosopher and a political ideologist. Iqbal was deeply influenced by the ideals of Jalal-ud-din Rumi. As a religious philosopher, he attempted a reconstruction of Muslim religious thought. He attempted to achieve harmony between dominant trends of Islamic theology and jurisprudence and the phenomenal advances of human thought in the last several centuries. Muhammad Ali Jinnah known to be the prime builder of Pakistan was born on October 20, 1875 at Karachi. Jinnah had won great game as a subtle lawyer and had acquired a great practice in legal profession. He was a hope for Hindu-Muslim unity. Abul Kalam Azad represented a synthesis of East and West. He combined religion with reason. He was born in 1888, and was not hostile to the British rule before 1905. His earlier political attitude was sharpened by his understanding of Islam. He regarded that it is only through the guidance of Islam that solutions to all problems could be sought. In Islam, according to Azad, religion and politics are obverse and reverse of same coin.

The political thought of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Mohammad Iqbal, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad focussed on the issues relating to the relationships between Islam and Western political concepts i.e. democracy, nationalism and nationality, relationship between Islam and Hinduism, between Hindus and Muslims and attitude towards British. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan's political thoughts can be divided into two phases—first upto 1887 and second after 1887. The first phase he stood for Hindu-Muslim unity, but in second phase he changed his views. He became suspicious of the Indian National Congress and advised the members of his community to keep aloof from it. He did not believe in popular Government, he felt that the advance of popular Government would result in shifting and even suppressing of interests of Muslims. His opposition to democracy was a dread of the numerically overwhelming, large Hindu community. Mohammad Iqbal attempted to provide a systematic basis for

the political ideas of Indian Muslims. He provided a critique of the political ideas. Iqbal's vision of society. State and politics was based on his view of Islam. According to him, the ideal society on earth will be established by the Muslim-chosen people of God, the deputies of God in the East. Iqbal was inspired by the concept of spiritual freedom. He accepted that the nature of reality is spiritual eternal purposive creativity. He believed in the full development of individual or Khudi. He adhered to the Koranic concept of the irreplaceable singleness of individuality of the finite ego. Jinnah's political thoughts were determined by his practical politics. He was a politician, as a political figure he was the product of the contradictions and confusions of Indian nationalism. His views on religion and politics were coloured by his liberalism. Initially he believed that India was a single nation, but after Nehru and Simon Commission report, he became an ardent supporter of the two-nation theory—Abul Kalam Azad believed that Indian nationalism was secular and was a product of the Hindu-Muslim cultures. He stood for synthesis of West and East and supported Western concept of democracy which was not against Islam.

Q. 6. Examine Gandhi's critique of modern civilization.

Ans. Gandhi severely criticized modern civilization. According to him, modern civilization was hindrance rather than a help to the needs of the human soul and the carving for a better life. It was not just the moral inadequacy and extravagant pretensions of modern civilization, but its treacherously deceptive, hypnotic and self-destructive tendency that was the theme of his thought. He compares the civilization to sick person yearning to be healed by some miracle and seizing feverishly upon every first panacea. Gandhi has linked the whole modern system to the Upas tree. Its branches are represented by parasitical professions including those of law and medicine, and over the trunk has been raised the axe of true religion. Immorality is the root of the tree. The possessive appetite enslaves the self, mechanization of life will gradually destroy human life. In his view modern civilization was grounded in a totally flawed theory of man—unlike ancient civilization which was soul or spirit-centred, the modern was body-centred and in that sense 'materialistic'. This view of man regarded two basic instincts as natural and legitimate, namely 'selfishness' and an 'infinite multiplicity of laws'. A civilization based on such a flawed view necessarily suffered from several basic and interrelated limitations.

