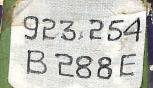# EMINENT THINKERS IN INDIA & PAKISTAN

Political Ideas of

Kautilya, M. K. Gandhi,
Subhas Chandra Bose,
Jaya Prakash Narayan,
Mohammed Iqbal, M. N. Roy
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B. P. BARUA

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EMINENT THINKERS
IN
INDIA AND PAKISTAN

B.P. Barua
Professor of Political Science
University of Chittagong
Chittagong
Bangladesh

Lancers Books

To

MANISHA, Shantanu and Balaka

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PREFACE

This book is a critical examination of some important social and political ideas as expounded by eminent Indian and Pakistani thinkers: Kautilya, Gandhi, Roy, Bose, JP, Iqbal and Maududi. Although there is no dearth of literature especially on Kautilya and Gandhi other thinkers have not received adequate attention from scholars. The book is an attempt to fill this gap. The problem of selecting major thinkers for a book of this kind is not without its difficulties. Here we have seven different philosophies, even though there are elements common to several of them. But one outstanding fact remains: all of them did not favour the adaptation of Western social and political ideas rather as an alternative they sought to develop indigenous theories within their social, religious, historical, and political context.

I have freely drawn upon the material presented in my earlier book *Politics and Constitution-Making in India and Pakistan*. Some of the essays included in the present book were published in the learned journals during the past years. I am grateful to the editors for their kind permission to reprint articles published in those journals, although they have been substantially revised and extended to update the contents.

I wish to thank Mr Renu Sen for neatly typing the manuscript. My wife, Manisha, contributed significantly to all the stages of this work.

KAUTILYA

Kautilya was the famous Brahmin Prime Minister of Chandragupta, the founder of the great Maurya dynasty, who reigned from 321 to 296 B.C. He was also known as Vishnugupta and Chanakya. Little is known about the ancestry or antecedents of Kautilya. He lived and wrote his famous work, *Arthasastra*, sometime during the reign of Chandragupta. But controversy over the authorship and the date of its composition still persists. Virtually ignored for over two thousand years, the work was rediscovered in 1909 and has since been regarded as a classic. Kautilya was not only a great scholar but also an intensely practical thinker who with his deep political insight and wisdom played a dominating role in the establishment, growth and preservation of the Maurya empire. Chandragupta's empire covered the whole of India (except South India) from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and extended to Kabul. For the first time in recorded history a vast centralised state had risen in India. The city of Pataliputra was the capital of that vast empire.

Kautilya was the first and greatest among the *Arthasastra* thinkers. His book was not only a summary of the older literature on the subject but also a virtual reconstruction of the science of polity. His *Arthasastra* reflects the

social and political forces which were at work in India during the 4th century B.C. The work has helped to emphasize the need for establishing a strong centralised government which was unknown before him.

Kautilya flourished over eighteen centuries before Machiavelli's (1469-1527) birth. He was not only a precursor of Machiavelli but also of the writers of later political handbooks in the Western world. Like a policy scientist, Kautilya laid down policies aimed at welding together into a more or less unified pattern and under the control - direct or indirect- of a single authority, the multiplicity of states that crowded the stage of Indian history at that time. Machiavelli's position, similar to Kautilya's one, is thus like that of the physician, the end of whose profession is the health of patients. Both devoted their whole attention to working out experimentally certain rules or prescriptions for the acquisition or for the maintenance of health. They tended to assume that the end was the possession of power. They did not concern themselves very much with what the power was to be used for but concentrated their attention on the discovery of steps by which power could be seized and retained and strengthened. Kautilya, like Machiavelli, was not a philosopher in the strict sense of the word. He was rather a man of affairs, a pragmatist who found in a multitude of other interests, to write down his impressions of the world and of man. Both men were essentially diplomats and administrators and not speculative theorists, craftsmen of politics and not philosophers. Both the *Arthasastra* and Machiavelli's famous books, *The Prince, Discourses* and the *Art of War*, consisted mainly of technical rules and counsels and were addressed particularly to the statesmen and administrators.

But there are some remarkable contrasts between Kautilya and Machiavelli. The detailed account of organisation and working of the government and administration which occupy such a prominent place in Kautilya's work is missing

in Machiavelli. Machiavelli was an ardent nationalist and an impassioned patriot who desired the unification of Italy and her preservation from internal disorders and foreign invaders. The aim of Kautilya, by contrast, was much more limited and selfish because his main concern was the security and stability of the king's rule inside the kingdom and the king's acquisition of dominion over his neighbours.

Kautilya is renowned, not only as a king-maker, but also for being the greatest Indian exponent of the art of government, the duties of kings, ministers, and officials, and the methods of diplomacy.[1] He gave a new orientation to political theory and practice with emphasis on the practical government administration more fully than on theorizing about the fundamental principles of administration or of political science. The exaltation of royal power in the legislative sphere and the elaboration of complex bureaucracy in the executive sphere were certainly new to Indian polity. The *Arthasastra* (literally, Science of Profit or material gain) deals mainly with *dandaniti* or politics and covers almost every aspect of the theory and practice of government. Kautilya proclaimed that politics was the supreme science and supreme art.[2] Among other matters discussed in the book are secret service, trade and commerce, law and law courts, municipal government, social customs, marriage and divorce, rights of women, taxation and revenue, agriculture, the working of mines and factories, artisans, markets, ships and navigation, slaughter houses, prostitutes, passports and jails.

ELEMENTS OF STATE

Although monarchy was the prevalent form of government in ancient India, the sovereign power was never concentrated in the person or the office of the monarch alone. The state or sovereignty was regarded as an organic whole made up of seven elements which are called the 'limbs' of

the body polity - the monarch being just one of those elements. The other elements are; the ministers, the country, the fort, the treasury, the army, and the enemy.³ The state can function effectively only if these constituents remain properly integrated withoen another. Modern political theorists mention territory, population, government and sovereignty as together constituting the state. Thus, Kautilya was the first among ancient Indian writers to advance the thoery of the seven constituents of the state. But he often used 'state' and 'king' interchangeably. His definition of sovereignty remains vague.

THEORY OF GOVERNMENT

Kautilya was one of the earliest Indian exponents of the social contract theory although the conception of contract goes no further than the creation of a reciprocal obligation of taxation and protection between the ruler and his subjects. The relation between king and subject is paternalistic and opposition to the king is seditious. He advocated kingship deriving its power from divine source and service of his people as his primary concern. The kingship is hereditary and the eldest son ascends the throne. The king is the keystone of the political arch. Comprehensive qualifications are needed for the king's office; these comprise the qualities of intellect, character, godly and virtuous, of noble birth and training as well as possession of sound principles and policies of government. Kautilya laid down comprehensive scheme of education of the princes extending from the primary to the advanced stage. The curriculum of the princes' studies comprises not only writing and arithmetic and the four traditional sciences, namely, philosophy, religion, economics and politics but also the military science as well as the traditional history. Education, austere virtue and self-discipline of the king, he urged, are the first requisites of a successful government.

Despite the pre-eminent position of the king in the whole administrative set-up, it was nevertheless envisaged that 'sovereignty [*rajatva*] is possible only with assistance. A single wheel can never move. Hence he [the king] shall employ ministers and hear their opinion![4]

The Maurya king was not constrained to limit his council of ministers to any particular number of members. The council, headed by the prime minister, should consist of as many members as the needs of his dominion required. The ministers should be of noble birth and possess wisdom, courage and loyalty and not mere administrative ability. The council was avowedly advisory. However, the king was recommended to be content with advice of not more than four ministers to arrive at satisfactory results on complicated issues.[5] The final decision rested with the king alone. The council was generally presided over by the king. It discussed matters of war and peace, defence and alliance, finance and pensions and all other important issues. The great Mughal emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century who probably had never heard of Kautilya or his treatise, acted on the principles laid down in that work so far as his relations with his ministers were concerned.

Inpartial justice was recognised to be in cornerstone of sound government. The judicial administration was headed by the chief judge. Above him stood the king assisted by his ministers and lawyers. The king was the fountain of justice. There were two types of courts to deal with civil and criminal cases. Below them came village tribunals. There were four kinds of law; *dharma* (sacred iaw), *vyavahara* (evidence), *charitra* (history) and *rajasasana* (edicts of kings).In case of conflicts between the first two or between evidence and sacred law, the sacred law will prevail. But if there is disagreement between sacred law and king's law, then the sacred law will give away to king's law. This shows the overriding influence of the king in judicial matters.[6]

BUREAUCRACY AND THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Kautilya felt the need for a highly well-organised bureaucracy in order to run a vast centralised state. Bureaucracy is justified by the impossibility of one-man rule and increasing number of government functions. All administrative acts relating to the kingdom particularly the rural areas depend upon the officials: such are the acts of ensuring its security and welfare against its internal and external enemies, remedying its calamities, colonisation and improvement of its waste lands, and benefiting it through the collection of taxes and fines. The *Arthasastra* describes in much detail the duties of the heads of the numerous departments in the administration of a properly regulated state. The book refers to about thirty departments, such as accounts, agriculture markets, commerce, gold, store-house, forest, armoury, tolls, weaving, liquor, slaughter house prostitutes and ships. The heads of departments are called *adhyaksahs* (superintendents). There are also posts of collector-general for the collection of revenue. Besides these, there are commander-in-chief and superintendents of infantry, chariots, cavalry and elephants. The observers will be surprised to learn of the existence at such an early date of a government so thoroughly organised which anticipated in many respects the institution of modern times.

The officials should possess not only virtues of course, integrity and loyalty but also the technical qualifications for the posts. These qualifications, again, must be tested in view of the complex nature of government work by a process of constant observations and inference. This is founded upon two arguments: that human nature is fickle and that power breeds corruption. The two vital portfolios of the central government, namely, the revenue and the army should be kept under king's control because of the author's conviction that the grave danger might arise from disaffection of the innermost circle of the king's ministers. The army

should be placed under a divided command so as break its homogeneity and ensure guarantee against treachery.

SECRET SERVICE SYSTEM

The elaborate and rigorous intelligence system was one of the distinguishing features of the *Arthasastra*. The control over the ministers, officials and citizens is to be achieved by a large establishment of spies and scret agents of all kinds. They are also sent secretly to enemy's country. The spies may be recruited from different walks of life and may be of either sex. Brahmins, merchants, barbers, ascetics, astrologers, prostitutes and peasants all may be enrolled as secret agents to test the loyalty of public officials to gather information, to undertake secret missions abroad as an important agent of diplomacy to prevent crime and sedition, to ascertain public opinion and to ensure the popularity of the regime by countering and praising the king. Kautilya refers to spies throughout his treatise. The king is advised in detail how his secret agents may remove his powerful enemies within the kingdom and outside by intrigue, dissension and assassination. Personal safety was a constant preoccupation of the king in ancient India. So one of the spy's chief duties was protecting the king's power. The probable reasons for this terrible system of espionage were the presence of the numerous adherents of the old royal houses of the Nandas in Magadha and the sympathizers of the Macedonians in the North-Western parts of the country.[7] The ancient Indian spy system is comparable to the intelligence branches or detective wings attached to the Police Department of modern states as well as the international spy system such as the CIA and the KGB.

POLICY OF ACQUISITION AND PRESERVATION OF DOMINION

The *Arthasastra* treats of the means of acquiring and

maintaining dominion. The author describes in detail the five-fold means of achieving this objective. These are *sama* (conciliation), *dana* (gift), *bheda* (dissension), *maya* and *indrajala* (deceit and pretense), and *danda* (force). The king should win over the dis-affected group of the enemy's subjects through conciliation, gift and bribery. He could undertake certain 'tactical' maneuverings to subdue the enemy through deceit and pretense, while the contented group should be won over through intrigues, dissension and force. Force is the last resort, after having tried to a win over the enemy by sweet words and gifts or weakening him by having agents sown dissension and discord in his camp. Force is to be avoided when possible, not because it is normally dubious, but because it involves expense and risk, and one's object may more easily be obtained through conciliation and the like. In the very moment of his victory, so the story goes, Kautilya induced Chandragupta to be generous to his rival chief. Success should not result in the bitterness of defeat and humiliation, but in reconciliation and in laying the firm and enduring foundations of a state, which had not only defeated but won over its chief enemy. Unscrupulous and rigid as Kautilya was in his aim he himself is said to have handed over the insignia of his own high office to the minister of that rival, whose intelligence and loyalty to his old chief and impressed him greatly.[8] After conquering a nation the king must consolidate his position by cultivating the loyalty of the defeated people. For the skillful employment of these various means in practice the king requires the services of the 'official' level *duta* (envoy) and 'non-official' level *chara* (spy).[9] We have already discussed the role of spies in this respect. Here we shall look at the envoys only. Kautilya mentions three types of envoys: (1) *nisrishtarthah* (charged affaires), possessing ministerial qualifications; (2) *parimitarthah,* entrusted with a definite mission; and (3) *sasanaharah,* conveyer of royal writs.[10]

Transmission of missions, maintenance of treaties, issue of ultimatums, gaining of friends, intrigue, sowing dissension among friends, fetching secret force, gathering information about the movement of spies, breaking of treaties of peace, winning over the favour of the envoys and government officers of the enemy - these are the duties of an envoy.[11] All these function of an envoy may sound extraordinary in modern times, nevertheless, some are still in vogue. Kautilya laid down extensive body of rules relating to the preservation of the dominion through the policy of security of the king and the commodity, colonisation of the rural and urban areas, financial policy during emergency and the policy of inter-state relations.

DIPLOMATIC POLICY AND TACTICS

The policy of inter-state relations constitutes the most significant contribution on the subject made by Kautilya. Almost half of the *Arthasastra* is devoted to diplomatic policy and tactics. The fundamental objective of foreign policy is the attainment of progress, power and success. Thus, Kautilya formulates six-fold policy: *sandhi* (peace), *vigraha* (war), *asana* (neutrality), *yana* (march of attack), *samsraya* (alliance) and *dvaidhibhava* (double policy).

... agreement with pledge is peace; offensive operation is war; indifference is neutrality; making preparations is marching; seeking the protection of another is alliance; and making peace with one and waging war with another, is termed a double policy.....[12]

When the king (the would-be conquerer) is weaker than the other (i.e. his immediate neighbour, the enemy), he should make peace with him. Whenever a king is superior in power, he shall wage war. When he thinks: 'No enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy', he should observe neutrality. When he possesses the necessary means he should attack. When he is devoid of strength

to defend himself he should seek the protection of another. When the end can be achieved only through the help of an ally, he should practice duplicity i.e. make peace with one and wage war with another.[13]

The selection of the particular type of policy should be made so as to achieve the desired ends of the king. Expediency forms the keynote of Kautilya's rules concerning foreign relations and in his nice balancing of policy with the circumstances of states he makes a fine art of politics.

Closely related to the six-fold inter-state policy is the theory of *mandala* (circle of states) or the balance of power. The state is naturally surrounded by several circles of other states, each standing in different relationship to the central one. Some are allies, others enemies, others again are neutral. There are in all four circles of states, namely, those of the conquerer, the enemy, the middle and the neutral.[14] The normal state of affairs is seen as a balance of power among the various states, but a successful ruler is always required to remain on his guard, tactfully watching the situation and whenever opportunity offers itself he is to take the full advantage of it. This sort of diplomacy is applicable even in the contemporary world politics when each of the two super-powers is seeking to strengthen its position by enticing as many states as possible within its own sphere of influence. By deliberate policies, often of a Machiavellian character, the king of the centre who is ambitious, sets out of enlarge his kingdom.

The six-fold inter-state policy and that of the theory of the circle of states, as formulated by Kautilya, may appear rather dectrinaire, but they clearly involve certain principles which must have been derived from practical political experience. In this respect, there is a remarkable resemblance between Kautilya and Machiavelli. This game of diplomacy had made both men favourite writers from their own days to the present.

POLITICS AND ETHICS

We find in Kautilya's statecraft a curious combination of high ethical principles with treachery, cunning and calculated ruthlessness. On the one hand, he shared the old belief in the influence of supernatural forces and of prayers, charms and spells upon politics. In the official hierarchy the royal chaplain, the sacrificial priest and the teacher occupy the first rank along with the Crown Prince, the Queen Mother, the Chief Queen and the Chief Minister. Kautilya constantly counsels the king to observe the social distinctions as well as the traditional canons of morality. He urges that 'Harmlessness, truthfulness, purity, freedom from spite, abstinence from cruelty, and forgiveness are duties common to all.'[15] Thus he was aware of the instrumental value of religious rites and ethical norms in preserving the social structure. On the other hand, he sacrificed morality and religion to interests of the state. This was demonstrated in his policy towards the enemies inside and enemies outside the kingdom.[16] Idealism was subordinated to a philosophy of power politics and materialism.

