

# HIS3244 : HISTORY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

3/1/23

## IN INDIA

To understand some historical figures situated in particular time and context, and also analyse some broader concepts through this.

To analyse ideas discussed in two main texts.

Movies : Richard Attenborough's Gandhi

### Indian Political Thought

~ 30 years ago, this topic was not considered seriously and there was some ambiguity about 'social' and 'political' ideas.

Politics is closely associated with the rise of state and capital in Western Europe

'State' - People in a geographic area come together to form a political unit and assert their sovereign political authority to rule themselves and have ultimate authority over the region. This group of people agree on some common principles and goals which is often codified in a constitution.

From 1215 (when Magna Carta was signed in Britain) to French revolution in 1800s, religious authority was sidelined and sovereign political authority emerged in Europe. Meanwhile, in the rest of the world, the countries faced colonisation & were introduced to capitalism through their colonisers.

Indian political thought tries to understand the interaction between the ideas of Indian subcontinent and Western political ideas.

(2)

Orientalism - mysticising India and the practices here  
White man's burden - thinking of India as a backward  
society which needs to be "civilised" by  
colonisers.

Different types of reactions to this - looking towards  
modernisation, reactionary, introspective, reflective.

We are looking at two prominent figures in this  
course, but there were also other important  
figures whose ideas are very important - on  
continuity vs change, tradition vs modernity.

We borrow concepts and frameworks that evolved  
in the realities of Western school of thought  
whose historical, geographical and material contexts  
are very different from ours.

4/1/23

## Lecture 2

### Indian Political Thought

- Initially there was no difference between history & political  
science, because it was mostly political history,  
and not about people (18<sup>th</sup> & 19<sup>th</sup> cent.)

- Behavioural studies (early 20<sup>th</sup> cent. to 1970s):

Cheating or lying is not under purview of scientific  
studies, the arguments are tautological.

Through behavioural studies, there was an emphasis on  
making social sciences value-free and make it  
more empirical by collecting data. The accepted way  
of writing history was by using officially recorded  
data.

- Revival of Normative Political Theory (post 1970s)

The ideas where people are talking about their  
values and orientations also came to be accepted,  
not just empirical or official data.

→ Political Thought in Modern India - Pantham & Deutsch 1987 (03)

This book has political, social & religious strands and ideas by prominent figures and groups. Political ideas talk about nation, state and power.

→ Contemporary Indian Political Thought - Mohanty & Monorajan (2000)

- What appears social can be political from another perspective
- Political formations in each society have their own distinct characteristics
- Plea for decolonizing political thought: Europeans developed their own modernity by analysing and developing their own political thought & ideas. The same ideas of modernity were then thrust on other post-colonial countries and developing countries, without examining what is suitable for these societies.
- Ideas of Phule (Satya Shodhak Dharma) and Ambedkar (Dhamma - Samata Karuna Maitri) for a new Indian society derived from modified & secular principles of Indian culture.

→ Foundations of Indian Political Thought - VR Menka

- |                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Cosmic - Manu              | Pragmatic - Kautilya & successors   |
| Heroic - Valmiki & Vyasa   | Stamanic - Mahavir, Buddha, Somdeva |
| Moral - Sukra & Brihaspati | Imperial - Barni & Fazal            |

→ Historicity of the 'political' by Kauraj in Comparative Political Thought by Frieden & Vincent

Politics comes from 'polis' which refers to 'of the people' whereas Rajniti or Rajkaran have to do with kings and kingdoms. Kauraj asserts that there are issues in translating the culture specific meaning. Politics - about organising the people, their rights Shantiparna & Arthashastra - these talk more about the duties and responsibilities of a king.

⑤ →

Poverty of Indian Political Thought - Bikhu Parekh (2010)

Questions of legitimacy and obligation - considers the idea of secularism. The idea came about with a divide between church and state; that secular issues should be resolved in a secular space and the 'spiritual/religious' ideas should be with the church. But this happened in Europe; in India there was no battle - the political power always ceded to the religions. Secularism in India, in a way, has been added by modernising elites which puts into question the legitimacy of such values and people's obligation to it. Western political theory has limited explanatory powers when applied to non-western world.

6/1/23

### Lecture 3

Can theories of social sciences have universal appeal? The idea of nation-state is associated with the unfolding of capital in Europe - specific, local factors produced the idea. When such factors didn't arise in other geographical regions, can we apply the concept in other places?

≠ L.K. Advani coined 'pseudosecularism'.

'Sarva dharma samabhava' - word associated with idea by Gandhi

'Dharma nirapekshata' - translation

'The veda' - word that captures the idea that matters of material world and religious world should be separate.

→ India: Political ideas and making of democratic discourse - Gurpreet Mahajan (2013)

Need to go beyond cultural essentialism - we need to go beyond the arguments that a concept doesn't have cultural historicity, because we'll start questioning basic values

like 'equality' just because it doesn't have cultural anchorage in a society. We can't always look for sources or justification in our culture. (5)

For instance, there's no justification for the idea of equality in India because they didn't emerge in our cultural context - but it's still an important universal value.