Mahatma Gandhi was an inspired teacher and prophet. He had achieved a calmness of spirit and an integration of personality which are reserved for the chosen few. There was a mighty spiritual unity running throughout his life which was full of diverse and multi-dimensional activities. Mahatma Gandhi strongly opposed Curzon's civilisation justification of British colonialism as well as his thought that India's Swaraj would come either from British or through violence. His conception of true Swaraj and true civilisation, he clarified, was deprived, not from the works of modernist thinkers such as Spencer, Mill or Adam Smith, but from the perennial wisdom of Indian thought. From traditional Indian thought Gandhi drew the cognitive evaluative principles of *Satya* and *Ahimsa*, which according to him should inform our political, economic, scientific and technological activities. According to him, when our conducts are guided by 'Satya' and 'Ahimsa', they become 'Dharmic' conducts, which would respect the unity of life and exclude all exploitations. Gandhi criticized modern civilization not because it was Western or scientific, but because it was materialistic and exploitative in nature. *Satyagraha* is one of the supreme contributions by Gandhi to political thought. His philosophy of *Satyagraha* is a natural outcome from the supreme concept of truth.

In modern civilization Gandhi clarified that he was never opposed to science and machinery as such. But his opposition was against the exploitation of "*the weaker races of the earth*" and the destruction of the "lower orders of creation" in the name of science and humanism. According to him, modern civilisation considers human being a purely materialistic and limitless consumer of utilities. I bring body comforts, but is not able to bring true happiness to people.

(C) SCQ: Answer the following in about 100 words each.

Q. 7. Discuss Subhash Chandra Bose's concept of Socialism.

Ans. The principles and the philosophy of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose were instrumental factors in his embracing of armed revolution in the later part of his political career. Initially Bose was a follower of the Gandhian way of freedom movement but years of travel in European countries during exile and the ripening of mental faculties with age made him disenchanted with the ways of the Indian National Congress.

Subhash Chandra's hatred for the British ran deep and he vehemently called for the immediate ouster of the colonial rulers from Indian soil. Disappointed with the leniency shown by some Congress leaders towards the

British, Bose became increasingly convinced that the goal of achieving freedom would remain a pipedream as long as the British held sway over the land and peaceful protests would never be able to throw the British out.

While outlining his vision for a free India, Subhash Chandra Bose proclaimed that socialist authoritarianism would be required to eradicate poverty and social inequalities from a diverse country like India. He openly espoused for an authoritarian state on the lines of Soviet Russia and Kemal Atatürk's Turkey. Bose was also an exponent of socialism and opined that industrialization and Soviet-style five-year plans held the key to a vibrant Indian nation.

One of the greatest revolutionary of all times, Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose was an ardent follower of Socialism, who firmly asserted that he had no doubt in his own mind that the salvation of India, as of the world, depended on Socialism. He further said—'India should learn from and profit by the experience of other nations—but India should be able to evolve her own methods'. His idea of Socialism was thus something unique in character, as he was the first to emphasize that India should evolve her own methods to establish socialism in India in Indian way and under Indian conditions. If we try to build it up by following the model of any particular country, he asserted, we will invariably fail to get the desired results.

Bose further clarified his point and said – 'In applying any theory to practice, you can never rule out geography or history. If you attempt it, you are bound to fail. India should, therefore, evolve her own form of socialism. When the world is engaged in socialistic experiments, why should we not do the same? It may be that the form of socialism which India will evolve will have something new and original about it which will be of benefit to the whole world.' [Presidential address at the Calcutta session of the All India Trade Union Congress held on 4th July, 1931] Indian youth today can be the prime-mover in this respect who can ultimately fulfil the dream of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

His call for establishment of Socialism in India may still guide the youth today for their future mission of life. Swami Vivekananda told – 'Manmaking is my mission.' So also Subhas said, a free India – a Socialist India is my mission. Youth today can derive their inspiration from both. Subhash Chandra's concept of Socialism – his philosophy of Socialism is based on five Principles – Justice, Equality, Freedom, Discipline and Love. Youth today may derive solace, inspiration and guidelines for their life.

Subhash Chandra himself explained this basis of his philosophy of socialism. He said, 'I am led to the conclusion that the five principles that should form the basis of our collected life are Justice, Equality, Freedom, Discipline and Love. I should go further and say that these five principles constitute the essence of Socialism that I would like to see established in India.' [Presidential address at the UP Naujawan Bharat Sabha held at Mathura on 26 May 1931.] These five principles may help the youth today to have a better understanding of the problems confronting them and a guideline, too, to improve their collected life.