ECONOMIC POLICY AND WELFARE STATE

Kautilya considered the safety, stability and unity of the state to be depended on adequate revenue. He devised and justified means for augmenting the wealth of the state, including state ownership of gambling houses and bordellos, and state control of the sale of liquor. Income was derived from government owned mines, from excise taxes, tolls for transportation facilities, fees for use of land, import duties, sales and excess property taxes, compulsory contributions from the people, and income taxes from certain professional groups (artists, seers, prostitutes). Taxation should be based on net profits instead of gross earnings, and an article should be taxed only once. Remission of taxes is recommended for a number of socially desirable utilities.[17]

Kautilya outlines a programme of industrial and commercial development and regulation. Provision is made for emergency periods. Kautilya argued the need for a reserve stock of all essential commodities, and during the period of crisis the state could appropriate private food stocks. He made provision for subsistence to poor, pregnant women and to their new-born children. Pensions were prescribed for the aged and the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless, and the orphans.[18] As the *Arthasastra* puts it:

In the happiness of his [king's] subjects lies his happiness; in thier welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good.[19]

The degree of government control anticipates that of the modern welfare state. A scheme of public works projects and famine relief programmes were designed to provide employment for the needy. The king must guard his subjects against various types of calamities.[20]

INFLUENCE OF KAUTILYA

The influence of Kautilya upon later political thinkers was far-reaching. Some ancient Indian thinkers such as Kamandouka, Vatsayana and Kalidasa were influenced by Kautilya's methods.[21] Kautilya laid the foundation for Machivelli and Marx and those later theorists who reduced politics to the study of power politics and their control. He founded a tradition of statecraft based upon unscrupulous cunning, deceit, ruthlessness, lying, faithlessness and dishonesty and which although condemned by some was adopted by many later thinkers. According to Modelski, 'The *Arthasastra* remained suitable for use in instruction centuries after the death of its author.'[22]

In his theory of the seven constituent elements of the state, Kautilya was looking forward to the concept of sovereignty and to national territorial state. Modern states do

behave towards each other very much in the ways in which Kautilya describes. Modern governments use methods which were familiar during Kautilya's days, such as collecting biographical details on citizens, general supervision of many activities, espionage and secret diplomacy. But whether all those were really practised or merely the advice given by Kautilya as ideal are uncertain. His impact on the Indian Constitution was significant. Some have found the traces of the *Arthasatra* in the Directive Principles of State Policy.[23]

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M.K. GANDHI

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), the greatest Indian of modern times and 'Father of the Nation', was more a man of action and a practical philosopher than a theorist. He was labelled as a conservative, a saint, a philosophical anarchist, a socialist and a capitalist. Each school of political camp can claim Gandhi as its Patron. But he belongs to none of them. Although Gandhi wrote only a few books, an enormous collection of articles, phamplets and speeches on a great variety of subjects could be ascribed to him.

Gandhi was born in Porbandar, Gujarat, in 1869. He came from a family which was strongly influenced by religious environment. From his pious mother Putlibai he imbibed the *bhakti* (devotional spirit) of Vaishnavite Hinduism. His family has close connections with the Jains in whose religion, *ahimsa* (non-violence) and ascetic self-discipline were articles of faith, which Gandhi practised later in his political life. Unlike many other leaders of the new India, Gandhi was not a Brahmin. He was a member of the Vaishya caste, popularly known as *Baniya*, who were originally merchants. Gandhi's father Karamchand, and grandfather Uttamchand had served as chief ministers to several small princely states. Gandhi went to London to study law at 18 and qualified as a barrister-at-law. While in London he ab-

sorbed the liberal and Christian ideas. There was the impact
of the writings of four Western thinkers whom Gandhi recog-
nised as having greatly influenced his thought: Kropotkin,
Tolstoy, Thoreau and Ruskin. Kropotkin's essays had sown
in his mind the seed of pacifist anarchism. Tolstoy's *The
Kingdom of God is Within You* urged him not to co-operate
with evil and violence and overwhelmed him with its mes-
sage of Christian Pacifism. Thoreau's experiments with civil
disobedience attracted him and confirmed his view that an
honest man is duty-bound to violate unjust laws. John Ruskin's
Unto This Last had imbibed in him the spirit of *sarvodaya*
(uplift of all), the significance of manual labour, the politics
of co-operation and of humanity. His *sarvodaya* is also
comparable to the English idealist T.H. Green's concept of
the 'common good' and his emphasis on duties rather than
rights is reminiscent of Bradley's 'My Station and Its Duties.'
His studies of the Sermon on the Mount and the *Gita* led him
to the service of one's fellowmen and the best method of
righting wrongs was to protest non-violently and to suffer
lovingly rather than to submit to injustice.[1] Gandhi also read
the Quran in English translation which taught him the signifi-
cance of Islam and of submission to God.

After two years of unsuccessful law practice in India,
Gandhi was invited to South Africa to become a legal ad-
viser to an Indian firm. His stay in South Africa, far from the
restrictions of caste and custom-conscious India, gave him
a unique opportunity to work out his fundamental ideas on
man and on state, and society.

SATYAGRAHA

Joan V. Bondurant in his *Conquest of Violence: Gandhian
Philosophy of Conflict* indicates that *satyagraha*, a new in-
strument of fundamental social and political change, pro-
vides the key to understanding of Gandhi's political
philosophy.[2] *Satyagraha* (literally, truth-insistence) is a word

coined during the resistance movement for the fair treatment of the Indian community in South Africa in 1906. Gandhi himself defined the word *satyagraha* as the 'Soulforce' or 'Force which is born out of Truth and Love or nonviolence'.[3] Besides *satyagraha*, he also fashioned and developed important concepts, namely, *satya* (truth), *ahimsa, sarvodaya, swaraj* (self-rule) and *swadeshi* (self-reliance).[4] There were series of *satyagraha* movement launched by Gandhi in India from 1917 until his death in 1948. He was a towering figure in India's national movement for 25 years. With the death of Tilak in 1920, he became the unchallenged leader of the Congress, the country's premier political organisation. Under his leadership the Congress was transformed from a debating society of Westernised lawyer-politicians into a broad-based mass party extending to village level with hundreds of thousands of active members and sympathisers. In three major *satyagraha* campaigns spanning over ten years, he demonstrated his skills as a mediator and mobiliser. He was responsible for creating a sense of Indian identity which transcended barriers of religion, caste, region and language. Hugh Tinker has summed up that the essence of Gandhi's political creed lay in 'compromise: conciliation: co-operation.'[5] He is venerated by the masses as a Mahatma (great soul). The Gandhian role of compromise, conciliation and co-operation was amply demonstrated in the reconciliation between Hindus and Muslims, advocation of Hindustani as the lingua franca of India written in the Nagari or the Urdu script and in calling for recognition and friendship for Pakistan.[6]

SAINTLY POLITICS

Gandhi was no systematic philosopher and did not produce a doctrime which can be designated 'Gandhism'. Nevertheless, 'the pursuit of truth was the main element of consistency in his thinking'. This theme runs through his

Autobiography, sub-titled, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*,[7] his speeches, pamphlets, articles and discourses at prayer meetings. Some characterise Gandhi as a saintly politician while others as a political saint. Gandhi, however, resolved this conflict by remarking that: 'Men say I am a saint losing myself in politics. The fact is I am a politician trying my hardest to be a saint.'[8] This aspect of Gandhi's philosophy has been termed as 'this-worldly asceticism' which was particularly reflected in his disposition to work, save and rationally allocate time and resources.[9] To him, means and ends are inseparable. Ends never justify means, that wrong methods corrupt those who adopt them, while right methods acutally achieve right ends by their operation. Gandhi's whole career was a protest against this double morality. Truth, charity and love are considered virtues not only in the domestic and social spheres but in politics as well.

CONCEPT OF POWER

Although Gandhi was a central figure in India's struggle for independence, he was apathetic to normal end of politics, that is power. He did not seek to realise any ideological programme through political party or political institutions. He attempted to work through his close disciples and through the Indian masses as his ultimate followers, with virtually no fixed organisation. In December 1947, Gandhi admitted:

> Today, everybody in the Congress is running after power ..... Such is our bankruptcy ..... The objective of the constructive work organisation is to generate politicalpower. But if we may say that political power, having come, it must be ours as a prize for our labours, it would degrade us and spell our ruin.[10]

Gandhi even suggested that the Congress Party should

withdraw from the field of normal politics and turn itself to what he called a Lok Sevak Sangh, a social service organisation based on a nation-wide network of *panchayats* (council of five members). Despite Gandhi's calling the Congress has not ceased to be a political party and even before his death, almost all of his disciples had been lured by the loaves and fishes of offices and jobs.

THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL

True to the Indian ideological tradition as well as in agreement with Western anarchists like Kropotki and Tolstoy, Gandhi argued that the state represented the greatest obstacle to our realisation of both individual freedom and social harmony.

> The State represents violence in a concentrated form. The individual has a soul, but as the State is a soulless machine, it can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence.[11]

In Gandhi's ideal society political power does not exist because there is no state. So in place of violence and political power the sphere of individual freedom and voluntary action is to be increased by decentralising the state's authority. Gandhi views with the greatest fear the increasing centralisation of power in most states because this causes the greatest harm to mankind by destroying individuality which lies at the root of all progress. The essence of Gandhi's philosophy is individual. He believed that the *raison d'etre* of the state lies in the fulfilment of the needs of its members, that 'the supreme consideration is man' and that when the state ceases to perform services for its members which fulfil their needs, then the individual has the duty to disobey and resist.[12] Gandhi saw in the highly industrialised societies the political and economic structures which seemed to take

increasingly centralised shape. Therefore, 'if India is to evolve along non-violent lines, it will have to decentralise many things', because 'centralisation as a system is inconsistent with non-violent structure of society.'[13] He advocated for free India, 'the maximum possible decentralisation of the political and economic power.'[14] These attitudes toward politics and power were in line with the thought of Indian thinkers like Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Tagore as well as western anarchist doctrine.[15]

ECONOMIC IDEAS

In general, Gandhi was against industrialisation and factory system. His principal arguments against industrialisation and mechanisation were that they brought in its train-displacement of labour and concentration of wealth. Machinery 'must not be allowed to displace necessary human labour', because it could only add to unemployment and poverty. Small-scale village industries, on the other hand, preserve 'the purity and compactness of domestic life, artistry and creative talent as well as the people's sense of freedom, ownership and dignity.'[16] Despite his distrust of the centralised and powerful state, Gandhi, unlike anarchists, was willing to accept a degree of state organisation and control. He held that 'there are certain things which cannot be done without political power', even though there are 'numerous other things which do not at all depend upon political power'.[17] As such, he did not object to the centralisation and nationalisation of heavy industries, provided they formed only a minor part of national activity.[18]

The heavy machinery for work of public utility which cannot be undertaken by human labour has its inevitable place, but all that would be owned by the state and used entirely for the benefit of the people.[19]

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Gandhi did not share his liberal predecessors' enthusiasm for parliamentary institutions. His comparison of the British Parliament to 'a sterile woman' and 'a prostitute'[20] clearly showed that India's social and political system would not be a slavish imitation of the West. Gandhi's *Hind Swaraj*, written in 1908, contained the basic ideals on which the future constitution of India would be based. His model for India was a federation of village republics, *panchayat raj*. His ideals about the future pattern of political organisation are to be found in *Gandhian Constitution for Free India*, by S.N. Agarwal, a prominent Gandhian ideologue. Gandhi declared:

> That state will be the best which is governed the least ....
> Society based on non-violence can only consist of groups
> settled in villages in which voluntary co-operation is the
> condition of dignified and peaceful existence ..... The
> nearest approach to civilisation based upon non-vio-
> lence is the erstwhile village republic of India.[21]

The village *panchayat* will be the primary political unit enjoying maximum autonomy in internal village administration. The *panchayat* is viewed as representing a self-sufficient village community at least in the basic necessities of life. Most of its activities are to be on a co-operative basis with its own school, theatre and public hall; elementary education is to be free and compulsory. Economic reconstruction will be 'from the bottom upwards' and the village unit will constitute the 'foundation of our planning.'[22] The historical pattern is to be established through linking the *taluka* (major administrative subdivision of a district), district, province and nation 'for purposes of common policy, and interests'[23] and by a system of indirect elections except at the village level. Here we find a departure from the anarchist tradition.

All the adult villagers will elect annually their *panchayat* and *sarpanch* or president. Great emphasis is placed on the unanimity and consensus in the choice of members or alternatively choice by lot with a view to eliminate bitterness, rivalry and faction from village life. About twenty villages will constitute a *taluka panchayat*, comprising the elected presidents of the villages. A district *panchayat* will be constituted from the presidents of the *taluka panchayats*. The presidents of the district *panchayats* will form the provincial *panchayat* which will also act as the provincial legislature. This in turn will elect a president to serve as head of provincial government. The president will be assisted by a council of ministers, selected on a non-communal and non-party basis, from outside the provincial *panchayat*.

The presidents of the provincial *panchayats* will constitute the all-India *panchayat* and will function as the central or national legislature. The council of ministers at the national level will be exactly the same as in the case of the provincial *panchayat*. The term of office of each of these bodies will ordinarily be three years. There will be a complete separation of executive and legislative functions both at the provincial and central levels. The functions of the higher bodies above the village *panchayat* will be mainly advisory and co-ordinative. Defence, planning, communications, currency, international trade and foreign affairs will be with the national *panchayat* and residuary powers will lie with the units. The national *panchayat* will be a voluntary federation of the provinces and states, with the largest measures of the local autonomy for the federating units and minimum number of state functions. In this Gandhian Constitution, the judicial system will be re-organised so as to keep it in line with the decentralised form of government. The primary and basic unit of judicial system will necessarily be the village *panchayat* which will enjoy extensive civil and criminal powers in

judicial matters, with the district courts, high courts and the supreme court to deal with the special cases.

> This village democracy [to quote Gandhi] will be based on individual freedom and will be able to defy the might of a world because both the individual and the village will be ruled by the law of non-violence.[24]

Some critics have dismissed this 'perfect democracy' as utopian. The *panchayat raj*, as envisaged by Gandhi, was very different from the traditional village *panchayat*. He seized upon *panchayat raj* from the institutions of his society to indicate a type of political organisation of his conception. But many aspects of politics were not given treatment at all, as for example, foreign affairs, role of bureaucracy and the machinary of law enforcement.

It is interesting to note that both Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore had by different routes reached the same conclusion that the future of India lay in her villages. The Indian Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan was Tagore's contribution to this doctrine. Gandhi's was on a national scale. All political doctrine of Gandhi was coloured by his vision of India as an integration of rehabilitated villages. Another Indian who held similar views was C.R.Das, a prominent Congress leader from Bengal. An *Outline Scheme of Swaraj*, drafted by C.R.Das, was presented to the Congress in early 1923 and urged the creation, after independence was granted, of a highly decentralised form cf government, 'a maximum of local autonomy' and 'a minimum of control by higher centres.'[25] The basic organ of administration would be the *panchayat*, organised into village, town, district, provincial and all-India units of government.[26] According to Radhakamal Mukherjee, this Indian type of decentralised democracy would not only be 'more adaptive and life-giving than the imitation of Western political meth-

ods but will also be a distinctively Eastern contribution to the political history of man.'[27]

GANDHIAN INFLUENCE - AN ASSESSMENT

None of the above original ideas about the future pattern of political organisation in India could find favour with the large body of Westernised Indians. They came into none of the serious constitutional proposals put forward by Indians before independence. The Nehru Report of 1928 envisaged for India the British model of 'a Parliament.... and an executive responsible to that Parliament.'[28] Gandhi did not put forward his indigenous model when he himself was present at the Round Table Conference in 1931. On the other hand, his reference to *Rama Rajya* (kingdom of God), deriving as it did from the Hindu scripture, aroused the suspicion and fear of Muslims because in their estimation it would be a Hindu-dominated state with Hindu leadership. The left-wing among Congressmen led by Jawaharlal Nehru was most concerned with the reconstruction of society on a socialistic basis '.....
The future of parliamentary democracy is not that it has gone too far, but that it did not go far enough .... It did not provide for economic democracy.'[29] The Congress attitude to political organisation was expresed in a demand for a Constituent Assembly to determine the future form and structure of government (1934) and the formation of a National Planning Commission (1938) with Nehru as Chairman to co-ordinate the economic development of India. Many voices were raised against the betrayal of Gandhian ideals in the Constituent Assembly and after. It can be argued that the Westernised Indian elite had firsthand experience with the embryonic parliamentary system which had been in the process of development during the British rule especially since the introduction of the Act of 1919. In particular, the lawyers, who were always predominant in the nationalist movement, had studied and come to respect some of its

main principles. Whatever defect the system seemed to have, it had no real rivals. The Gandhians, who called for a Gandhian Constitution could not pose a serious challenge. Under the guidance of the largely Westernised elite, the constitution-makers had turned to England and the United States to furnish the experience on which they might draw. 'The reason lies; in the words of K.M. Panikar, 'in the traditional conservatism of the Indian middle classes who were unwilling to try new experiments.'[30]

Nevertheless, under increasing pressure from the Gandhian section of the Congress Party some of the Gadhian ideas were incorporated in the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution. Article 40 enjoins the State 'to organise village *panchayats* and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government'.