Perhaps Bhakti Movements come close to talking about the idea of equality.

→ Decolonising Theory - Aditya Nigam

How to read a text?

We're going to search for universal ideas as well as specific cultural roots.

Text: any kind of an articulation (essay, book, movie) that expresses the core idea of the author.

Main words with ideas of the book

Text structure

- Descriptive
- Chronological order
- Compare and contrast
- Cause and effect
- Problem and solution

Historical contexts

- Intellectual
- Cultural
- Political
- Economic
- Linguistic.

Maharaj Vitthal Ranji Shinde - formed the Depressed Classes Mission, coined the term 'Bahujan' - immediate predecessors of Dr. Ambedkar. Also Phule and Chhatrapati Sahu.

Don't think of them as historical figures - rather as humans with choices and responding to them in a particular context: this doesn't have to be heroism or opportunism.

Historical context of the reader is also important to reflect on.

\* to achieve their broader goal

(6)

Lecture - 13/1 (Friday)  
about communalism, discussion of Gandhi movie

17/1/23

Lecture  
Historical context of Hind Swaraj (1910)

# Strategies of planning a Satyagraha

1818 - Imposition of British rule on all of India  
British defeated the Peshwas and took over their power

1857 - First war of independence  
Sepoy mutiny. Before this certain tribal communities (like Bhil in northern Maharashtra) were resisting the British, which labelled them as vivilal tribes. So, before 1857, resistance was local & dispersed. B/w 1818-57, western education, medicine and administration were introduced to India. Generally, Western modernity is introduced to India.

But, this education (which was supposed to be available and accessible to all) is initially available to only certain, small section of people

Raja Ram Mohan Roy & Jyotiba Phule were able to be critical of their own traditions because they were exposed to new ideas & philosophy (Locke, Hobbes, Rousseau). Parallely, technology also improves, especially railway & telegram.

But it was also foreign rule, and people were exploited.

Revolt of 1857 had religious dimensions.

1858 - Power transfer from East India Company to the British Empire. It's now a political rule & structural changes occur in administration - Indian ministry & Governor general.

A

## Gandhi Movie Viewing

(7) 12/1/28

- ▶ 1885 - First Session of Indian National Congress: Assents that they are representing the voices of people of India. Most members are lawyers, landowners, Royals etc - basically the elites of society. Some important figures - Pherosha Mehta, Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Dinshaw Wacha etc. All of them were referred to as liberals - "politics of petition"

Gandhi originally writes HS in Gujarati in 1909, & it's translated to English in 1910. Between 1885-1910, the major event -

- ▶ 1905 Partition of Bengal: this event catalyses the action of resisters and revolutionaries who are in India, and outside, for instance, VD Savarkar and a couple of other people, Shreeji Krishna Varma, Madam Kania. Gandhi was in SA, but visits these people in England while on work. He is agitated by their ideas and while on his way back to SA on ship Tildonan Castle he writes Hind Swaraj and himself translates to English.
- # Secretaries - Mahadevkhai Desai & Pyarelal Nair who translated Gandhi's works Gujarati → English.

Lokmanya Tilak\* - very much on the scene but not on pages. His social ideas were regressive, but he was one of the first people to clearly understand the motives of colonisation and codify the idea of 'Swaraj'.

# Dadhabhai Naoroji writes about how India is being impoverished by exorbitant salary of British officers in his book Poverty and Unbritish rule - where he appeals to the British to do better, so it's not a complete rejection of the colonisers.

\* Also, Lala Lajpat Rai & Bipin Chandra Pal.

⑧

Tilak was the first to clearly see and write about the motives of colonisers — that they were here to make money and keep the colony divided by instigating communal divisions.

18/1/23

## Lecture

Recall: Congress was looking for limited representation, some seats in the all white Governor General's Council

Any change, unless supported by social pressure / ideas, is hard to bring about.

Savarkar, Kama et al. wanted to bring about change through an armed revolt, but they weren't making serious efforts to mobilise the masses.

Masses bring about social change, not just elites. Gandhi made a conscious effort to instill fearlessness so that people would resist and fight against British.

Gandhi returns to India in 1915

Immediate context: Partition of Bengal which has led to formation of Hindu & Muslim nationalist parties.

Gandhi returns to SA from England after meeting with revolutionary expat Indians.

# Gandhi's works - sarvodaya.org

Chapters 1-3 (till page 24)

They don't express any core ideas, but rather his approach to change. The text is written as a dialogue between an imaginary reader (who asks questions) and the editor, (Gandhi) who answers.

The reader is a youth concerned about Indian politics and unhappy with the Congress ⇒ voice of the reader represents the concerns of Shaji Krishna Varma & VD Savarkar whom he met in England.