Q. 8. Marxists thought in pre-independence India.

Ans. Marxist movement in India generated certain important parties which played an important role during freedom movement and even after Independence. The main Communist parties are CPI, CPI(M) and CPI(ML). There are certain unique features of Marxist thinking in India which separates it from those of latest. Communists in India have always busy in trying to look for answers to problems regarding Marxist framework. That's why they did not have little time to do philosophical thinking. But in India all Marxist agreed on the point that India experienced capitalism under colonial rule. British rule brought certain radical transformation in the Indian society. It destroyed certain social institutions like the village community which had become an obstacle to social progress. However, these Marxists differed on the views regarding the character of Indian Independence. This even turned into a split in Indian Communist thinking. They also hold their view regarding foreign policy of India, but on the issue of caste system, their perception had a historical dimension. On the plane of mobilisation, CPI and CPI(M) have adopted a single strategy whereas the CPI(ML) has a confused opinion. In a complex caste ridden society, a strategy of class politics seems not to be an easy task.

Indian Marxist thinking borrowed its intellectual tradition from West. They have different views on the periodization of Indian history, but they agree to a point that there never existed a stage of slavery in India. They believe that colonial capitalism created problems for Indian progress. Colonial policy affected the artisan community. They were reduced to the position of paupers by the deindustrialisation.

Policy of colonial rule. Communists hold three different opinions on the issue of independence. Some declared Indian independence as fake, they called it to be turned into a neo-colony of British and American Imperialism. Other had views that India has acquired true independence and is completely free from imperialist world. The third group stays between first and second believing in the independence of India, but accepting the threat from imperialism which cannot be wasted away. Indian Communists have an instrumental approach to the question of the State, that State is an instrument of the ruling classes and it works in safeguarding and furthering their interests. Regarding India's foreign policy both CPI and CPI(M) supported the non-alignment policy given by Nehru. They were of opinion that India after independence take an independent path in international politics that would help them to protect national interest in a better manner. They however supported to gain economic support from Soviet Union and America both. On caste politics they said that caste politics is a part of the ruling class politics. Caste legitimacy allows upper castes to oppress the lower castes. All the Communists of India supports the freedom of nationalities. While the CPI and CPI(M) are not opposed to the parliamentary method of political mobilisation, the CPI(M) has been taking a confused stand on the strategy of mobilisation.

Communists in India have always been busy in trying to look for answers to problems in a Marxist framework. They have had very little time to do philosophical thinking. Their concern has been basically in the application of historical materialism to Indian situations. Most Indian Marxists have a dialogue with Marx's own writings on Indian society. In constructing Indian history, Marx has made two important points:

Firstly, Indian society before the British rule was a stagnant society. Village community and caste society created a social framework for making Indian economy a unchanging economy.

Secondly, British rule was a blessing in disguise which helped in destroying this aspect of Indian society and created circumstances for regeneration. Marx's own statement is "The historic pages of their rule in India report hardly anything beyond that destruction. The work of regeneration hardly transpires through a heap of ruins. Nevertheless, it has begun."

The British rule cannot stop the changes introduced by it. Changes would bring national unity. Moreover, introduction of freedom of press and English education have brought about radical change in Indian society. An educated class with new ideas would be playing an important role in the political transformation of a society.

Marxist have a historical scheme for understanding any history. There are certain stages in history like primitive communism, slavery, feudalism and capitalism. Historical development of each society experiences these stages. Some of the prominent communists themselves applied the historical scheme in a mechanical manners. But most of the Indian communists reject this point and try to understand Indian history in a creative manner. All of them agree to point that Indian history does not have a stage of slavery. Primitive tribal society gets transformed into a caste society without experiencing the stage of slavery. Indian feudalism integrated caste system into it. It has similarities with European feudalism because it does not have serfdom which is an integral part of European feudalism.