Since 1959, most State governments have enacted legislation to implement this provision, giving legal status to *panchayats*, and parliament has passed a series of Acts designed to promote the *panchayat* system called *panchayati raj* or the 'reign of the village councillors'. The locus of power has now moved from the landlord and the high official to the rural community. But it is also ture that the introduction of *panchayati raj* has resulted in a struggle for the loaves and fishes among the dominant agricultural castes. Hugh Tinker has, therefore, come to the conclussion that in general the *panchayat* system has shown the same discouraging refusal to 'get off the ground' as before independence.'[31] It was established in 1957 that less than 10 per cent *panchayats* were working satisfactorily. A large number of *panchayats* were torn by factions. In some States *panchayat* election had resulted in factional rivalries in about one-third of the villages in which there was a contest.[32] Granville Austin, however, has noted that the situation has since improved and in some areas *panchayats* have more than fulfilled the

expectations.[33] According to another authority, the system has marked 'a great advance in Indian government and administration' and they 'should be a world-wide example of democratic decentralisation.'[34] This, however, did not lead to the acceptance of Gandhi's belief in minimum government.

Side by side, there has been a Gandhian programme of popular participation in community building. The leading part in this process has been played by prominent disciples of Gandhi (for example, Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan) outside politics and administration. The Association of Voluntary Agencies for Rurual Development (AV-ARD) with more than fifty social-service groups, such as the Bharat Sevak Sangh, Gandhi *Ashrams* and the India Village Service, affiliated to it, are devoted to rural uplift and social service *(sarvodaya* and *bhoodan),* quite outside the power struggle.

Article 43 asks the State 'to promote cottage industries.... in rural areas.' Since 1952 the cottage industries have not received encouraging support from the Union and State governments in view of the vast programme of industrialisation and centralisation promoted by the National Planning Commission. After independence, the power of the central government, far from declining, was further reinforced. Gandhi's own close disciple, Jawaharlal Nehru, deliberately chose the path of centralisation and industrialisation. The pursuit of the material standards of the West by means of the Western techniques of industrialisation and octopus-like extension of big-business control over industry, commerce and the communications network of newspapers were the significant departures from the Gandhian ideals.[35]

Article 17 states that "untouchability" is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden.' Further Article 40 provides for the promotion of educational and economic

interests of scheduled Castes and 'other weaker sections of the people'. Gandhi called untouchables, the lower castes within the Hindu society as *Harijans* or the children of God. He disfavoured any sort of discrimination against this backward community and devoted his life to its socio-economic uplift. Although untouchability has been abolished and equal civil rights and employment have been nominally guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, most *Harijans* still are mainly agricultural labourers and village servants of low rank. The vast majority of *Harijans* still live in segregated settlements outside the villages occupied by caste Hindus in the rural areas of India. Socially and economically their conditions are not better off than those of their forefathers despite Grandhi's preaching of human equality.[36] Moreover, the post-independence years in India have witnessed intercaste violence and other discriminatory practices against the *Harijans*. These ugly happenings would have certainly offended Gandhi.

There is much truth in the observation of Frank Moraes, one of India's most penetrating political analysts. He says, 'By and large the new class has turned its back on most of Gandhi's cherished ideals. It was Mahatama who during over thirty years of undisputed leadership created the new class mainly drawn from the professional middle class. This class ironically 'jettisoned his [Gandhi's] economic and political ideas within a decade of his death.' Moraes conculdes, 'posterity will probably rate Gandhi as one of history's magnificent failures.'[37]

And yet the Gandhian ideals have not been celipsed completely. The society and politics of contemporary India bear the imprints of Gandhi in one way or another. Outside India Gandhi's ideas on civil disobedience and non-violence deeply influenced a few remarkable men, such as Martin Luther King. Another sphere in which Gandhian influence is often said to be significant is non-alignment as the

sheet-anchor of foreign policy. The membership of the non-aligned movement is on the increase and even countries belonging to the Eastern or Western blocs have joined it. Friendship for all is certainly a by-product of Mahatama's teaching of universal love, using moral force rather than the use of arms and destructive weapons to settle disputes between nations.

We may conclude in the words of Judith M.Brown, 'Men like him [Gandhi] may be done to death, but their message is not silenced in the making of this century.'[38]

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M.N. ROY

Narendra Nath Bhattacharya (1887-1954), later known as M.N. Roy, began his career as a nationalist anarchist, subsequently turned Marxist and finally ended as a radical humanist. He was a prolific writer. He wrote a significant number of books, innumerable articles and pamphlets. He founded a weekly *Independent India* (later renamed *The Radical Humanist*) and a quarterly journal, *Marxian Way* (later renamed *Humanist Way*). His writings encompassed politics and economics, philosophy and ethics, sociology and physics. His political ideas have, therefore, been pieced together from a wide range of sources. His theory has an intellectual as well as a political dimension. For what is intended in this chapter is not to cover the whole of Roy's philosophy but rather to concentrate on those of his writings which give his political ideas.

Considered broadly, Roy's life and ideas may be distin-guished under four principal headings. The first of these begins with Roy as a young terrorist and revolutionary in Bengal. It ends with Roy's conversion to Marxism in 1918. The second stage of his life and thought covers his career as a Marxist which begins in Mexico and ends in India with his imprisonment in 1931. The third phase is a period of transition which includes Roy's six years of solitary life in prison engaged in study and writing, his brief flirtation with

the Indian National Congress and his subsequent formation of the Radical Democratic Party (RDP), in opposition to the Congress. The First and the most significant phase extends from Roy's transformation of the RDP into the Radical Humanist Movement in 1948 until Roy's death in January 1954.

ROY AND MILITANT NATIONALISM IN BENGAL

Narendra Nath Battacharya was born in Arbelia in 24-Parganas, Bengal, in 1887. He was the son of Dinabandhu Bhattacharya, an orthodox Brahmin priest and a school teacher. Narendra attended school studying Sanskrit, English and Bengali. He Soon withdrew, however, to become committed to the Bengali terriorist movement. As a boy, Roy was intensely religious. He was deeply influenced by the cult of Sri Chaitanya, of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, of Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj, of Ramatirtha and Dayananda Saraswati. Another important influence which shaped Naren's early political career was Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's renowned political novel, *Anandamath* (1882): The novel which was widely read by young revolutionaries in Bengal is a powerful fusion of religious and patriotic symbolism. All these diverse influences were all part of the general Hindu revival of the later nineteenth century. They all taught renewed faith in a Hinduism, similar and equal to other faiths and also directed its followers to work constructively through devoted service.[1] Naren fell under the influence of a Bengali revolutionary leader, Jatin Mukherjee, and became one of his devoted lieutenants. The period immediately preceding World War I was one of great tumult on the Indian political scene. The Indian revolutionaries took recourse to the method of terrorism. Their idea was that the British imperialism should be terrorised into surrendering political power to the Indian people. But, for the most part, Bengal was the centre of terrorist activity. From 1906 through

1914, Naren was involved in a series of revolutionary of-
fences, the most important being the Howrah Conspiracy
Case of 1910, which led to his imprisonment for twenty
months.

In 1915 Roy managed to go to Far East and Southeast
Asian countries where he had made contacts with German
agents in search of arms for an armed insurrection in India.
He had failed in his mission and went to the United States in
1916. It was in America that he came into contact with the
American radicals as well as some of the Indian nationalists
and revolutionaries in exile and began his study of Marxist
literature. He was arrested in New York as a member of a
revolutionary conspiracy. He adopted the name of Mana-
bendra Nath Roy (M.N. Roy). Ultimately he was forced by
the U S authorities to leave that country. Thus the nationalist
phase of his career came to an end.

AS A MARXIST

The second significant period of Roy's political career
began in Mexico. It was Michael Borodin who converted
Roy into Marxism in Mexico in 1919. In Mexico Roy aban-
doned his previous position as a militant nationalist and
became a Marxist. He drew lessons from his experience
and revised his own ideas in the light of experience. His
abortive search for arms in many countries of the world had
brought him face to face with the political realities and
provided him with an international view of things. This reali-
sation of the inadequacy of the anarchist political method
which he and his group pursued prepared him for his later
transformation from a nationalist to an international commu-
nist. In Mexico, he founded the first Communist Party out-
side the Soviet Union. At the invitation of Lenin, Roy reached
Moscow in the beginning of 1920. Lenin was very much
impressed by Roy and he was made a member of the
Presidium and Executive Committee of the newly founded

Communist International (Comintern). Roy was actively associated with the formation of the Communist Party of India at Tashkent at the end of 1920. He was sent as an emissary to several European countries to preach communism. By 1927 he was sent to China as the leader of a delegation to organise and advise the Communist Party of China. North and Eudin have commented that 'Roy ranks with Lenin and Mao Tse-tung in the development of fundamental Communist policy for the underdeveloped .... areas of the globe.'[2] However, Roy gave his own interpretation of the historical process which was at variance with Lenin's views. Lenin, generally speaking was in favour of according support to revolutionary bourgeois democratic movement in the colonies. Roy, on the contrary, strssed the importance of social struggle as distinguished from national struggle, in these countries. He observed:

> Two distinct movements which grow farther apart each day are to be found in the dependent countries. One is the bourgeois democratic nationalist movement, with a programme of political independence under the bourgeois order. The other is the mass struggle of the poor and ignorant peasents and workers for their liberation from all forms of exploitation.[3]

Roy was of the view that the communists should not lend support to the bourgeois democratic movement as such but only to the revolutionary elements inside the nationalist movement. These elements, he asserted, were already gathering strength in all colonical countries and as the nationalist movement would grow in intensity the social antagonism would manifest itself more violently. The national bourgeoisie was more afraid of the growing strength of the masses than of imperialism and in the ultimate analysis it was bound to desert national struggle and compromise with imperial-

ism. Roy held that the nationalist movement of the post-war years was the outcome of the growing mass-movement for social, economic and political emancipation. Both the theses of Lenin and Roy were accepted in the Second Congress of the Comintern held in 1920.

Roy undertook a comprehensive interpretation of the modern Indian history from a Marxist standpoint in his major work of the period *India in Transition*.[4] The fundamental ideas of Roy regarding the character of the Indian national movement and the relation of class-forces involved in it are to be found in this book. The consensus of opinion at the end of World War II Congress of the Comintern had been that the communists should support the national revolutionary movement in the colonies as, objectively speaking, they represented the revolt of the masses against imperialism. In India it meant support to the Indian Congress. During the non-co-operation days this presented no difficulty but the trouble arose when the non-coperation was withdrawn after the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922. By this time Roy had acquired the role of directing the activities of the Indian communists on behalf of the Comintern. True to his stand at the Second Congress of the Comintern he interpreted the Bardoli Resolution as the betrayal of the national movement by the Indian bourgeoise. Roy became a persistent critic of Gandhian social ideology and political techniques which he called as the 'petty-bourgeois humanitarianism'[5] and the 'doctrine of stagnation and death.'[6] He regarded Gandhi 'as a religious and cultural revivalist.'[7] Instead of civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress Roy wanted 'militant action of the masses.' He started advocating the formation of a broad-based People's Party consisting of workers, peasants and lower middle class elements. Its programme was to include (a) complete independence, (b) establishment of a republican government, (c) radical agrarian reforms, and (d) advanced social legislation.[8]

DECOLONISATION THEORY

One of the fundamental and far-reaching of Roy's theories was the 'decolonisation theory'.[9] The word 'decolonisation' was first used by Nikholai Bukharin. But it was Roy who spelled out this theory at length. Stated briefly, it meant that the nationalist movement in India, like similar movements in other countries, had been a bourgeois movement and that the primary interest of the bourgeoisie was the unfettered capitalist development of the country, a process which would strengthen its class position. This being the interest of the bourgeoisic it would be quitecontent if it was offered opportunities for such development even in dependent India under the aegis of the imperialistic bourgeoisie. Beginning from World War I the British imperialism had given up the old policy of retarding the industrial growth of India and was deliberately pursuing a poliocy of economic concessions. The native bourgeoisic took the full advantage of these concessions and betrayed the national struggle. The burden of carrying on this struggle now fell upon the shoulders of those classes which could not be bought over by imperialism.

Roy termed World War II as the anti-fascist war. If the fascists suffered defeat, it would also lead to the downfall of British imperialism not only in India but also in other colonies. Roy, therefore, appealed to the Congress and the Indian people to support the Allied powers in this anti-fascist war. On the eve of Indian independence in 1947, he made a significant speech:

> The British are quitting India neither under the pressure of the Congress resolution nor for any particular goodness of heart. They simply do no longer possess the power, financial as well as military, to hold this country. Since they can no longer rule, they have no other alternative than to quit. The already shaken foundation of British Imperialism has been blasted by the war.[10]

Roy's career as an international communist ended in 1929 when he severed his connection with the comintern on account of disagreement with the theory and practice of communism. But officially he was told that he had been expelled from the comintern for his deviations. Whether Roy's expulsion from the comintern is due to his own deviations or tactical blunders or Stalin's need for a scapegoat, it was certainly not as a result of any theoretical departure from Marxism. His differences with Lenin on the colonical questions, the internal power struggle, and the rise of totalitarian state within Russia, and Stalin's doctrine of socialism in one country proclaimed in 1924 which precluded the possibility of the realisation of international communism, are some of the reasons for his disillusionment with communism.

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

Roy returned to India incognito in 1930, but was arrested by the British authorities and imprisoned for six years in connection with the Kanpur Conspiracy case. During this period of confinement he read books on natural and social sciences which found their way into his cell and left a profound effect upon his thought. His movement away from doctrinaire Marxism towards the foundations of radical humanism began in prison. Soon after his release in 1937, he pointed out the drawbacks of Marxism. He realised the need for revising 'certain fundamental conceptions of classical Materialism'. 'The modern Marxist,' Roy observes, 'cannot follow literally the line predicted by Marx... we cannot say that developments here in India must necessarily follow the same line as Marx predicted for European developments.' Marxism, Roy argues, is not a dogma, it is a 'philosophy of life'. It is 'greater than Communism; which is merely a particular 'phase of human development.' Roy's aim now is to reinterpret Marxism as a liberal, humanist

philosophy. He abandons economic determinism and his-
torical inevitability and places increased emphasis on Marx-
ian humanism and rationalism. He pleads that India needs a
'Renaissance movement,' a 'philosophical revolution.'[11] He
founded the Radical Democratic Party (RDP) in 1940, a
'party of moral men, moved by the ideal of human freedom,'
because 'ethical values are greater than economic inter-
ests.'[12]

In December 1944, he wrote and published *Constitution
of Free India: A Draft* in which he outlined the political
structure of a radical democratic state in order to avoid the
limitations of both the parliamentary and Soviet systems.
His draft was addressed to those who desired 'freedom and
progress,' and he claimed that 'a large volume of popular
opinion has been expressed in favour of the draft.'[13] A copy
of the draft was supplied to the members of the Indian
Constituent Assembly but it was totally ignored in the As-
sembly.[14] The distinguishing features of Roy's draft constitution
may be summarised as follows:

The pyramidal structure of the state will be raised on the
foundation of organised local democracies. The local de-
mocracies will provide for constant participation by the people
in the exercise of sovereign democracies. There will be a
country-wide network of people's committees comprising
members elected each year by the entire adult population of
the respective localities and the number of members who
will constitute the people's committees will be one-fiftieth of
the total number of votes in the locality. The committees
have been endowed with wide powers and can exercise
influence on similar committees for larger areas. Above
such committees there shall be Provincial People's Coun-
cils' and a central legislature consisting of the Federal As-
sembly and the Council of State. At the apex of the pyramid
there will be the supreme People's Council, the highest
organ of state authority, comprising the Governor-General,

the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. The proce-
dure of elections to the various tiers is given in detail in his
draft.

The general law-making powers have been vested in the
Assembly. All laws enacted by the Assembly except de-
fence, foreign affairs, currency and communications are to
be submitted for endorsement of provincial legislatures.
The Council of State will represent professional groups --
engineers, economists, medicalmen, jurists, historians, civil
servants and others engaged in the advancement of human
knowledge in philosophy and the social sciences. This Council
will have the power of planning the development of society
in all spheres and to guide and supervise the execution of
the plans made by the 'Planning Authority.'