They are unhappy with Congress for not fighting the Partition of Bengal



Gandhi remains fairly unbiased and in-between in the text, and doesn't dwell on past actions. He focuses on what could be & should be done. This repeats later in Gandhi's life: while interpreting the Gita, he draws 'Anasaktiyoga' (non-attachment) from it. And says that if the Gita preached otherwise, he would reject the text. He's willing to interpret from texts, but takes responsibility of future action. (9)

How to deal with tradition and modernity?

What is tradition and modernity?

They're always considered as binary concepts -

Tradition: Old, cultural practices that have been sustained for a time.

Modernity: 'Culture in making', individualism, rationality, efficient practices.

Western modernity & related ideas (rational, secular) evolved in a certain historical & geographical contexts and shaped values and ideas.

Tradition & Modernity are defined by certain values in a particular time period.

Gandhi neither rejects tradition nor embraces modernity.

20/1/23

Lecture 7

The format of text - that of dialogue - allows Gandhi to give pointed answers and share his opinions.

## But the answers he gives are moralistic and not entirely satisfactory to current readers.

Swadeshi movement and Nationalism took a violent turn and it excluded certain communities and targeted innocent family members of British officials - Gandhi criticised this and Tagore dissociated with the Nationalist movement because of this.

(10)

As Europe moved from Dark Ages to Industrial Era through Renaissance - Enlightenment and discovery of New World, trade flourished and economic interests came to the forefront, which led to consolidation of secular power. Linguistic groups asserted their own interests by forming nation states based on language.

India is a diverse community, so it was hard to mobilise people based on linguistic identity. So people rallied around anti-colonial struggle - united against a common enemy.

But Gandhi was skeptical of nation building mainly based on fear of the enemy as the main factor. Which would such a nation last very long?

Ganga-Jamni  
Tehzeeb?

QA: Colonialism defined the current geography of India. Burma & Sri Lanka, for instance, were considered as separate units by the British Administration.

Gandhi evokes common heritage, syncretism for nationbuilding but also the pragmatism of staying together - that you can work for your interests within a larger political unit. Despite being linguistically different, a nation can be formed.

QA: Gandhi wasn't taking sides between moderates and extremists - he was diplomatic. He was a successful politician.

Change comes from the masses and the challenge for political leaders was to awaken spirit in people and make them fearless. Gandhi was very successful with this.

## HS3244 - MANDATORY READINGS

## 01. JOHNSON 1973 - Partition, Agitation &amp; Congress; Bengal 1904-08

- 1) Bengal province too large & unwieldy - made it difficult for British administration to govern effectively.
  - 2) Original practices of revenue collection (informal) remained in place and East Bengal (changing terrains) was ignored. Bengali upper caste stood for the British & benefitted from this arrangement.
  - 3) East Bengal had Hindu, upper-caste landowners, but had predominantly Muslim peasantry.
  - 4) Zamindars - tenant fiction tipped over to riots, but British couldn't change this Agrarian relationship much. Mid-level landlords weren't doing so well.
  - 5) Land was subdivided through generations  $\Rightarrow$  the average landowner wasn't making too much money.
  - 6) Most literate people were male upper caste Hindus. English education also opened doors to ~~new~~ better professions.
  - 7) School output > Govt. jobs available: Malcontent youth
  - 8) Late 1800s: Govt. policy to increase employment among Biharis, Orissis and Muslims - negatively impacted  $\downarrow$  Hindus dependent on white-collar jobs in WB East
  - 9) Partition only convinced the Bhadrak that British weren't on this side anymore.
- 
- 10) Wanted to make Bengal province more manageable by making it smaller & simultaneously develop Assam by merging EB districts with it (larger area, access to port, admin. service)
  - 11) Initial proposal in 1890s were met with petitions for (rel.) small problems (legislative council, Board of revenue, 1 lawyer +++) which were addressed. British also objected cuz they didn't want power moved away from Calcutta.
  - 12) As education & competition increased, there would be a demand for local administrators - this would disadvantage Hindu VC who had dominated the field due to high literacy. East Bengal Hindus had most to lose - because partition would increase competition with Biharis & Orissians and Assamese & Muslims
  - 13) Great fear of unemployment in Dacca - gov't. didn't take it seriously. EB - Muslim majority but Hindu <sup>elite</sup> leaders everywhere.
  - 14) No Englishmen in EB. Also wanted to educate & employ Muslims in the EB administration. Also, Congress was too powerful in Calcutta.

INTRODUCTION

PARTITION OF  
BENGAL

- 16) 4 July 1905 - boundary had been sanctioned by London to transfer 15 districts. Made the British villains. Triggered the Swadeshi Movement - boycott of English clothes. Hoped to bring attention, weaken British industry & open space for Indian industries.
- 17) 7 August - Large meeting convened with condemned the partition for breaking up "Bengla-speaking area". Implicated cows & pigs in salt, sugar, cloth manufacturing to appeal to religious ideas.
- October 16 - Day of Partition - observed a day of mourning.
- 18) Protests & agitation were limited to Bengal proper. Other regions didn't care about it as much (yet).
- 19) There was a small & temporary dip in cloth sales - boycott didn't work. Value of Indian cloth went up due to demand. Cotton, salt, sugar - same, but tobacco & footwear import declined.
- 20) Failure of boycott - despite this, Partition remained v. imp. issue. Persistent agitation in EB districts - small communities, hard for minorities to organize.
- 21) High caste Hindus - most to lose, better organization. Main protesters - "volunteers", young men & schoolboys (idealism).