The 'Federal Union of India' shall consist of the British
Indian provinces delimited 'on the basis of linguistic and
cultural homogeneity' and the Princely States, with the right
of secession of the constitutent units from the Union. There
shall be a council of ministers headed by the prime minister
to carry on the government of the Union. Although Roy was
silent about the party system in his draft, it was envisaged
that the council of ministers shall in all matters he collec-
tively responsible to the Supreme People's Council and will
remain in office so long it enjoyed the latter's confidence. In
the absence of the party system it is not understandable
how this responsibility can be ensured. The Supreme People's
council will give the final sanction to all legislative and ex-
ecutive measures of the government.

The composition of the provincial governments will be
the same as in the case of the central government. The
judiciary has been assigned similar role as in all democretic
states.

The people's committees will functions as an electoral
college for election of candidates to the Federal and the
Provincial People's Councils. The Committees will have the

right of recall of the Governor-General, the provincial Gover-
nors and the representatives in the Provincial People's Council
and the Federal Assembly, if they fail to act according to the
mandate given to them. They will have the right of referen-
dum on the legislative and executive measures of the fed-
eral and provincial governments and they can initiate legis-
lation when they deem it necessary to do so for considera-
tion of the Provincial People's Council and the Federal As-
sembly.[15]

Certain features of Roy's draft might be regarded as
'innovations' and were 'repugnant to orthodox constitu-
tional theorists.'[16] But many aspects of politics were not
given adequate treatment, such as foreign affairs, role of
bureaucracy and the machinery of law enforcement. It is
also difficult to see how far his decentralised political struc-
ture can be compatible with a 'Planning Authority' and the
Council of State, which are endowed with the wide powers
of planning the society in all fields.

RADICAL HUMANISM

As Roy's political fortunes declined in later years he
turned more and more to philosophy as a solace. He had
long been under bitter attack from the Indian Communist
Party. The *debacle* of the RDP in the 1946 elections and the
direction of world communism had their effects upon Roy's
thinking. He was also disillussioned withe Western democ-
racies. Eventually he abandoned communism altogether in
favour of a philosophy of radical humanism. The RDP was
dissolved in 1948, when it appeared that party politics was
incompatible with radical humanism. He sought in the ra-
tional and secular humanism of Europe the basis for a new
social and political order. He established the Indian Renais-
sance Institue at Dehradun in 1946 on the pattern of Plato's
Academy to train and produce men of wisdom and moral
virtues. He had himself, in October 1947, described the shift
in his outlook in the praface to his *Scientific Politics:*

Seven years ago, I still spoke as an orthodox Marxist criticising deviations from, or faulty understanding of the pure creed. Nevertheless, the tendency to look beyond Communism was already there in a germinal form. While still speaking in terms of class struggle, I laid emphasis on the cohesive factor in social organisation..... I appreciated Marxism as something greater than the ideology of a class. I understood it as the positive outcome of earlier intellectual efforts to evolve a philosophy which could harmonise the processes of physical nature, social evolution and the will and emotions of individual man.[17]

In his lecture at the Indian Renaissance Institute, Dehradun, in May 1948 he explained the reasons:

> I have never been an orthodox Marxist. My attitude to Marxism was critical from the very beginning. The experience again, the attempt to solve the problems of life with the help of Marxism brought me to the conclusion that until the intellectual, cultural, spiritual atmosphere of the country was changed, it was not possible to bring out a political and economic reconstruction of the country.[18]

Sibnarayan Ray, a close associate of Roy, does not see any basic change in Roy's philosophy:

Roy's philosophy is called radicalism, because it is a new philiosophy of revolution on the basis of the entire stock of human heritage. It makes an attempt to elaborate theory and formulate principles and practice of political action and economic reconstruction. It is called new humanism because it is enriched, reinforced and elaborated by scientific knowledge and social experience gained during the centuries of modern civilisation.[20] Its philosophical foundation is still materialism and confidence in the creative power of man and not faith. Roy's new humanism would transcend the boundary of a nation-state. As he wrote:

New Humanism is cosmopolition. A cosmopolitan com-
monwealth of spiritually free men will not be limited by the
boundaries of national states - capitalist, fascist socialist,
communist or of any other kind, which will gradually disap-
pear under the impact of the twentieth century, Renais-
sance of Man,[21]

He, therefore, conceived of a brotherhood of man at-
tracted by the adventure of ideas, keenly conscious of the
urge for freedom, fired with the vision of a free society of
freemen and motivated by the will to remake the world so as
to restore the individual in his position of primacy and dig-
nity.[22]

Roy now became deeply critical of Western democra-
cies. With the growth of the party system in the West, the
individual has completely disappeared from politics, either
as a candidate for election or as a voter. The idea of popular
sovereignty has become 'a constitutional fiction;.[23] The
majority of the people are 'driven like cattle to the polling
stations to cast their votes;[24] The individual citizen remains
cut off from the business of government during the long
periods between successive elections and possesses few
opportunities of influencing the decision-making process.
Citizens receive no countinuing education in the exercise of
their rights.[25] Politics had 'degenerated into a scramble for
power' between the parties. Here is his most vehement
criticism of the party system:

Though the party system is believed to be the essence
of democracy, it has done more harm to democracy than
anything else. It has reduced democracy to demagogy.
Degraded to the formality of counting heads, democracy
does not bother about what is in the heads. If the heads are
empty of sense, the party getting the largest number of
votes will have the largest number of ignorance as its sanc-
tion.[26]

Party politics, according to Roy, is a denial of democ-

racy and the surrender of popular sovereignty. His goal was to transform democracy in its institutional framework of legislatures and parties into a partyless democracy in which the power would remain with the local republics, to be wielded directly by the individual members of the small communities. The 'decentralised structure' would make a more 'direct form of Democracy a practical proposition'.[27] Like Gandhi, Roy visualises

> ... the foundation of a decentralised state.... laid in local republics which will combine all functions of the State as they affect the local life... power will remain with them, to be wielded directly by the individual members of the local communities. Being thus reared upon a broad foundation of direct democracies, the state will be really democratic.[28]

Both Gandhi and Roy had a common suspicion of man's lust for power which dictated a highly decentralised political structure with a wide diffusion of power. Although Roy criticised Gandhi's doctrine of non-violence or his aversion to industrialisation his theory of village democracy was closely akin to Gandhi's.

He also praised Gandhi's attempt to withdraw the Congress Party 'from the scramble of power-plitics and to concentrate on constructive work to the service and welfare of the public'. To avoid power politics Roy officially transformed his RDP into the Radical Humanist Movement. The indictment of the Western parliamentary form of government extends from Vivekananda through Aurobindo and Gandhi and on to Roy and Jayapraksh Narayan.[29] Rousseau's influence on Roy is also discernible here. Rousseau's idea of democracy was cast in the mould of the city republics of ancient Greece. There democracy had been practised in small areas inhabited by not more than ten to twenty

thousands souls. In the eighteenth century Europe when national states embraced large territories and vast population, direct democracy was evidently not possible. The solution of the problem was found in the doctrine of representative government. But this representative government and the party system, Roy believed, gradually led to the denial of democracy. In seeking a solution to the greatest problem of our time Roy made use of the concept of Rousseau in his decentralised political structure. But Roy was aware that Rousseau's doctrine of general will had led to the totalitarian regime in France itself during the reign of Robespierre and subsequently in Russia and Germany.[30]

POLITICS OF FREEDOM

Roy called for the replacement of politics of power by politics of freedom. He regarded human history as 'the record of man's struggle for freedom.'[31] In building any social or political organisation his primary consideration was the individual freedom A political organisation is to be judged by the actual measure of freedom it gives to the individual. He realised that

A new world of freedom will not result automatically from an economic reorganisation of society. Nor does freedom necessarily follow from the capture of political power by a party claiming to represent the oppressed and exploited classes .... By disregarding individual freedom on the pleas of taking the fullest advantage of technoloy, of efficiency and collective effort, planned economy defeats its own purpose ... Economic democracy is no more possible in the absence of political democracy than the latter is in the absence of the former.[32]

Haithcox observes:

Through all the modifications he made in his political philosophy over the years runs one consistent theme-the

quest fro human freedom and dignity -- to which Roy de-
voted his entire life.[33]

Roy conceived of freedom in its material and spiritual
aspects. He emphasised in his last years that spiritual lib-
eration is the condition for social and political liberation.
Radical humanism is the message of that liberation.'[34] Spiri-
tual liberation is dependent upon the moral transformation
of the individual in society. This conception of the spiritual
freedom is firmly rooted in the Indian nationalist tradition.
Vivekananda, Aurobindo and Gandhi extolled the ideal of
spiritual freedom. The former Marxist has now turned moral-
ist preaching the good of 'a good society' with 'good indi-
viduals.' Almost in Gandhian terms, Roy stated that 'Without
moral men there can be no moral society.'[35] Unlike Gandhi,
he divorced morality from religion but based it on innate
rationality and reason of men.

CONCEPTION OF POWER

Roy's view of power also underwent change in his radi-
cal humanist phase. As a Marxist he was engaged in a
political struggle against the British for the capture of power.
He was a believer in the principle that the end justifies the
means and argued that any means were legitimate in the
struggle for power, now he denounced power politics as
immoral. Roy therefore looked for an ideal leadership that
will not be corrupted by power. The conduct of public affairs
should be in charge of 'spiritually free individuals' account-
able 'to their respective conscience'. His emphasis upon
'spiritually emancipated moral men', 'detached individu-
als'[36] reminds us of the the Platonic concept of 'philosopher-
king; Plato's conception of the ideal state and his theory of
governing elite had attracted Roy even during his Marxist
days. Later, Roy's affection for Plato's ideal of the philoso-
pher-king strengthened considerably. As Roy observed:

The future of democracy in our country depends on people who are either outside politics today, or who will have the courage and vision to step out of the indecent scramble. They will have to act in a manner which may not attract the 'practical politicians.' They may have to plough a lone furrow for some time.[37]

ECONOMIC IDEAS

In politics Roy pointed to a new way for India-radical humanism in place of Western democracies and the communist system. In the economic field he devised an alternative form of economy, known as co-operative economy. He said:

The economy of the new society.... will be planned with the purpose of promoting the freedom and well-being of the individual. It will, on the one hand, eliminate production for profit and, on the other hand, avoid unnecessary concentration of control. It will not allow individual freedom to be jeopardised by considerations of technical efficiency. As such, the economy will be neither capitalist nor socialist, but co-operative.[38]

Earlier, Roy in his draft constitution envisaged large-scale industries under collective ownership and the promotion of the productivity of labour through the introduction of modern mechanical means of production under state control. He now championed a 'co-operative economy' based on wide spread decentralisation, equitable distribution of wealth and a spirit of co-operation. Production and distribution are to be carried on with the sole purpose of serving human needs. The most effective instrument is to form a network of consumers' and producers' co-operatives to promote individual freedom, to eliminate exploitation of labour and the corrupting influences vested interests.[39]

Roy was not a systematic thinker. Despite his disillusionment with communism, Roy remained an atheist, Wester-

nised and an internationalist to the end of his life. He was critical of the religious outlook on life which had played such a dominant role throughout Indian history. The radical humanist group which he founded has ties with similar groups in the west. Although he continued to reject Gandhi's and other Indian thinkers' religiosity and traditional attitudes, Roy, in his last years, came closer to them in his emphasis on the relation of mean to ends, moral men, the necessity of some forms of political and economic decentralisation and the rejection of power and party politics. But Roy's atheism and materialism seemed to alienate him from the vast majority of the illiterate, tradition-bound, and religious minded Indian people.

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SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE

Subhas Chandra Bose (1897-1945), who was one of the controversial figures in modern Indian politics, was a distinguished freedom fighter, activist, revolutionary and a 'Springing Tiger'[1]-more a man of dynamic action than a theorist. His followers respectfully addressed him as *Netaji* - Leader.

Bose was not an original thinker like Gandhi, M.N. Roy and Jayaprakash Narayan. He wrote notably two books: *An Indian Pilgrim* or *Autobiography* and *The Indian Struggle*.[2] Later, many of his letters, corespondences and speeches were published in book form.[3]

The strategy which Bose adopted in his later life to meet force with force had something to do with his cultural origin and background. There was in the Bose family a tradition of devotion to *Shakti* (Power) represented by Goddesses Kali and Durga. Another important feature which influenced Bose's leadership was that he was a product of revolutionary Bengal - a center of virulent nationalism. Bengal was the first to come under British rule and one of the first provinces to launch agitation for its overthrow. Bengal first adopted 'the cult of the bomb and revolver'.[4] The Bengalis were distinguished for self-sacrifice, courage and valour which traits were not to be found among the people of other British Indian provinces.

Bose was born in 1897 in Cuttack, Orissa, in a Kayastha

family which belonged to the militant, powerful and dynamic Kshatriya caste. He was the son of a prominent and well-to-do Bengali lawyer. He received his primary education at a Baptist mission school, but at the insistence of his parents he also studied Sanskrit at the same time. Early in life, he ran away from home for some months and took to meditation and yogic exercises. He became a wandering pilgrim in search of spiritual freedom. He sought guidance and inspiration from two distinguished Hindu saints and religious leaders of the late nineteenth century, Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo. He was deeply touched by the writings of Vivekananda and his crusading call for self-purification, for devoted service to the motherland, for the regeneration of the Indian masses and for the elimination of the social evils of caste, bigotry, priestcraft, inaction and superstition.[5] He became a great admirer of Aurobindo's mystic nationalism while he was a student at Presidency College, University of Calcutta. However, in the 1920s he attacked Aurobindo for his passive and anti-modern tendencies and outlook of peaceful contemplation. He called for 'a philosophy of activism' and an optimistic and combative outlook on life.[6] He also found military life so appealing that he joined the Calcutta University unit of the India Defence Force. After obtaining his B.A. in 1919, he went to Cambridge to prepare for the Indian Civil Service. He came out successful in the prestigious ICS examination, but soon resigned from the service to take active part in the Indian freedom struggle - a path of struggle, suffering and toil. Thus the spirit of defiance which marked Bose's political career was inculcated in his early youth. An observer has remarked:

> The restless Bengali had developed, acquired, and exhibited in his boyhood and schooldays such distinct traits and characteristics as an impatience with half-hearted measures, a lure for a life of adventure,

a propensity to fight to the finish; and these qualities had to come into full play on the Indian national scene.[7]

BOSE AND THE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

Bose had fallen under the spell of Gandhi, a great father-figure and undisputed leader of the Indian national Congress. Gandhi advised Bose to work under C.R. Das, the most influential and popular Bengal leader and lawyer, a clear-headed and practical politician. With the formation of the Swaraj Party, Bose became a devoted and close associate of Das. In 1924 he was appointed chief executive officer of the Calcutta corporation, with Das as mayor. Bose was soon after deported to Burma for his connections with secret revolutionary movements. On his release in 1927, he returned to find Bengal Congress affairs in a mess. After the death of Das, he was elected president of the Bengal Congress. In 1928 he was a general officer commanding the Congress volunteers in the Indian National Congress session at Calcutta.

DIFFERENCES WITH THE OLD GUARD CONGRESS LEADERSHIP

The younger wing of the Congress led by Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru agitated for Congress to adopt the goal of complete independece as opposed to dominion status in the late 1920s. Both were interested in spreading socialist ideas and in bringing the youth of the country into the mainstream of nationalist movement. But they did not receive majority support. They even threatened to resign from the Congress on this issue. Their resignations were not accepted. Consequently, they founded an Independent League to promote among Congressmen the ideology of complete independence.

When the civil disobedience movement was launched in

1930, Bose was already in detention. After a years's deten-
tion he was finally allowed to proceed to Europe. After his
return from Europe in 1936, he was again taken into custody
and released after a year. In 1938 he was elected president
of the Congress and formed a national planning committee
with Jawaharlal Nehru as chairman. In his presidential speech
at the annual session of the Congress in 1938, Bose held:

That State on the advice of a planning commission, will
have to adopt a comprehensive scheme for gradually so-
cialising out entire agricultural and industrial system in both
the spheres of production and appropriation.[8]

BOSE VERSUS GANDHI

Bose had been pursuing a policy which was not in
accord with Gandhi's philosophy. He was training a body of
disciplined youth in military formation-a type of national
militia. There was a feeling in Bengal that despite the Ben-
galis being the pioneers of Indian nationalism, the Congress
was dominated by 'North Indians' represented by Gandhi,
Nehru and Patel.[9] Bose grew increasingly disillusioned with
north Indians' particulary Gandhi's leadership.