- 22) Jamalpur: Hindu elite, Muslim peasantry & shopkeepers - quarrels. Trading centre + mela for including latter in the movement. Boycott wasn't working well.
- 23) Volunteer groups (Zamindari agents) & students picketed the stores in mela (despite warning) and Muslims retaliated with violence. Further retaliation by Hindus from Mymensingh - looting & rioting.
- 24) This justified partition to the British & encouraged Muslim communal politics - they resented this as Hindu Zamindari Tyranny.

- 25) Systematic & Successful Swadeshi movement by Aswini Kumar Dutt. Used persuasion rather than force to get people's support & social boycott of people who wouldn't join.
- 26) Lesser no. of students in the organisation & no violent picketing. Social boycott of merchants by priests, dhabies, hoteleers, ghat owners etc.
- 27) These tactics worked well in a small face-to-face society, but not so much in other districts.

- 27) In despair, Bengali youth turned to violence - theft to murder 100  
1907-1917 - 70% specific crimes by 16-25 yo. & 89% UC Hindus
- 28) These societies had strong religious bent  $\Rightarrow$  couldn't bring together the whole Bengali community.
- 29) Important one - Anusilan Samiti (Dhaka) - started off well, but turned violent, outlawed in 1908. Run very despotically - had to take several oaths before being accepted as a member.
- 30) Other organisation - manufacturing own arms & explosives. Overt violence was condemned by politicians & most UC Hindus.

- 31) By 1906-07, merchants & large landowners were dissociating themselves from movement & more people were accepting partition.
- 32) With possible incoming reforms, even politicians leaned towards moderation. Congress wanted the reforms but didn't want to cooperate with govt - put them in a tight spot.
- 33) Congress at India level considered Bengal partition to be a presidency level problem and wanted to distance from problems. But Bengali political problems overshadowed the meeting (1906).
- 34) Over interpretation of policies, extremists & moderates got polarised. Bengali extremists linked up with others in congress - Lajpat Rai, Tilak, G.S. Kharpade.
- 35) Things also got heated up over Swadeshi movement - Congress leadership (moderates) didn't want to be involved in large-scale boycott.
- 36) Congress accepted boycott as legal in Bengal, but didn't want to use it in other provinces as a form of agitation especially as a boycott of 'everything British'.
- 37) 1907 Meeting - general demand that system of government in India should be similar to that of other self-governing colonies.

100 02. HEENS 1994 - Foreign Influence on Bengali

Revolutionary Terrorism 1902-1908.

- 1) Bengali terrorism was influenced by Irish revolution and Russian anarchists - and infused with Hindu fanaticism
- 2) Secret societies modeled on Young Italy Society in 1830s later morphed into terrorist groups. Initially they were only idealistic undergraduate clubs discussing Italian revolutions.
- 3) They were influenced by Western writing on revolutions and secret societies

SECRET SOCIETIES

GENESIS

- 4) Jatinendranath Banerji & Aurobindo Ghose - main figures, interested in military weaponry & training; joined society of Tilak
- 5) Wanted to do an armed insurrection - prepare the youth, guerilla warfare, resistance & hopefully army revolt.
- 6) Jatin went on to form Calcutta Anushilan Samiti - progenitor of terrorist groups.

INFLUENCE OF NIVEDITA & OKAKURA

- 7) Vishwamohan - Margaret Noble - Sister Nivedita - influenced by Vivekananda, came to strongly oppose British rule in India. Read book by Kropotkin - believed in Anarchy
- 8) Kakuzo Okakura - Japanese art critic - met & collaborated with Nivedita in 1902. Wrote a book talking about how Asian countries need to come together & free themselves from Europe. Supported political assassinations & secret society
- 9) They both seemed to have catalysed the formation of Anushilan Samiti. Indirect influence but likely no direct involvement. Guided them in initial phase and was aware of revolutionary activity.
- 10) Okakura - only there for 10 months -> inspiration for secret societies, encouraged people to support them.