Of all the Congress leaders Bose was perhaps the least
devoted to Gandhi. He was a critic of Gandhian political
ideas and techniques. He attacked Gandhi for his inaction,
moderation and vacillation. He was critical of Gandhi's views
on modernism and glorification of bullock-cart economy.
He had little faith in non-violence, compromise and concili-
ation which were indispensable articles of faith with Gandhi.[10]
He believed that India's salvation would not be achieved
under Gandhi's leadership. He was particulary unhappy
with the Indian nationalist movement's advance and the
excessive caution and moderation displayed by Gandhi.
But the major conflict between Bose and Gandhi was one of
personalities rather than of ideology.[11] Ideology also played
a vital role in this conflict because Bose held radical and

uncompromising views on social and economic issues in the 1930s. He, through his writings and speeches, had now become a national figure, particulary among the left-wing members of Congress. He wrote:

> The logic of history will, therefore, follow its inevitable course. The political struggle and the social struggle will have to be conducted simultaneously. The party that will win political freedom for India will be also the Party that will win social and economic freedom for the masses.[12]

Bose thus advocated more vigorous and more radical course of action to liberate India. In his presidential address at Tripuri Congress session in 1939 Bose proposed a three-fold redical programme: (a) an ultimatum to the British Raj to set a specific limit for country's independence and on its rejection the launching of civil disobedience movement accompanied by the establishment of parallel governments based on local committees; (b) positive guidance to the freedom movement in the Princely States; and (c) close co-operation with all other anti-imperialist organisations such as peasant leagues, trade union and youth bodies.[13] He posed an effective challenge to Congress leadership. Bose's vindication came in 1939, when he defeated a Gandhian rival for re-election to Congress presidentship. Nonetheless, the 'rebel president' felt bound to resign within a few months because of Gandhi's non-cooperatin with his programme. Due to his differences with the Congress over its political, social and economic policies Bose formed a new left-wing Forward Bloc in May 1939, 'to serve as a common platform for all the left elements inside the Congress.'[14]

Bose was never convinced of the Gandhian path of non-violence to win freedom for India. The idea of creating parallel Congress army was mooted by him as early as February 1938 to fight against British imperialism.[15] But Bose

could not defy Gandhian leadership and received little re-
sponse from the old guard Congress leadership. Bose's
following was volatile, heterogenous and fragmentary con-
sisting of such diverse elements as radical Congressmen,
students, Congress socialists Royists (M.N. Roy's follow-
ers) and communists, most of whom left the party within a
year. His base of support was confined to Bengal, Maharas-
tra and Punjab - the centres of violent nationalism. More-
over, Bose who had spent most of his political life either in
prison or in exile found little time to build up a personal
following like Gandhi's. Lastly, the Forward Bloc failed to
develop into an effective grass-root organisation due to the
fact that its founder and his leading followers were put in
prison a year after its formation followed by a ban on the
party.[16]

NATIONAL SOCIALISM

Bose was a convinced national socialist but believed in
authoritarian methods. According to him, the solution of
India's manifold problems required economic reforms on a
socialistic basis. Since these reforms could not be under-
taken under a democratic form of government, India 'must
have a political system - a State - of an authoritarian charac-
ter'.[17] He advocated 'a strong Central Government with dic-
tatorial powers for some years to come .... and government
by a strong party bound together by military discipline'[18] to
hold India together and prevent chaos and disintegration.

Bose believed that communism would not succeed in
India for a number of reasons. First, communism was op-
posed to nationalism in any form. Second, the Soviety Un-
ion was no more interested in provoking a world revolution.
Third, many of the economic ideas of communism might
make a strong appeal to the poverty-striken and illiterate
Indian masses in the country-side but they could not be
expected to respond sympathetically to the anti-religious

and atheistic communism because in India there had been
no possitive hostility against religion as such. Moreover,
there would be great reluctance on the part of the Indian
people to accept the Marxian doctrine of materialistic inter-
pretation of history.[19]

Fascism had long attracted Bose and during his visits of
Europe in the 1930s he had met Mussolini several times
whom he regarded as 'a man who really counts in the
politics of modern Europe'. He observed that'the Mahat-
ama rendered great public' service by his visit to Italy [in
1931]. The only regret is that he did not stay there longer
and did not cultivate more personal contacts.'[20] It cannot be
denied that Bose had emotional leaning towards the strong
ways of the fascist and nazi dictators. He felt the need for a
ruthless benevolent dictator to cure the political ills of In-
dia.[21] Jawaharlal Nehru commented:

He [Bose during his tenure of presidentship of the In-
dian National Congress in 1938] did not approve of any step
being taken by the Congress which was anti-Japanese or
anti-German or anti-Italian. And yet such was the feeling in
the Congress and the country that he did not oppose this or
many other manifestations of Congress sympathy with China
and the victims of fascist and nazi aggression. We passed
many resolutions and organized many demonstrations of
which he did not approve.... but he submitted to them
without protest because he realized the strength of feeling
behind them.[22]

SAMYAVADA - A SYNTHESIS

Despite the wide differences between communism and
fascism in some respects Bose discovered certain common
traits: the supremacy of the state, denunciation of parlia-
mentary democracy, one-party dictatorship, planned indus-
trialisation, and ruthless suppression of opposition. These
common traits of the two doctrines, Bose believed, would

form the basis of new synthesis which he called *samyavada* (literally, the doctrine of synthesis or equality). He wanted to put the new synthesis on trial in Idnia[23] because for many years following independece India would need a strong totalitarian form of government in order to secure national unity and to build up a socialist society, Western democracy, in Bose's view, would not be suitable for such gigantic tasks.[24]

BOSE AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

In January 1941 Bose escaped from his closely-guarded Calcutta residence in disguise and reached Germany via Afghanistan and the Soviet Union to seek the help of Axis powers to fight against the British Raj. He called on Hitler and secured his backing in forming the Azad Hind Fauz- an Indian National Army, to be comprised of captured Indian soldiers and officers. In Germany Bose raised a body of Indian volunteers. From Germany he arrived at Penang in Malay (Malaysia) in a German submarine after about three months' hazardous passage. He then flew to Tokyo to obtain Japanese aid for the freedom struggle in India against the British. In September 1942 he organised the Indian National Army (INA) of about sixty thousand men,[25] mostly recruited from the Indian prisoners of war captured by the Japanese during World War II, to liberate India from British rule. Indians from Singapore and other places in Southeast Asia also volunteered.[26] This was the army of 'Free India' - a genuine revolutionary force. On 21 October 1943, a 'Provisional Government of Free India' was formed in Singapore. The Provisional Government consisted of five ministers with Bose as head of state, prime minister, commander-in-chief of the INA, war minister and foreign minister, eight representatives of the INA and eight civilion advisers representing the Indian community of East Asia.[27]

   The Provisional Government and the INA were inter-communal in their composition and secular in ·outlook.[28] The army units were named after national leaders-Gandhi, Nehru, Azad and Bose. Bose was hailed as a national hero by the nationalist leaders in India itself. Gandhi, who earlier did not approve many of Bose's actions, hailed him as a 'patriot of patriots'.[29] He also admired the courage and resourcefulness of Bose and the spirit of unity which he infused among men of various castes, creed and religion.[30] Nehru never doubted Bose's passion for Indian independ-ence and, in his opinion, Bose and his INA's dominating motive was love for India's freedom. This change of attitude of the two prominent Congress leaders, Gandhi and Nehru, was necessitated by the prevailing political situation in India in the middle of 1945 and the political objectives which the Congress sought to achieve.[31] The Congress ideals of secu-larism, freedom of India and the spirit of solidarity appeared to be inconsistent with those of the INA's.[32]

   The INA deviated from the principles of non-violence which guided the Indian nationalist movement during the Gandhian era from 1920 to 1947. The attempt to throw off 'the British yoke, through an armed struggle'[33] - by opening the 'Second Front' in India's struggle for independence[34] - was rooted in Bose's Kshatriya background and military training in his college life. The provisional Government was recognised by the Axis powers and none independent states.[35] The INA advanced toward India in 1944 and was at one stage at the point of capturing Imphal in Manipur. But the army, lacking Japanese aerial support, was defeated and forced to retreat. Bose was reportedly died in a Japanese hospital in 1945, after his plane had crashed in Taiwan. With his death the INA collapsed. After the surrender of Japan, the British re-occupied Burma and about fifteen hundred INA soldiers were captured by the British India army and found guilty of treason. The trial by court martial of some of

its officers during 1945-46 aroused public resentment and demonstrations in various parts of India. As a result, the British rulers freed all the officers. Bose and the INA of whom many Indians had never heard - now became house-hold names. By taking up the cause of INA officers, the Congress wanted to seize the opportunity to organise an all India nationalist front against the British. The two media - the released INA and the nationalist press - carried the stories of the INA to the teeming millions of the Indian masses as the saga of India's struggle for freedom. The country had wit-nessed an unprecedented popular enthusiasm and mass agitation which swiftly was turned into an anti-colonial struggle. It also helped to emphasise the role of the INA in Indian politics by disassociating its leaders from the fascist ideol-ogy. The revolutionary favour created by the INA issue has a profound effect on the British attitude toward the question of India's independence.[36]

Despite Bose's fascist learnings and his advocacy of dictatorship for India in the post-independence period, he was a legendary figure in Indian politics. Both Bose and the INA symbolised the Indian revolution. Their battle-cries of *Jai Hind* (Victory to India) and *Delhi Challo* (March on Delhi) boosted the morale of the Indian people in thier fight for freedom. *Jai Hind* became India's popular salute after her independence from Britain. The INA helped to promote and strengthen unity among the various religious communities in India. It was also largely responsible for the transforma-tion of the Indian armed forces from a mercenary to a national force. Bose was perhaps the first Indian leader to realise the need for a planning commission. His death and the failure of fascism abroad brought to a sudden end this brief period of Indian interest in national socialist ideology.

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JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

Jayaprakash Narayan (1920-1979) - JP, as every one calls him - was respectfully called *Loknayak* (Leader of the People) and was regarded as an 'unconventional' political leader. JP, a respected elder statesman, was often tipped as the possible successor to his old political collegue Jawaharlal Nehru, free India's first Prime Minister who died in 1964. But JP, a Marxist turned Gandhian, had retired from active politics in the 1960s to concentrate on social reforms and land distribution in the rural areas and as such could not be pursuaded to run the affairs of state. Though he never hold elective office, JP exerted enormous moral influence over his country's politics for three decades.

JP was a reputed author and wrote a significant number of books, articles and pamphlets.

HOW JP BECAME A MARXIST

JP was born in 1902 in a lower middle class family in Bihar. At the age of 18, he had worked his way to the US to spend eight years in various universities. While he was studying in the US he had hardly received any financial help from his family. He had to work as an ordinary worker in field and factory to earn his living and to bear the expenses of university education. He received his Master's degree in sociology from Ohio University. He came in close contact

with some communist students in the US, read the classics of Marxism and became a Marxist. M.N. Roys pungent writing exercised a profound influence on him. The brilliant success of Lenin in the Soviet Union seemed to establish without doubt the supremacy of the Marxian way to revolution. Thus it was as a Marxist that JP returned to India in 1929 and came into close contact with the giants of independence movement, Gandhi and Nehru. Along with other nationalist leaders, he was jailed several times by the British. He was not, however, convinced by Gandhi's philosophy of *satyagraha and ahimsa* - the Marxist argument was still too pursuasive and he kept compaigning for socialism.

DIFFERENCES WITH COMMUNISTS

Towards the end of 1929 JP differed with Indian communists and their brand of Marxism because they were blindly following the policy laid down by the Third communist International (Comintern) which by then had come completely under the leadership of Stalin. In his opinion, the Comintern had been following a wrong policy which had resulted in the division of the working class and socialist movements throughout the world and in the isolation of the communists from the nationalist movements in all the colonial countries. This was contrary to Marxist theory generally and specially to the famous colonial policy enunciated by Lenin. The differences with the Communist Party of India (CPI) thus marked the beginning of his ideological alienation from soviet communism.[1] In 1934 he along with other non-communist Marxists,[2] founded the Congress Socialist Party as a pressure group within the parent organisation so that the social policy of the Congress might become more socialist-oriented and the fight for independence itself might be conducted in a more revolutionary manner. The decision to follow an independent line of activity did not mean, however, the lessening of faith in Marxism. Rather, the founders of the

CSP were convinced that they alone were applying Marxism correctly to the Indian situation and the communists were wrong. The CSP-CPI alliance was formed in view of the change in communist tactics in India in 1934, following a new directive from the comintern. According to the new policy Congress was no longer to be boycotted by the CPI but supported as an anti-imperialist national front. The membership of the CSP was opened to the communists and some of the them held important positions in the organisation. But the communists were infiltrating into the CSP with the ultimate objective of destroying it. Consequently, the idea of a united Socialist-Communist Party was abandoned and in 1940 the communists were expelled from the CSP, JP's experience with the CPI convinced him that there could not be any unity with an 'official' Communist Party. Certain events in the Soviet Union particularly the trials of renowned Russian communist leaders powerfully influenced his thinking. Communists, wherever in power, had invariably established a dictatorship and the end justified the means as the basis of political action. He saw in the Soviet experiment not only a denial of 'formal' freedom, but also denial of social justice, of equality and the growth of a new class of bureaucratic rulers, of new form of exploitation. All these events and experiences prompted him to re-examine the basic postulates of Marxism.

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

JP designated his new philosophy as 'democratic socialism.'[3] But yet he did not completely abandon Marxism. This phase began as early as 1940, and continued until 1952. During the years 1940-46, he thought in terms of a mass revolution and was imprisoned several times for taking part in revolutionary activities. he pleaded for the setting up of units of 'Revolutionary Government' with 'their own police and militia.'[4] He had drawn his own picture of a

socialist India where both political and economic democ-
racy would prevail. 'In this democracy', he emphasised,
'man will neither be slave to capitalism nor to a party or the
state. Man will be free.'[5] He pointed out that there could be
'no room for dogmatism or fundamentalism in Marxian
thought.'[6] The socialist movement in India must evolve its
own socialism in the light of Marxist thought, of contempo-
rary world history, and objective conditions prevailing in
India and its historical background. He advocated the peace-
ful democratic method to achieve socialism because the
violent method and dictatorship had been tried in the Soviet
Union and it had 'led to something very different, i.e., to a
bureaucratic state, in which democracy does not exist.'[7]
After independence in 1947 the CSP assumed its new name,
the Socialist Party, and decided to break away from the
Congress and function as an independent party so as to

> accustom the people to the idea that to be opposed to
> the Congress is not to be opposed to the nation, but
> rather to be opposed to certain policies and methods of
> government and to advocate alternative policies.... to
> attempt by democratic methods to replace it as the
> party in power.[8]

The recent world events and happenings in India (par-
ticularly the Hindu-Muslim riots and the assassination of
Gandhi) convinced JP that nothing but good means will
enable us to reach the goal of a good society, which is
socialism.[9] He observed:

> The experience of totalitarian countries, whether fascist
> or communist, has shown that if the state is looked upon
> as the sole agent of social reconstruction, we get noth-
> ing but a regimented society in which the State is all-
> powerful and popular initiative is extinct and the individ-

ual is made a cog in a vast unhuman machine. Such a society is not the objective of our party; nor could a society of this nature ever be an intermediate stage in the evolution of the democratic socialist society that is our aim.10

DISILLUSIONMENT WITH DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

JP's questioning and re-thinking was gradually bringing him nearer to Gandhi. Writing in 1951, he himself explained the shift in his outlook:

For many years I have worshipped at the shrine of the goddess- Dialectical Materialism which seemed to me intellectually more satisfying than any other philosophy. But while the main quest of philosophy remains unsatisfied, it has become patent to me that materialism of any sort robs man of the means to become truly human. In a material civilization man has no national incentive to be good. It may be that in the kingdom of dialectical materialism fear makes men conform and the party takes the place of God. But when that God himself turns vicious, to be vicious becomes a universal code.[11]

JP found that the main concern of the democratic socialists was with the capture of power. Decentralisation, he believed, could not be effected by handing down power from above to people because people's capacity to govern themselves had been frustrated by the party system and the concentration of power at the top. The process must be started from the bottom. He wrote:

The party system with the corroding and corrupting struggle for power inherent in it, disturbed me more and more. I saw how parties backed by finance, organisation and the means of propaganda could impose them-

selves on the people; how people's rule became in effect party rule; how party rule in turn became the rule of a caucus or coterie; how democracy was reduced to mere casting of votes.[12]

In order to remove the defects of the party system JP 'toyed for some time with the idea of a co-operative rather than a competitive system of parties.'[13] He gave up the idea because 'the experiment could not succeed within the given framwork of struggle for power and the system of parliamentary democracy.' But still he believed 'that given the psychological climate for it, such a political experiment might yet be made.'[14]