HEMCHANDRA DAS'S CONTACTS WITH EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONARIES

- 11) Barindrakumar Ghose formed a new group in 1906 (from the broken Anushilan Samiti) and turned to terrorism. Political climate in Bengal at the time emboldened him.
- 12) Hemchandra Das (society member) tired of group's ineffectualness decided to go to Europe to learn war tactics. 1907 - joined Krishnavarma in England, but was driven out because S. K. supported passive resistance at the time.
- 13) History of Anarchist movement in Europe. H.C. - back in Paris, started learning bomb-making, made contact with a reclusive socialist (Ph.D.) through some anarchists

- 12) One of H.C.'s socialist was an ex-army Russian revolutionary, IOE  
Safrenski, a terrorist who wanted to expand the fight to India.
- 13) H.C. - came back to India in Jan 1908, his bomb-making skill was valued, as was his organizational skills to create secret societies - secrecy & hierarchy, acquiring money through robberies, propaganda, rebellion.
- 14) Feb-April 1908 - H.C. made & used several high quality bombs. His bomb killed 2 Englishwomen. After 1908, bombs were used in a lot of places in India. European influence through H.C. impacted bomb-making in India, but even without this, Indians were already learning to make bombs.
- 15) Reports of international terrorist links are always exaggerated by the govts. Minto claimed that Bengali revolution was a Western Anarchist Plot - but it was an attempt at national liberation - the idea was to overthrow British rule, not Anarchy. The revolution was a natural response to British oppression.

### 03. PATI 2007 - Nationalist Politics and the 'making' of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

- 1) Labelled as conservative reactionary, political extremist, religious nationalist. Historical context of late 19<sup>th</sup> - early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Poona - lawyer study - Teachers - 1881: Kesari & Maharashtra - helped during plague - arrested 1908-14 - Swaraj but also loyalty to the Crown - condemned terrorism & supported WW1.

Assertion: Tilak represented a face of Indian nationalism in a transitional context.

The paper analyses instances where Tilak interacted in public sphere.

- 2) 1884 - Lawsuit filed against Raknabai, but sentence not enforced  
1888 - out-of-court settlement  
1890 - Child bride Phulmoni died when 39 y.o. husband had forcible sexual intercourse with her.  
(10 y.o.)
- 3) Age of consent bill: marriage age from 10 to 12. Tilak opposed this on the basis of 'shastras' & didn't want an alien government tampering with customs - wanted a 'hands off' policy from British administration.

- 4. In a public meeting, he advocated for - i) min. marriageable age 16 (g) & 20 (b), ii) remarriage of men & women opposed; iii) no disfigurement of widows, iv) ban dowry & liquor v) 1/10<sup>m</sup> of salary of social reformers should be donated
- 5. Very few reformers supported the amendment ∴ the main argument was about raising age of consent from 10 to 12
- 6. Tilak's "Model Hindu Woman" - devoted to husband, affectionate, 'contented with her lot in life', education: lowest priority.
- 7. Tilak's opposition united the conservatives, reformers (?) and inaction of colonial state.

RE-INVENTING SHIVAJI AND GANPATI FESTIVAL.

- 8. Tilak brought the Ganapati festival into political domain - transgressing elitist barriers, weaning people away from Tazia, basis for spreading national cohesiveness & reviving religion.
- 9. New features of festival from 1894 - Mandaps, collecting subscription, procession, visarjan etc.
- 10. Shivaji festival - Ranade's Shivaji was a piestic, syncretic figure, inspired by Bhakti, rather than Kshatriya tradition. Tilak's Shivaji was re-cast as Hindu, violent & xenophobic. Encouraged opposition to foreign British rule, as Shivaji had done to Mughals. Asked public donations to repair & rebuild Raigad. Govt. also helped due to 'moderate'.
- 11. Tilak's revivalism led to reinvented history & a fuzzy boundary separating nationalism & hinduised politics.

PEASANTS AND THE FAMINE CAMPAIGN.

- 12. 1896 - monsoons failed - Govt. was reluctant to acknowledge famine & didn't implement Famine Relief Act. Code.
- 13. Tilak intervened & opened fair price grain shops in Pune; made Congress relevant in countryside; blamed the implementation troubles on foreign rule.
- 14. Famine campaign - recruited young graduates to collect information and raise awareness about Famine Code, asking peasants to not pay revenue.
- 15. It didn't improve the lives of peasants, but interventions subsequently made colonial administration correct stuff (1903); and campaign was altered in tribal tracts ⇒ flexibility and idea of incorporation.



16. Nationalist agenda implied negotiating with workers. 109  
Tilak opposed the two (national?) Industry Acts that would (supposedly) harm Indian Industry; and he supported the working class against British interests.
17. Very active in the Swadeshi movement. Through repeated strikes & demonstrations, Tilak tried to extend his political influence to include the workers of Bombay.
18. Tilak was arrested in 1908 & sentenced to 6 years of prison in Mandalay for his writing. There were many demonstrations by mill workers during his trial. When he was sentenced, 100,000 workers joined the strike (unexpectedly?) for Congress & Tilak.
19. Workers went on strike for 6 days - city came to a halt. This struggle united Hindus & Muslims (?). Tilak himself didn't take Bombay Working class seriously (?).
20. Tilak: Representative of long-term interests of Indian bourgeoisie - his anti-imperialist thrust, precedence to Vedanta, active efforts to reunite Congress or unite it with Muslim League can be seen in this light.