CRITIQUE ON PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Like Gandhi and M.N. Roy, JP was a pungent critic of parliamentary democracy. In parliamentary democracy of the twentieth century, he found an 'inherent tendency towards centralism' 'At one extreme of its political spectrum is the national state and at the other the individual voter, with a blank in between.' The local bodies have little self-government powers and no direct or indirect influence on the national state:

> The issue of power in such is decided not by the fictitious 'people' but by a balance between political parties and such organised interests as industrialists and bankers and powerful labour unions. The people represent a wholeness, while the organised interests are sectional.[15]

He discarded political system which based government on a sum of individual voters. 'The State cannot be an arithmatic sum of individuals. The people, the nation, the community can never be equated with the sum of individual voters.'[16] He recognised, however, that there had been a

substantial measure of local self-government in the advanced democracies of the West, but still the central government was all-powerful, 'government and decision making do remain the privilege of the few. Except in Switzerland and perhaps the Scandinavian countries, Western democracy is little more than government by consent.'[17] He observed:

> The Western concept of democracy as government by consent.... is not an adequate enough concept, and that we should profit from the experience of the West and try to move forward towards a more adequate democracy. The next step beyond government by consent is people's participation in government or a participating democracy.[18]

He regarded parliamentary democracy as 'something foreign to India and implanted from outside.'[19] In India 90 per cent of the people do not understand this system at all. By merely creating formal institutions, such as adult franchise, party system and parliament, parliamentary democracy cannot be developed in India. He opined that

It is not merely through the representative assemblies and elected governments that democracy works but [it also works] in an equally true sense through the voluntary associations and actions of the citizens which they carry on and establish to deal with thier problems, promote their interests and manage their affairs.[20]

He asked:
> ...... could we not find something more Indian, something rnore suited to the soil, some system which the people themselves could understand, which had come out of their hearts, which would not be foreign to them? Are we wedded to this one system of parliamentary democracy so much so that even our minds refuse to think of an alternative?[21]

COMMUNITARIAN AND PARTICIPATING DEMOCRACY

In his *A Plea for Reconstruction of Indian Polity*, a draft published in 1959 for private circulation, JP had given a serious thought to the problem of reshaping the Indian political system and pleaded for the replacement of the parliamentary system, by a new kind of polity more akin to India's tradition and consistent with the true nature of man and community. This he called 'communitarian' and 'participating' democracy. The issue before India, he said:

> .... is a much more comprehensive one, namely, that of the nature of polity most suitable for us at this juncture. Further, it is also necessary to remember that polity, whatever its nature, does not function in a vacuum, but has to fit into the larger social entity and subserve the larger social purpose.[22]

In Marxian terms, JP described his polity as the 'most suited' for India and 'most rational and scientific' and 'would be in the line with the natural course of social evolution'. He acknowledged that he had been 'influenced a great deal' by Gandhi's ideas[23] and there was also the influence of Roy on the evolution of his thought.[24] JP, of course, looked further than Gandhi in setting the village within a broader framework. He liked to build up his 'communitarian society' from what he termed the 'primary' or 'regional' community; abd association of neighbouring villages, communities or townships. The internal administration of the primary or regional community shall be autonomous. Regional communities will form a district community. The district community will federate together to form the provincial community, and they in turn will corne together to form the national community.[25]

Tne villagers will choose a council, the *gram sabha,* for their primary community 'by general agreement or by draw-

ing lots,' Centested elections along party lines are to be avoided. The political structure will rise pyramid-like from the foundation. This council will send representatives to the district community and the district community will send representatives to the national community. The village and nation are linked together through these intermediary bodies. All adult members can participate at the village level, indirectly all are involved at the higher levels. This method of choosing representatives discards the western principle of 'one man, one vote,' The executive functions at each level will be entrusted to small committees. Each committee will have a chairman and a secretary. There will be an over-all supervisory and co-ordinative body, known as co-ordinating committees, consisting of the representatives from each committees, and its decision will be binding on all committees. Each committee can legislate in their own allotted spheres. There will be no post of ministers, chief ministers or prime minister at the provincial or national level. Government will be conducted by committees assisted by paid-preferably, honorary civil servants. JP's solution to the problem of bureaucracy is direct self-government of the people, general control and direct supervision over the civil servants to be exercised by the people and their elected government.[26] But the identification of rulers and ruled and the abolition of distinction between government and people prepare the way for totalitarianism.[27]

Like Gandhi and Roy JP also elaborated his ideas on partyless politics in his draft in view of the various divisions within the Indian society. But he had never been able to formulate precisely of what a system of 'partyless democracy' would involve, how it would differ from a democratic system in which parties existed, and how it would meet the needs of a heterogeneous society like India. Although many Indian political thinkers profess to believe in partyless democracy, parties have appeared in large numbers in the

years since independence. His goal of partyless democracy might arouse interest in the intellectual circle, but in the realm of practical politics the ideal was difficult to realise, as he and his band of dedicated workers would have to resort to authoritarian methods to do away with the party system.

Like Gandhi and Roy, JP also believed in the urgent necessity to bring morality back into politics. 'The problem of democracy,' he said, 'basically, and above all, a moral problem.'[28]

But JP emphasised more the sociological aspect of re-creating the human community rather than its political aspect. He posed the problem of modern civilisation in these words:

The problem of present day civilization is social integration. Man is alone and bored, he is 'organization man,' he is man ordered about the manipulated by forces beyond his ken and control - irrespective of whether it is 'democracy' or dictatorship. The problem is to put man in touch with man, so that they may live together in meaningful understandable, controlled relationships. In short, the problem is to re-create the human community.[29]

The achievement of this ideal society, JP recognised, would be 'a colossal task', and would require the services of a core of devoted workers over a number of years to accomplish it- a task of 'moral regeneration' and 'social engineering; and not a political function of the state.[30] In the light of comments received, he wrote Swaraj for the People (Varanasi, 1961). But much of the forceful and interesting argument of the earlier paper was found missing.

ECONOMICS IDEAS

JP hoped to replace the centralisation of political power and authority by decentralisation and minimising the vast responsibilities of the central government in the economic and social fields. He was of the view that:

> As we proceed from the inner to the outer circles of communal life and organisation, there is less and less to do for the outer community; so that, when we reach the circle of the National Community it has only a few matters to attend to, such as defence, foreign relations, currency, inter-provincial co-ordination and legislation.[31]

At present the Indian planning 'does not begin with the village and the region and go upwards, but from the centre, going downwards.'[32] This process is to be reversed, and

> Planning would begin from the primary community and there from far outwards. In our scheme of things the regional plan, i.e., the plan of the regional community, would be the pivotal plan. This would mean that the regional plan-and not the village plan, which would be too small for the purpose--would be the unit out of which the whole plan have to be constructed.[33]

Gandhi was generally against industrialisation, whereas JP tried to make a balance of agriculture and industry in his planning, which he termed 'agro-industrial .[34] The full use of science and technology would be made. With India increasingly committed to heavy industrialisation, planning and centralisation, it would indeed be a gigantic task to dismantle the present centralised structure and to build afresh grass-root democratic institutions based on the democratic tradition of the so-called ancient republics.

BHOODAN AND SARVODAYA

The disillusionment with democratic socialism and parliamentary democracy led JP to seek a better substitute and this he had found in the Gandhian ideals which has been characterised as 'Neo-Gandhism.[35] His final break with Marxism came in 1952. In 1954 he offered himself as a *Jeevan-*

dani, that is, to withdraw from party and power politics and to devote his life to *bhoodan* and *sarvodaya* movement, two of the key concepts in modern Indian political thought.[36] In 1957 he formally resigned from the Praja Socialist Party (PSP) which was born in 1952 out of the merger of the Socialist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party (KMPP). The procees of travelling from Marxism to democratic socialist and then to *sarvodaya* reflected the change in the political thinking of JP. Some of his later ideas drew their inspiration from religious teachings and represented a development of an aspect of Gandhian politics, which were 'peculiarly Gandhian in ethos',[37] *Bhoodan* literally means a voluntary movement, asking for donation of land from those who own land to the landless. But it is more than that. *Bhoodan* is a non-violent mass movement, an economic programme with a moral and spiritual purpose and aims at converting people to a new climate of thought and new values of life. It is an intensely and deeply political movement because it makes attempt to revolutionise man and society--but its politics are not those of parliaments, parties and governments. The capturing of state machinery is not its aim. The ultimate stateless society, a kind of people's self-rule, will only be established by a change of mind brought about through the creation of conditions in which the people will rely more on themselves and less on the state. *Bhoodan* is the beginning of this larger movement. Although at the beginning the *bhoodan* movement did arouse much interest and attracted the attention of many people, the movement does not seem to have achieved much success. Critics have pointed out that many of the gifts were land of little value or waste land which required much spending before it could be made productive. Many landowners, it is believed, have donated lands which they would in any event have to give away under legislative provisions. The machinery for the distribution of land-gifts also has not worked according

to the intention of the founder. In any case, the spirit of *bhoodan* has not been well understood even by those who support it.[38] *Sarvodaya* means 'a society which would strive for the good of all,'[39] working on Gandhi's vision of an ideal social order to raise living standards of peasants and workers--*lokniti* (politics of the people) as distinct from *rajniti* (politics of the state). Ultimately a casteless, classless society would be created where universal harmony would prevail. JP explained that he had decided to withdraw from power politics because this could not deliver the goods. This is something in common with the Marxian goal of classless society. When the ideal is attained the state meaning government and politics 'withers away', This alternative to political power had already been shown by Gandhi. Gandhi suggested that the Congress should withdraw from the field of 'normal politics and turn itself into what he called a Lok Sevak Sangh, an organisation for the service of the people. Despite Gandhi's calling the Congress has not yet ceased to be a political party. *Sarvodaya* has also remained a far distant ideal. The living standards of peasants and workers have not been raised appreciably. JP was frustrated with the *bhoodan* and *sarvodaya* movement because this did not produce the desired result.

After 20 years in the political wilderness, paradoxically, JP returned to the political arena in the last years of his life and called for a total revolutions. [40] Attempts were made to paralyse the working of the Indira Gandhi system. JP himself spoke of the need for changing government by force, if necessary and consistently urged the police and armed forces not to obey illegal orders. JP's movement brought on the 21-month of emergency rule. He was among thousands of dissidents jailed for their resistance. JP also guided the formation of the Janata Front, a coalition of anti-Gandhi factions, which led eventually to its historic electoral triumph in 1977. In the hour of triumph, JP like his teacher Gandhi

declined to assume power: but he administered an oath to newly elected Janata MPs to pledging to dedicate themselves and their service to a new kind of politics.[41] Within two years, the Janata government was rent by factional politics, internal squabbles and corrupt practices that led to its collapse and reduced JP to a helpless, depressed and passive spectator. Finally, JP had suffered the ultimate disillusion, realising that his political vision was ignored. He wrote in his prison diary:

My world lies in a shambles all around us. I am afraid I shall not see it put together again in my lifetime. Maybe my nephews and nieces will see that. Maybe where did I go from?[42]

CONCLUSION

JP was not the only Indian political thinker who had argued for a different political system. Indian political thinkers like Gandhi, C.R. Das and M.N. Roy pleaded for this pattern.[43] One authority finds in JP's ideas a close resemblance to those of Salvador de Madariaga, the Spanish Political philosopher, as expressed in his *De L'angoisse a La Liberte* (Paris, 1953) and subsequently published in English, under the title *Democracy versus Liberty*? (London, 1958).[44] JP has often been characterised as an idealist, a dreamer and a utopian.[45] But in developing his ideas, in the words of Morris-Jones, JP 'represents a real and Indian point of view; in his own way he helps to fill the gap left by Gandhi.[46] The stress on political decision-making by unanimity and consensus rather than by debate and division, eschewing the pursuit of political power, focus of political life on the village instead of national parliament, the village community as the principal organ of government, the inner transformation of man and society, not merely a change in institutional arrangements, are some of the ideas which are rooted in the Indian soil. Even a Westernised thinker Nehru declared: 'All

our schemes and planning, our ideas of education and of social and political organisation have at their back the search for unity and harmony.'[47] The speaker of the Lok Sabha, the lower house of Indian parliament, stated:

In a Parliamentary democracy unanimity must be aimed at.... Each man whether he is in the opposition or in the government is as much a representative of his constituency as any other man..... So, in a parliamentary democracy the party in power should carry the opposition with them as much as possible..... Before important matters are brought before parliament the government must consult the opposition also.[48]

The convincing example of this consensus politics was to be found in the appointment of Ashok Mehta (in September 1963), leader of the PSP, as the Deputy Chairman of the National Planning Commission. The 'saintly' politics or anti-power feeling is in large part the product of certain Indian values, such as the gospel of renunciation, sacrifice and detachment from the temporal world.[49]

Gandhi, Roy and JP placed emphasis on the participation of the people in the decision-making process of government: not democracy at the top but democracy to be fashioned from below and to be broad-based and pyramid-like. Their ideas were indirectly responsible for the introduction of *panchayati Raj* in India. Roy, an atheist and a Westernised man rather than basically Indian, stressed the political aspect, whereas Gandhi and JP stressed the sociological aspect and advocated basically the Indian point of view.

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CHAPTER - VI
MUHAMMAD IQBAL

Muhammad Iqbal (1875 - 1938) was only an eminent poet-philosopher but also a political thinker. He was one of key figures in twentieth century Islamic modernism, and was also considered to be the architect of Pakistan, although the name was coined by Choudhri Rahmat Ali, an Indian Muslim student studying at Cambridge, in November-December 1930. Iqbal was born in 1875 at Sialkot in Punjab of a middle class family. His parents were devout Muslims. He graduated in 1899 from the Government College at Lahore, where he served for six years as lecturer in philosophy. From 1905 to 1908 he studied philosophy and law at cambridge and Munich. He came back to his teaching profession at Lahore in 1908. Two years later, he gave up teaching and started the private practice of law. For the most part, his time was devoted to study and writing. His intellectual personality was influenced by several prominent Western thinkers like Hegel, Bergson and Nietzsche. His politics had grown out of deep scholarship and a keen sense of history.

Iqbal was knighted in 1922 in recognition of his greatness as a poet. He took part in the political activities of India, though not wholeheartedly. He appeared on the political horizon as an Indian nationalist, later completely changed and became a Muslim nationalist. In 1927 he was elected to

the Punjab Legislative Assembly but made no great mark as
a legislator. Moreover, he went to London in 1931 to attend
the Round Table Conference.

A SEPARATE STATE FOR MUSLIMS

Temperamentally, Iqbal was not suited to. politics, al-
though he was called upon to preside over the annual
session of the All-India Muslim League at Allahabad in 1930,
where he made a momentous and epoch-making address
about the final destiny of the Muslim nation in India. In this
address he expounded his plan for a separate Muslim state
to resolve the Hindu-Muslim problem:

> I would like to see the Punjab, NOrth-West Frontier
> Province, Sind and Baluchistan analgamated into a single
> state. Self-government within the British Empire or with-
> out the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated
> North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the
> final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West In-
> dia.[1]

It is interesting to note that Iqbal left out East Bengal (now
Bangladesh). a Muslim majority area, in his contemplated
Muslim state. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, who was a close
observer of events in the Muslim League, states:

> The clarion call of Allama Iqbal in the 1930 session of the
> Muslim League at Allahabad has failed to attract the at-
> tention even of the intellectual classes, much less of the
> masses, because the Muslim League had not consid-
> ered it worth while even to take notice of it in its proceed-
> ings by drafting any appropriate resolution.[2]

Nevertheless, the seeds of Pakistan can be found in Iqbal's
address which took a tangible and practical shape in the

form of Lahore Resolution, popularly known as the 'Pakistan Resolution,' adopted on 23 March 1940 by the Muslim League in Lahore.

Towards the end of his life Iqbal became convinced that 'the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim state or states'.[3] Otherwise he felt endless succession of Hindu-Muslim riots would lead to a virtual civil war. He was aware that the Muslims were unprepared for a final showdown, ill-organised and without a leader. He confidently looked forward to Jinnah who, in his opinion, was the only Muslim leader of repute to serve the cause of Muslims and in whose capacity and leadership he had the fullest confidence and faith.[4] He also considered Bengal a nation entitled to self-determination like the Muslims of north-west India.[5]

Almost a decade was to pass before Jinnah admitted that he finally been converted to Iqbal's conclusions as a result a careful examination and study of the political and constitutional problems facing India.[6] With his poetry and his political and philosophical writings Iqbal succeeded in creating an intellectual climate in which the Pakistan idea could grow and reach its culmination.

MUSLIM NATIONALISM

Despite his distrust of nationalism from the theoretical viewpoint, Iqbal adopted the position of an ardent Muslim nationalist in view of diversity in race, language and religion in India. He owed his allegiance to the concept of Muslim nationalism which he loved because it

..... is the source of my life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am, by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby recreating its whole past, as a living operative factor in my present consciousness.[7]

The preservation of Islam and the Islamic way of life was uppermost in his mind. 'The life of Islam as the cultural force, in this country very largely depends on its centralisation in a specified territory'.[8] He claimed that the Muslim in India constituted a nation as compared to other people.

> We are 70 millions and far more homogeneous than any other peopl: in India. Indeed the Muslim of India are the only Indian people who can fitly be described as a nation in the modern sense of the word.[9]

Iqbal's concept of Muslim nationalism marked the theoretical beginning of the Pakistan movement. It was given a practical and final shape in politics by Jinnah, a profounder of the two-nation theory, which considers Hindus and Muslims of the subcontinent two separate nations. Iqbal was by no means the first to advocate separation. The ground had been prepared for him by some prominent thinkers, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. For many years, Muslim thinker like Syed Ahmed Khan, MAulana Mohamed Ali, Jamal-ud-din Afghani and the Aga Khan had been vaguely suggesting Hindus and Muslims as two nations. In the 1930s some other Muslim thinkers and leaders were evolving schemes for a separate Muslim polity. Even a Punjabi Hindu leader Lajpat Rai, had suggested the partition of India as early as 1924. V.D. Savarkar, the president of the Hindu Mahasabha, had frequently referred to the Hindus and Muslims as two nations.[10]

RELIGION AND POLITICS ISLAM

Iqbal provided the ideological framework for the proposed Muslim state. 'The state, according to Islam, is only an effort to realise the spiritual in human organization.'[11] He regarded Islam as a single unalysable reality, which is one or the other as your point of view varies. Thus it is considered 'necessary to unite religion and state, ethics and poli-

tics in a single revelation.'[12] Iqbal denounced the Western concept of the duality of church and state, and separation of politics from religion.

> ... In Europe religion is a private affair of the individual, and has nothing to do with what is called man's temporal life. Islam does not bifurcate the unity of man into an irreconcilable duality of spirit and matter. In Islam God and the universe, spirit and matter, church and state, are organic to each other.'[13]

RECONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN ISLAM

Nonetheless, Iqbal pleaded for the *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.* He significantly differed from the advocates of an orthodox Islamic state. His Islamic ideology was tempered with a mild, Westernised liberalism. He assured the Hindu of a future Pakistan that they should not fear the creation of a Muslim state would 'mean the introduction of a kind of religious rule in such a state.'[14] This Muslim state would be at peace with the Hindus and would rid Islam of the 'stamp' of 'Arabian imperialism.'[15]

Iqbal gave a more flexible dynamic interpretion to Islamic political theory. He ruled out the possibility of a theocracy in his anticipated Muslim state. 'The republican form of government is not only thoroughly consistent with the spirit of Islam, but has also become a necessity in view of the new forces that are set free in the world of Islam.'[16]

Iqbal did not have the peculiar problem of Pakistan before him, but what he stated about *ijma* (consensus) had a direct bearing on the constitutional problem faced by Pakistan. In his opinion, the legislature can exercise the power of *ijma* and this is necessary in view of the impact of new world forces and the political experience of European nations. He held:

The growth of republican spirit, and the gradual forma-
tion of legislative assemblies in Muslim lands consti-
tutes a great step in advance. The transfer of the power
of *Ijtihad* [Free exercise of Judgement] from individual
representatives of schools to a Muslim legislative as-
sembly... is the only possible form *Ijma* can take in
modern times..... In this way alone we can stir into
activity the dormant spirit of life in our legal system, and
give it an evolutionary outlook. [17]

The incorporation of a provision for separate ecclesiasti-
cal committee of *ulama* (learned men in Islamic religion)
having power to supervise the legislative activity of the *majlis*
(parliament) in the Persian Constitution of 1906 had been
condemned by Iqbal as a 'dangerous arrangement'. Not-
withstanding his modernist recognition of Islamic evolution,
Iqbal took up an orthodox position that 'The *Ulema* should
form a vital part of a Muslim legislative assembly helping
and guiding free discussion on questions relating to law.'[18]
Yet he was not willing to concede to the viewpoint of the
ulama that they could claim finality regarding the interpeta-
tion of Islamic law. As he had realised that

> since things have changed and world of Islam is today
> confronted and affected by new forces set free by the
> extraordinary development of human thought in all its
> directions, I see no reason why this attitude should be
> maintained any longer.[19]

He, therefore, pleaded that

> The claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to
> re-interpret the fundamental legal principles, in the light
> of their own experience and the altered conditions of
> modern life is, in my pinion, perfectly justified.[20]

In order to remove the possibilities of erroneous inter-
pretations of Islamic law Iqbal suggested reformation in 'the
present system of legal education in Mohammedan coun-
tries,' extension of its domain and 'an intelligent study of
modern jurisprudence.'[21]

> Iqbal appealed to the Muslims to equip themselves with
> 'penetrative thought' and 'fresh experience' so as to
> 'courageously proceed to the work of reconstruction
> before them'. This work of reconstruction, however, is
> more than 'mere adjustment to modern conditions of
> life.'[22] He wanted to organise Muslims society on a spiri-
> tual basis because Europe today is the greatest hin-
> drance in the way of man's ethical advancement. The
> Muslim, on the other hand, is in possession of these
> ultimate ideas on the basis of a revelation..... Let the
> Muslim of today..... reconstruct his social life in the light
> of ultimate principles, and evolve out of the hitherto
> partially revealed purpose of Islam, the spiritual democ-
> racy which is the ultimate aim of Islam.[23]

Iqbal had pointed out some of the inherent defects of West-
ern democracy where 'the spirit of freedom' and 'the dignity
of man' were being trampled underfoot.[24] He was keen to
reform the concept of democracy in such a way that it might
purge humanity of all evils, and establish a social order that
would be nearer to the concept of the 'kingdom of God on
Earth', composed of 'unique individuals'.[25] He saw the vi-
sion of this democracy in Islam where 'every human being is
a centre of latent power'[26] and this possibility would be
ushered in if the individuals had undergone training of obe-
dience to law, cultivate self-discipline and self-control in
order to develop their selfhood and be worthy of the respon-
sibilities of the state.[27]

Iqbal was inspired by a vision of world-wide Muslim polity. He thus exhorted every Muslim nation to 'sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics.'[28]

ECONOMIC IDEAS

Iqbal found in Islam a new social order where man's social status would not be determined by his caste or colour or the amount of money he earned but by the kind of life he lived. To him, Islam recognised 'the worth of the individual' and was founded 'on[29] the equality of spirits'.

Although Iqbal was not completely in favour of the socialisation of the basic instruments of production and distribution. He believed in the nationalisation of basic industries and distribution of material wealth in the society. The distribution of wealth is to be ensured among all classes of people through the institution of voluntary property tax (zakat), restrictions on the process of laws of inheritance and the prohibition of usury.[30] He considered modern Western democracy essentially plutocratic because of its inequitable capitalist system, resulting in the exploitation of the poor by the rich.

On the contrary, although he rejected its atheism Iqbal was sympathetic to the socialist programmes of the USSR. He did not regard Islam and socialism as necessarily mutually exclusive or antagonistic.[31] There are differences of opinion among scholars whether Iqbal was a socialist or not. However, some of his followers have described him as a 'Muslim socialist.'

The foregoing discussion shows that Iqbal was primarily a poet-philosopher. He was more concerned with philosophy and mysticism than with politics. He became interested in politics 'because present-day political ideals, as they appear to be shaping themselves in India, may affect its

(Islam's) original structure and character.'[31] He devoted the best part of his life to the careful study of Islam, its laws, polity, culture, history and civilisation.[32] To him, Islam was a complete philosophy of life and political philosophy was an indispensable part of it. He could not, therefore, avoid being a political thinker as well. But what not, therefore, avoid being a political thinker as well. But what distinguishes him from other orthodox Muslim thinkers of his time is the fact that he undertook a dynamic and liberal interpretation of Islam in view of the emergence of new forces in the world of Islam. Iqbal's view in this respect was shared also by the leading Muslim jurists, reformers and liberal Westernised thinkers in undivided India and also in Pakistan.

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MAULANA MAUDUDI

Maulana Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979) was not only a renowned Islamic thinker, prolific writer, publisist but also an active, practical politician and determined leader of a political movement who aspired to political power in order to establish an Islamic state based on the Quran and *Sunnah* (Practices of the Prohet Muhammad). He had written a great number of books chiefly in Urdu and some of them have been translated into English. He was one of the distinguished and influential figures of the Muslim community in the Indian subcontinent in the early 1940s and more particularly since the establishment of Pakistan in 1947. He and his movement, Jammat-i-Islami, constitute one of the most significant forces in contemporary Islam and contemporary Pakistan politics.

EARLY LIFE AND PRE-PARTITION VIEWS
Maududi was born in 1903 at Aurangabad in Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh) India, into a family with a long religious tradition. His father was a deeply religious lawyer who gave his son religious education stressing Persian and Arabic. He had claimed his descent from Maudud, a relater of traditions of the prophet Muhammad, who is believed to have come to India with Muhammad ibn Qasim. He was not in the normal sense an *alim* (learned man in Islamic religion)

and did not attend any religious institution. He was self-taught in Islamic religious studies.

After his father's death young Maududi took up journalism at the age of sixteen. He was the correspondent of *Taj* (Jabalpur) and afterwards became its editor. In 1920 he went to Delhi first to assume the editorship of the newspaper *Muslim* (1921-23) and later of *al-Jamiyat* (1925-28), both of which were organs of the Jamiyat-i-Ulama-i-Hind, an organisation of Muslim religious scholars. After his resignation from *al-Jamiyat,* Maududi moved to Hyderabad where he devoted himself to research and writings. In 1933 he became editor of the monthly journal, *Tarjuman al-Quran,* published from Hyderabad, which become the main vehicle for the dissemination of Maududi's ideas. He also served as the dean of the faculty of theology at Islamia College, Lahore, for sometime. He established an academic and research centre called *Dar-al-Islam*, where in collaboration with Muhammad Iqbal, he had planned to produce competent scholars in Islamics and to carry out the reconstruction of Islamic law. The proposal did not materialise because of Iqbal's death in 1938. It seems strange how could Maududi attract Iqbal's attention when there is very little in common between his and Iqbal's religious and political ideas.

In the early 1920s Maududi began to take some interest in politics. he participated in the Khilafat movement and demanded complete independence for India. He was among those who opposed Gandhi's policy of moderation. By 1925 there was a shift in his thinking. Non-co-operation was a failure; the Turkish khilafat was a lost cause, and the Indian National Congress under Gandhi's leadership took an increasingly Hindu character. Maududi was convinced that the interests of Indian Muslims did no longer lay in co-operating with the Hindus to throw off British rule. A religious orientation toward the problems of Muslims began to take shape in his mind. With the passage of time he became

aware that an Islamic system based upon the divine revela-
tion in the Quran was the ultimate solution. He became
dissatisfied with the nationalist orientation of the Jamiyat-i-
Ulama-i-Hind. Through his writings in the journal, *Tarjuman
al-Quran,* Maududi asked the Indian Muslims to stem the
flood of Western influence and to follow strictly the prin-
ciples of true Islam. He demonstrated by rational argument
the superiority of the Islamic system to the foreign and non-
Islamic systems that were challenging it.[1]

By March 1940 the Muslim League under the leadership
of Jinnah became the protagonist of a theory that the Mus-
lims of India were a separate and district nation and no more
minority community. It demanded in clear terms the parti-
tion of India and the grouping of regions in which Muslims
were numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and
North-Eastern zones of India, into 'Independent States'. The
League was strengthened with the majority of Muslim opin-
ion behind it. So Jinnah claimed that the League alone
represented the Muslims of India. On the other hand, the
Indian National Congress, representing the bulk of the Hindu
opinion, was equally nationalistic. Consequently, during the
years 1937-1947 most of Maududi's efforts were aimed at
analysis and refutation of the ideas profounded by the two
major political parties in India, the Congress and the Muslim
League. He endeavoured to show that both were national-
ist, that nationalism is a Western phenomenon, and that the
Muslims' loyalty is to his religion and can never be given to
an entity such as the nation.[2]

Thus, Maududi thought differently: he opposed the crea-
tion of a nation-state, Pakistan, which a major attractive idea
for the Indian Muslims from 1940 onwards, on the ground
that Islam and nationalism are incompatible with each other.[3]
Between 1937 and 1947 Maududi equally deno unced the
'composite' nationalism championed by Maulana Abul Kalam
Azad and the *ulamas* of Deobond as well as the Pakistan

movement led by the secular-minded Muslim league lead-
ership. Maududi regarded the ruling elite of a Muslim na-
tional state as *Kufrs* (Disbelievers) and 'sinners'.[4] He visual-
ised that Pakistan when established, would be a secular
nation-state based on Western model because 'The back-
ground of the men', as Keith Callard put it, 'who organized
the campaign [for Pakistan] was not theology and Islamic
law but politics and the common law, not Deobond but
Cambridge and the Inns of Court.'[5] Maududi pleaded that at
the beginning the Muslims should struggle for the propaga-
tion and adoption of an Islamic Ideological state in the
whole of India in order to transform it into a *dar-al-Islam*
(land of Islam).[6] With a small number of supporters he
founded a closely knit organisation on authoritarian lines,
the Jamaat-i-Islami, in 1941. The objective of the Jammat
movement was the establishment of an Islamic polity, com-
prehending all the lands inhabited by the faithful.

> The ultimate goal of Islam is a world state in which the
> claims of racial and national prejudices would be dis-
> mantled and all mankind incorporated in a cultural and
> political system.... In their spirit and in their aims, Islam
> and nationalism are diametrically opposed to each other.[7]

During the period 1941-47 and afterwards Maududi in-
tended to train and produce small, informed, dedicated,
disciplined and an honest and pious group of party cadres
with a rigorous instruction and training in Islamic ideology to
enable them to occupy the key positions in the future Is-
lamic state.[8] As an organisation Jamaat-i-Islami was highly
centralised. Its organisation and membership had a remark-
able parallel with that of the Communist Party. Many times
the potential leaders were observed and kept on probation
for months before their entry into the organisation. Maududi
wanted to erect intact the ideal social and political system of

an early Islam and had an enormous influence over the orthodox and religious-minded Muslim and intellectuals and increased during the period preceding partition.[9] However, he lost some of his popularity when he refused to support the Pakistan movement because it was a nationalist movement.

ACTIVITIES IN PAKISTAN

After the creation of Pakistan in 1947 as an independent nation-state Maududi migrated from Pathankot in India to Lahore to work towards moulding the new Muslim state to fit his idea of an Islamic state. Like all groups that had opposed the establishment of Pakistan, the Jamaat was under a cloud. It was inactive from August 1947 to January 1949.[10] Under Maududi's leadership, the Jamaat soon emerged as a genuine political party in opposition to the Muslim League government and with the Islamic state as its ultimate objective. The branches of the Jamaat were established throughout Pakistan but it remained essentially a West Pakistan group with its main support deriving from the lower middle classes, lower and middle grades of civil servants, students and workers in the urban centres of Karachi, Lahore and other smaller towns of Punjab.[11] At the time of partition there were only 625 members of the Jamaat. Subsequently, the membership figure rore to 1,500.[12] Maududi attracted a great deal of attention through his lectures and his writings. Many a time he had to court imprisonment. He was imprisoned in October 1948 for his activities prejudicial to the security of the state. In 1952-3 he led a campaign along with the anti-Pakistan group, the Ahrar and the orthodox *ulama,* demanding that the Ahmadiya community be declared a non-Muslim minority and Zafrullah Khan, an Ahmadi and the then foreign minister, and other Ahmadis occupying high-ranking posts in Pakistan be removed from their offices. This agitation led to the large-scale riots and disorder

in Punjab. Martial law was imposed in Lahore in February 1953 and Maududi was arrested and sentenced to death. Under public pressure the sentence was eventually commuted. In 1958 all political parties including the Jammat-i-Islami were banned and like them it was revived under the 'Second Republic' of Ayub Khan in 1962. Politically, however, Maududi's party did not demonstrate much strength. It lacked funds to wage much of a compaign and had continually to fight against government candidates. Its performance in the elections of 1950 was poor. One Jamaat candidate was elected to the Punjab Assembly and two were successful in Bahawalpur.[13]

Maududi played a central role in the controversy over an Islamic Constitution for Pakistan which among other reasons delayed constitution-making in Pakistan for about eight and a half years. The first and the most difficult task faced by the framers of the first Pakistani constitution was to decide the exact role of Islam in the state. It was generally agreed that Pakistan should become an Islamic state but there was no agreement as to the precise meaning of the term 'Islamic state' and not even broad unanimity on what constitutes a Muslim. This caused a long-drawn-out controversy between the Westernised politicians and the *ulama* In view of Maududi's significant role in the constitutional debate some considerations of his conception of Islamic state are required.