### CONCLUSION

## 04. VERMA 2008 - Gokhale & The Surat Congress.

- 1) Terrorism was on the rise, extremists were in favour & moderates on defensive. Tussel about which faction would dominate congress: Mehta & Wacha vs. Tilak and Kherpade.
- 2) Extremists chose Lala Lajpat Rai for Presidency candidate & he had popular support. Moderates squashed this and chose Dr. Rash Bihari Ghose. Surat became place of showdown in 1907. Both parties not ready to compromise.
- 3) Ghose was hastily elected President, protests began, police cleared the gathering. There was a split in party, and both factions blamed the other for it. The event was a national calamity, as Gokhale recognised.
- 4) Gokhale was charged with ignoring Rai's nomination. Gokhale (?) defended himself - a) Not enough time for reception committee b) Rai's name would have been rejected in election; c) Rai's deportation trial pending.

- 5) Gokhale was also blamed for not publishing the draft resolutions. He again cited: i) less time, ii) unnecessary exaggerated importance, iii) couldn't just reproduce previous draft.
- 6) Extremists spread that moderates intended to drop some resolutions this year. Gokhale clarified that only certain wording of the 4 main resolutions (Self Government, Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education) was changed, but would be approved before final form. Claimed that the fuss was to discredit Surat Congress.
- 7) Extremists also claimed that Rai, Saraya & Tilak met Gokhale to talk about a compromise. Gokhale refuted this and the supposed conversation between Tilak & others on stage.
- 8) Gokhale made several allegations about Tilak's conduct  
Moderates - brain, Extremists - heart - both needed for proper functioning.

## 05. BHAGAVAN 2008 - The Hindutva Underground.

- 1) Relationship b/w Hindu Nationalism & Congress in 1940s & 1950s.  
- this topic hasn't been explored because of the idea that Congress and religious nationalist parties were on opposite sides.  
But Congress did shelter & nourish Hindu nationalist ideologues.
- 2) 1919-1922 : Khilafat and Non-cooperation movement  
1921 Moplah uprising: In Malabar coast, oppressive landlord system had Hindu elites managing Muslim peasants; ended in a brutal rebellion being squashed violently  
This event led the right leaning Hindu 'defenders of faith' to re-invest in Hindu Mahasabha (1922) and found RSS (1925)
- 3) Idea of these groups was to train men in physical fitness & martial arts. KM Munshi ran these akhadas in Bombay  
KM Munshi - initially a revolutionary, later a moderate, self-proclaimed Gandhian, joined INC, prolific writer
- 4) Previously Munshi has been considered a Hindu traditionalist - someone who promotes culture, but not in opposition to the 'Other' (Hindu nationalist).
- 5) Munshi argued that communal differences arose because of British intervention, but blames Muslims for all conflict

6) Munshi was considered a reasonable & prudent thinker, but 10 I he used his status to make some extremist right positions acceptable in the mainstream. By 1940s, akhadas he managed were militant training camps associated with Hindu nationalism. This brought him into conflict with INC.

7) By 1940s, Hindu nationalists advocated violence for self-defense, against which Gandhi stood vehemently. Munshi explains himself to Gandhi, and defend akhadas as essential while disparaging Muslims. Gandhi nudged Munshi to resign for his practices didn't match with INC ideology.

8) But in early 1940s, Gandhi was marginalised in Congress, his ideas were changing and in the context of WW2, ~~the~~ Gandhi supported absolute non-violence. So he asked several members of Congress resign over this.

9) To avoid the threat of these ex-Congress members along with Munshi forming a separate party, Gandhi & Patel manoeuvred to keep other people with similar ideas as Munshi within the Congress, to maintain their hegemony.

10) Munshi left Congress and became more active in Hindutva politics, fighting for 'Akhand Hindustan', but by 1946, all was forgiven & Munshi was welcomed back to INC.

11) When war was over, Gandhi perhaps softened his approach & welcomed back Munshi because - a) he'd been personally involved in removing Munshi, but not the leftists, b) Sardar Patel and Munshi were close friends c) he invited Ambedkar as well  $\Rightarrow$  Gandhi wanted to be inclusive in general. But this means, Congress knowingly nurtured Hindu nationalists.

12) One argument is that by accepting Hindu nationalists, INC cut off support to Hindu Nationalist Organisations & kept them at bay from main power. But they were unmindful of influence wielded by Hindu right within Congress.

13) Munshi was the long-term president of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan which aimed to inculcate "Indian knowledge" - narrowly defined values from religious authorities "from the soil", conflating India with Hindu history and culture.

14) He does write admiringly about Akbar & Shahjahan, but it's for their religious plurality & syncretism which made them 'Indian'.

A PUBLIC  
CLEANSING

RETURN OF THE  
PRODIGAL SON?

THE HINDUTVA  
UNDERGROUND

- 15) Efforts to rebuild Somnath temple, along with building a fictionalised narrative of 'Muslim invaders'. This was used as a justification in 1992 Ramjanmabhoomi riot.
- 16) Munshi was also directly involved in govt. annexation of Hyderabad from Nizam Shah in 1948. Munshi portrayed Hindu subjects as being oppressed by Muslims and exaggerated reports for press.
- 17) Anti-Muslim bias - Munshi's position as a Congressman & respected member of intelligentsia legitimized his views. By having Congress (indirectly) endorse his views, Munshi created a space in which the right could operate as an ethical opposition.

## Gandhi's Critique of Modernity : Ch. 4-7

Modernity is associated with temporal & spatial dimensions.

In pre-modern era, Europe was a agricultural society with feudalism, where large swathes of land are owned by feudal lords and the land was filled by farmers or serfs. In exchange for a part of the produce, the lord promised protection to farmers. The lords pay revenue to the king and Church (considered a superior power). This was the general power structure, but there were tussels b/w categories. In this scenario, life was very static.

All the production happened through artisan guilds - hand made products, made in smaller quantities. This was more of an urban phenomenon.

6<sup>th</sup> century Arabia - propagation of Islam

Turkey is geographically in Europe, but culturally close to the Middle East. In 10<sup>th</sup> century, Crusades happen - a religious war between Christians & Muslims. This gave the static European society a chance to explore a new place, new country.

Turkey had products from Asia through Arabic countries. Europeans developed a mercantile interest through their exposure to Turkey, and started organising their society based on mercantile & economic interests.

# Arabia directly moved from tribal society to mercantile capitalism, which mainly affected the poor people. That's why there's an emphasis on donation - a way of redistributing wealth.

1215 - Magna Carta - a bill of rights that merchant forces the king of England to sign, defining the rights of king.

(12)

Thus, Europe has moved from an agricultural to trading society. Practices of static society are hard to follow when you're always on the move.

This structural transformation necessitated a bunch of other changes. Magna carta - birth of House of Lords, assertion of democracy. Europe rediscovers ancient Greek texts that had been preserved by Arabic scholars - Renaissance through art, sculpture & literature are moving away from biblical themes to humans & human nature.

Call for using logic and reason; discovery of scientific knowledge; change in way of life.

Rise of democracy, capitalism and rationality.

With industrialism, mechanized, large-scale production led to more produce than local demand - this led to a demand for new markets. This led Europe to invade foreign markets - this led to birth of colonialism.

It was not just colonisation of land and markets, but also of minds.

Western modernity can be identified with - capitalism (economic realm), democracy (political life) & secularism (personal life)

Gandhi is interrogating these aspects of modernity.

25/1/23

Lecture

HS: Ch 4-7

1. Critique of parliamentary democracy and material growth  
Magna carta - House of Lords - House of commons - Decline of House of Lords, increased representation of people

Two important philosophers - John Locke & Rousseau

Popular sovereignty - ultimate power to rule & make decisions

Apart from the state, there are other social institutions (like college, family, religion etc) that try to rule over people

Sovereignty asserts that State has ultimate power over other social institutions. When people at large decide on the state (democracy), it is popular sovereignty (13)

Popular sovereignty is expressed through Representative democracy & the representatives make the decision.

Philosophical dilemma in parliamentary democracy - are the people giving up their sovereignty to the representative?

Eg. Lokpal Bill protests (~2012-14) : can an appointed official question the powers of elected officials?

# Elections ensure accountability.

Anna Hazare & India Against Corruption (a civil society forum) demanded that their draft be accepted without change

If the people have not given up their power, how do they assert their popular sovereignty?

Core of Gandhi's critique - parliamentary representation is a number game that leads to majoritarianism.

Gandhi wanted to build by consensus, not by majority. Gandhi asserts that once people have voted, they lose their power and the representative becomes powerful. Is this truly democracy?

In Ch 4, that's why he asks the reader if they want to keep the British administrative structure or come up with more creative ways to solve the problem.

# FPTP vs. Single transferable voting

Another issue - representatives always have to vote along the party votes leader.

→ Civilisation : comes from West's idea of civilised & 'uncivilised'  
Related to Rousseau's critique of civilisation.

Reason and rationality are the core of modern European civilisation, which ignores human elements (emotions, ethics, morality etc.)

Rousseau criticizes idea of humans as rational animal and argues that they are human savages.

→ Gandhi's critique of modern economy.

Liberalism - a system that cherishes liberty.

Economic aspect of liberalism - Laissez faire economy where there's no state interference; also called market economy.

# This is the classical liberal position; it evolved into welfare economy and then (from 1980s) to neo-liberalism.

This system is built on a large scale market, which was possible when large nation states were formed.

With mechanised production, the production rate is more than demand. This is closely related to Gandhi's critique of machines, especially in India where machines would be replacing people.

Appropriate technology - labour-intensive technology over capital-intensive technology would be better in India, where technology doesn't lead to unemployment.

Eg: Sugar production - paddy fields used to grow sugarcane, which has high water demand, shortage of rice, rice import from Myanmar (less nutritious).