MAUDUDI'S DEMAND FOR ISLAMIC CONSTITUTION: MODIFICATION OF HIS EARLIER VIEWS

Contrary to his earlier views Maududi began to put forward his claim for a truly Islamic constitution in Pakistan. The reasons which he advanced were that Pakistan had been fought for and won in the name of Islam; the whole *raison d' etre* of the state was Islam. 'It was not a territorial or an economic or a linguistic or even, strictly, a national community that was seeking a state but a religious commu-

nity.'[14] The responsibility was now rested upon the leader-
ship to create a state and a society based upon Islamic
ideology. Pakistan was established 'to achieve the real and
ultimate objective of making Islam a practical, constitutional
reality.' Maududi asked:

..... If instead of an Islamic, a secular and Godless
Constitution was to be introduced, and if instead of the
Islamic *Shariah* [Law} the British Civil and Criminal Proce-
dure Codes had to be enforced, what was the sense in all
this struggle for a separate Muslim homeland?[15]

CONCEPTION OF ISLAMIC STATE

The Islamic state as envisaged by Maududi has its
constitution and laws conferred by God. Sovereignty be-
longs to Allah. It includes its supreme ruler, *amir,* Majlis-e-
shura (advisory council) and judiciary, *Amir,* representing
the 'respectable and the most pious men' of his society, will
be elected and will exercise full authority in all respects and
will enjoy full confidence so long as he follows the *Shariah.*
The *amir* will work in consultation with the advisory council,
which may or may not be elected. The council will be com-
posed of persons well-educated in the Quran and the *Su-
nah.* Decisions of the council will generally be taken by
majority votes. But the *amir* is not bound to abide by the
decisions of the council and can decide the matters accord-
ing to his own judgement. There is a provision for the
removal of *amir.* There will be no political parties and no
provision for opposition.[16] The purpose of judiciary is to
adjudicate 'in strict accordance with the Law of God.[17] Maududi
coined a new term 'theo-democracy' for his Islamic state
which means a divine 'democratic goverment' because under
it the Muslims have been given limited popular sovereignty
under the suzerainty of God[18]. This tantamounts to an all
powerful monolithic state with a definite religious ideology.
He insisted that the Constitutent Assembly must accept the
following demands.

i.   That the sovereignty in Pakistan belongs to God alone
     and that the Government shall administer the country as
     His agent.
ii. That the basic law of the land is the *Shariah.*
iii. That all those existing laws which may be in conflict the
     *Shariah.*shall gradually be repealed or brought into con-
     formity with the basic law and no law which may be in
     conflict with the *Shariah* shall be framed in future.
iv. That the State in exercising its powers shall have no
     authority to transgress the limits imposed by Islam.[19]

Some of these principles were later incorporated in the
objectives Resolution and the various constitutions of Paki-
stan. These principles, Maududi believed, would have a far-
reaching effect on the national life. The electrote would elect
those most suited to carry out the intention of such prin-
ciples. The development of an Islamic state from this basis
would take ten years, provided a 'comprehensive plan for a
thorough reform' of the collective life of Pakistan could be
devised and implemented. 'And as this change comes about
gradually, the British-made laws can be amended or re-
pealed and replaced by the Islamic laws'.[20]

In his Constitutional proposals submitted to the Assem-
bly in August 1952, Maududi was in favour of granting the
Supreme Court jurisdiction in questions of the repugnancy
of acts of legislature against the *Shariah.* He wrote:

. . . neither the mere insertion of the Objective Resolu-
tion . . .   nor the inclusion of an article in the Directive
Principles to the effect that no legislation will be made against
the Quran and the *Sunnah,* nor even the formation of a
Committee of *'Ulama* for consultative purposes (but not
having a final voice) . . . will serve that purpose . . . . This
purpose cannot be achieved unless a provision is made in
the body of the Constitution itself that no Legislature, Cen-
tral or provincial, shall have the power to enact any law

which conflicts with the teachings of the Quran and the *Sunnah.* Moreover, there should be a specific provision in the Constitution that every citizen will have the right to challenge in the Supreme Court any law passed by a legislature on the gound of its being repugnant to the teachings of the Quran and the *Sunnah* and therefore *ultra vires* of the Constitution.[21]

Maududi added some new demands relating to civil service and the independence of the judiciary, the responsibility of the state to provide food, clothing, housing, medical aid and education for every needy citizen, the declaration of the Ahmadis as a non-Muslim minority, educational reforms in accordance with Islamic ideology, religious training for civil servants and the provision of facilities whereby civil servants might observe the tenets of Islam.[22]

CONCEPTION OF *SHARIAH*

According to Maududi, the Islamic state is the *Shariah*-state. Now, what is the *Shariah* ?

There are four sources of *Shariah* or Islamic Law in an unwritten Islamic constitution; the Quran, *Sunnah*, conventions of *Khilafat-i-Rashidah* (the period of the rule of the first four caliphs after the death of the Prophet) relating to constitutional and judicial problems unamimously accepted by the Muslims (ijma),[23] and the ruling of great jurists in regard to various constitutional problems of their times.

Maududi again classified all these sources into three categories: *fardh* and *wajib* (mandatory) *matlub* (recommendatory) and *mubah* (permissible).[24] The mandatory elements are broadly those laws and directives as laid down in the Quran and *Sunnah,* such as the prohibition of alcoholic drinks, interest and gambling, the punishments prescribed for adultery and theft, and the rules for inheritance. These are beyond the purview of any legislature and their observance is obligatory in a Muslim country.[25] The recommenda-

tory provisions are found in the *Shariah* which should be observed and practised as the basic law of the land. 'Some of them have been clearly demanded of us while others have been recommended by implication and deduction from the Sayings of the Holy Prophet.'[26] The remaining sphere, permissible law is flexible and very wide and is exactly the sphere under which the Muslim society has been given freedom to legislate keeping in view the ever-increasing requirements of every age. Permissible legislation is the result of the application of four methods: *taweel* (interpretations of the meanings of the injunctions found in the Quran and *Sunnah*), *giyas* (analogous deduction), *ijtihad* (disciplined judgement of jurists where no precedent exists) and *istihsan* (juristic preference).[27] The laws derived from these methods must be accepted unanimously *(ijma)* or having the approval of majority of Muslims. Maududi, however, maintained that the four types of legislation could be exercised only by pious, well-qualified persons in Islamic law and within the limits prescribed by Islam.[28] Thus his idea of legislature is different from the concept of a modern parliament. 'The legislature in an Islamic state can formulate laws without restriction, provided such legislature is not in contravention of the letter and the spirit of the *Shariah*[29] As for the objection raised against the re-introduction of the *Shariah* in the same rigid form as was in vogue in the classical period of Islamic history, Maududi claimed that the *Shariah* existed in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the whole of the *Shariah* had been abrogated except injunction regarding purely personal matters of Muslims like marriage, divorce, etc.[30] Therefore, he said:

> Coming to our own times and our own country, Pakistan, if we wish to promulgate Islamic Law here it would mean nothing short of demolishing the entire structure

erected by our British masters and the erection of a new one in its place.... [But] the required reform should be gradual and the changes in the laws should be effected in such a manner as to balance favourably the change in the moral, educational, social cultural and political life of the nation.[31]

LEGISLATURE IN ISLAMIC STATE

As a temporary measure until the Islamic state came into operation, Maududi was then prepared to accept the subordination of the executive to the majority decisions of the legislature, since it was not likely that a caliph or a consultative council of the noral calibre of the early Islamic society could be found in contemporary Pakistan.[32] He attempted to explain his point by referring to the institution of a body of persons whom the Prophet Muhammad and his successors had consulted on all matters relating to the affairs of state. According to the Munir Report the decision taken by them undoubtedly served as precedents and were in the nature of *ijma* which, however, could not be said to the law-making function but rather 'law-finding.'[33] The Munir Report further pointed out that the legislature in an Islamic state cannot be sovereign, because it will not be competent to abrogate, repeal or do away with law in the Quran or the *Sunnah*. Sovereignty, in its essentially juristic sense, can only rest with Allah. In an Islamic state, therefore, people cannot make laws, because *'ijma-i-ummat* [consensus of the community] in Islamic jurispredence is restricted to the *ulama* and *mujtahids* [persons qualified to exercise *ijtihad*] of acknowledged status and does not at all extend, as in democracy, to the populace .... Legislation in its present sense is unknown to the Islamic system ... There is in it no sanction for what may, in the modern sense, be called legislation.'[34] If the *ulama's* point of view as expresed before the Munir Commission was to be accepted, the need for a

legislature would virtually disappear. The idea that law-mak-
ing was to be confined to the practioners of Islamic law
would seem to approach very closely to theocracy. This fear
was expressed not only by non-Muslims but also by many
of the Muslim intelligentsia and profesional politicians in
Pakistan. The Muslim politicians and intelligentsia urged a
more liberal approach towards Islam.

POSITION OF NON-MUSLIMS IN ISLAMIC IDEOLOGI-CAL STATE

Maududi's avowed aim was to establish an ideological
state based on the fundamental injunctions of the Quran
and *Sunnah*. He made a clear distinction between the Is-
lamic ideological state and secular ideological states of the
communist and fascist types by his emphasis on the idea of
justice based on the Divine Law as the guide and final
arbiter.

The specific nature of this religious ideological state
necessitates the distinction between two kinds of citizen,
Muslims and non-Muslims or *dhimmis*. The non-Muslims,
according to Maududi, will enjoy civil liberties and even in
economic matters there will be no discrimination between a
Muslim and a *dhimmi*. But non-Muslims cannot be appointed
to key posts and will have no right to participate in law-
making. Moreover, they will be exempted from military serv-
ice Muslims and non-Muslims. Maududi retorted:

> If any one has any objection with regard to these two
> kinds of citizenship in an Islamic state and their distinc-
> tive features, he should try to acquaint himself with the
> details of the treatment meted out practically by other
> ideological states to the people who do not believe in
> their ideology and with the disabilities attaching to all
> national minorities of the National states.[35]

Therefore, the question whether a person is or is not a Muslim will be of fundamental importance, and in this matter when the prominent *ulama* were questioned, each of them gave an answer different from the rest.[36]

Taking his stand on the Quran and *Sunnah*, Maududi also denied women the posts of responsibility in an Ismalic state, including membership of the legislature, since politics and administration belonged to the 'men's sphere of responsibilities'. He, however, suggested a separate assembly for women elected by female voters for their welfare, education and medical care,[37]

ISLAMIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM: A THIRD WAY

Maududi condemned capitalism as an 'inhuman evil' because of its free enterprise, private property and the profit motive and the loss of individual freedom. At the same time he was also critical of communism although he admitted that communism had made certain achievements in the sphere of social welfare and co-ordinated state planning. Islam alone, according to him, can offer the best solution, a third way between capitalism and Marxism. Islam is not based upon exploitation of wealth, as it enjoins, on its followers to give way his wealth in exess of basic necessities. Usury and interest are prohibited according to Quran. In place of co-operative movement, insurance and provident fund there is the institution of *zakat* (alms) in Islam which is meant to take care of the needy, the aged, the widow, the orphan and the sick. The Islamic law of inheritance tends to distribute and divide wealth amongst a wider group, consequently wealth does not accumulate in the hands of a few. Maududi did not favour rapid industrialisation and advocated a gradual replacement of men by machines.[38]

There had been a 'ceaseless clamour for Islam and the Islamic State' from all quarters since the creation of Pakistan,[39] yet there was no agreement among the Pakistanis as

to the precise meaning of these concepts. Serious dis-
agreement has developed not only among the *ulama* as to
the nature of the Islamic state but also between the *ulama*
and the Westernised politicians as to how far the principles
of Islam and the principles of democracy ought to be the
foundation of political organisation.

INFLUENCE OF MAUDUDI - AN ASSESSMENT

What was the impact of Maududi, one of the foremost
protagonists of Islamic state, on the constitutions of Paki-
stan (1956, 1962 and 1973)? The Islamic provisions were
basically the same in all the constitutions. Pakistan was
designated as an 'Islamic Republic' in the 1956 Constitution.
The sovereignty of Allah and Islamic principles were stressed.
The Directive Principles included the clauses, non-enforce-
able in the law courts, about preventing prostitution, gam-
bling and drinking and the elimination of *riba* (usury) Article
198 read" 'No law shall be enacted which is repugnent to
the Injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and
Sunnah.... and existing law shall be brought into conformity
with such Injunctions; The head of state was to be a Muslim.
Articles 197 and 198 instructed the president to establish an
organisation for Islamic research and studies to assist in
reconstituting the Muslim society on a truly Islamic basis
and to appoint a commission for Islamic research and
studies to assist in reconstituting the Muslim society on a
truly Islamic basis and to appoint a commission to make
recommendations for bringing existing law in conformity
with the injunctions of Islam. It was further stated that steps
were to be taken to enable the Muslims of Pakistan individu-
ally and collectively to order their lives in accordance with
the Quran and *Sunnah.* But ultimately it was the legislature
which was given the final authority to determine whether a
particular law would be repugnent to Islam or not. Personal
laws of the non-Muslims were guranteed in the constitu-
tions.

Under the influence of President Ayub Khan the Constitution of 1962 dropped the word 'Islamic' and simply described the state as the 'Republic of Pakistan', Ayub, however, had to yield to the pressure of orthodox Muslim opinion and again Pakistan was designated as 'Islamic Republic'. The constitution adopted a mild clause under the principles of law-making and of policy': 'Prostitution, Gambling and ... the consumption of alcoholic liquor.... should be discouraged'. Articles 199 and 207 specifically provided for an Advisory Council of Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Research Institute.

The Islamic provisions continued to remain in the Constitution of 1973. The constitution further declared like the Constitutions of Iran and Saudi Arabia: 'Islam shall be the state religion of Pakistan.' This phrase did not occur in the earlier constitutions. However, the Islamic provisions did not intensify the Islamic character of the state, nor did they over ride the fundamental Western ideas on which the constitutions were based.

Maududi and the Jamaat approved the 1956 Constitution. on the ground that it fulfilled to a great extent 'the aspirations of Islam-loving democratic people'.[40] Maududi was also in favour of a democratic regime in his opposition to Ayub's authoritarian system of government. This revealed Maududi's flexible attitude to the changing political situation in Pakistan as compared to his previous position as an orthodox and fundamentalist Islamic thinker.

General Zia-ul-Haq who assumed power in July 1977, was a devout Muslim, and a strong sympathiser of the Jamaat. Maududi was one of the important leaders who welcomed the imposition of martial law in July 1977. Since then Zia had embarked upon a vigorous Islamisation programme for the establishment of *Nizam-i-Mustafa* (a state based on the Teachings of the Prophet Mohammad). Pakistan had switched to interest-free banking system. This

move was part of a drive by military ruler General Zia-ul-Haq to enforce an Islamic order in Pakistan. Islam forbids the receiving or paying of interest but allows borrowers and lenders to share profits and losses [PLS] accounts. Some of the Islamic criminal codes, such as stoning to death, public hanging and flogging etc. had already been put into operation.

A new set of Qazi courts and *Shariat* benches were empowered to strike down any existing law if it was repugnant to the injuctions of Islam as laid down in the Quran.[41] However, this heightened tensions between the majority Sunni and minority shia communities because of the imposition of Sunni interpretations of Quranic law, tradition and history.[42] The Jamaat was not satisfied with an Islamisation programme launched by Zia although it had supported the military government for several years. It launched a campaign for the lifting of martial law,[43] revival of political parties, restoration of the 1973 Constitution and supremacy of Islamic law.[44]

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18. Maududi, *Political Theory of Islam*, p.20.
19. Maududi, *Islamic Law and Constitution*, p.107.
20. *Ibid.*, p.109.
21. *Ibid.*, p.338.
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23. *Ibid.*, pp.218-9.
24. *Ibid.*, p.52.
25. *Ibid.*, p.60.
26. *Ibid.*, p.52.
27. *Ibid.*, p.62.
28. *Ibid.*, p.63, 69.
29. *Ibid.*, p.239.
30. *Ibid.*, pp.43n., 65.
31. *Ibid.*, pp.103, 104.
32. *Ibid.*, pp.243, 247.
33. *Munir Report.*, p. 29; Adams, *op.cit.*, p.391.
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