Gandhi is an experimentalist - trying to rethink solutions to problems - for instance, trying to organize at smaller scale rather than large-scale

→ Gandhi's idea of morality & religion.

# Democracy - is it the best system? Problems with majoritarianism - mob mentality, disservice to minorities, unenlightened society ⇒ unenlightened leaders.



## Critique of Modern Civilisation

1. British colonialists needed a way to justify their rule in India - civilisation: something they had & what Indians "needed"
2. British considered themselves the pinnacle of true civilisation & thought it was their duty to spread it - even to places with long literary, scientific & artistic history, like India
3. They thought of Indians as 'half-civilized' who needed discipline & guidance. Used the metaphors of education: teaching the 'civilised' tongue, philosophy, industry & hard work, & modern state.
4. Contradictions - Writings of internal critics (due to rational thought); Ideas of liberty, justice, rights gave Indians intellectual weapons; Secular and religious missions had contradictory messages; By their own definition, once Indians were "civilised", the British had no right to rule over them.
5. Gandhi felt that 'modern civilisation' was the reason British had come to India & consolidated their power - the need for new markets for mass-produced goods drove them to find colony
6. British had been able to consolidate power because - a) Indians were fighting among themselves & accepted interference; b) become enamoured by their civilisation - material & moral.
7. For the Indians to accept it, there was a "scientific indoctrination" which undermined the Indian civilisation & said it was primitive
8. Gandhi recognised oppression by British imperialists at 3 levels - political, economic and cultural levels. To counter at the last level, British civilisation had to be critiqued & the Indian better understood.
9. Synthesised a comprehensive theoretical framework. Political freedom meant little without cultural freedom. Economic freedom was a means of achieving this.
10. Not East vs West, but actually Ancient vs Modern - no divide b/w West and East; could attack modern civilisation, without attacking the West; remind West of its earlier values & traditions; convince people that it was an ideological fight to preserve important values of the mankind.

11. Ancient: soul-centered, Modern: body-centered  $\Rightarrow$  Body: separate & self-centered; the place of wants and desires.  
Materialist view - selfishness and infinite multiplicity of wants.
12.  $\hookrightarrow$  lacked spiritual depth, no guiding principle, de-humanised man, suffered the psyche with violence, reduced wisdom to knowledge  
To make profit (greed), capitalists created consumerism (want).  
Machines promised increased leisure & cheaper goods, without examining the need or moral basis for it.
13. Materialism destroyed natural & social roots  $\Rightarrow$  moral life became abstract, morality was seen as a restriction of freedom, morality was reduced to reciprocal egoism & sustained by fear, changed the nature of <sup>ideal</sup> man from introspective to aggressive.
14. Civilisation was built on exploitation of fellow man & sustained by massive violence - against oneself, each other & nature.  
Encouraged people to alienate their powers to large organisations run by experts.
15. Medicine should a) help people understand the etiology of disease and b) help the internal mechanisms fix the system. Modern medicine did neither. Medical violence - all disease was seen as an interruption and external agents were administered to hasten healing.
16. Modern law - experts debated esoteric law in an expensive procedure, while leaving out the petitioners.
17. Modern state - highly centralised, bureaucratic, monopoly on political power, required to deal with problems created by centralisation of production: poverty, unemployment, inequalities; discouraged independent political participation.
18. Modern state promised well-being of all communities, but it was mostly controlled by well-organised & powerful interest groups.  
Thus, not much difference between democratic & undemocratic govts.  
Critique of parliamentary democracy, press being independent - myth.
19. Achievements of modern civilisation - Scientific spirit of inquiry, Bringing the natural world under human control,  
(Contributed to organisational side [civic virtues, respect for rules, public morality etc.]  
 $\hookrightarrow$  anticipate and control natural disasters, diseases, relieve human drudgery, better quality of life etc.  
BUT: MC had misunderstood the purpose & limitations of these achievements.

20. Some few achievements had developed in an inherently flawed framework, they had to be purged of their distortions and 'cleaned' before they could be incorporated into a diff. frame
21. Gandhi's critique came from a colonial lens and the perspective from ancient Indian civilisation. He saw that MC was inherently deeply racist and exploitative/oppressive. It prevented freedom and equal right to pursue self-interest. It was propelled by greed & satisfaction of material wants.
22. He seriously overlooked some achievements and strengths. It was guided by search for autonomy, non-hierarchical society and to understand the world. Along with greed, it fostered equality, individuality, creativity, rationality.
23. He couldn't untangle industrialisation, capitalism, imperialism and modern science - considered they were all problematic and all occurred together.

## Indian Civilisation & National Regeneration

1. Nationalists tended to be uncritical about their own civilisation, but also had failed in becoming colony. Had something worthy.
2. Differently civilised - more focus on spirituality - Gandhi was not a fan of yoga. Theory of 'Pravashartnas' dictated life - that's why no machines or industries.
3. Indian civilisation: essentially plural and non-dogmatic. Welcomed diversity & encouraged discussion. Assimilation of different cultures was attributed to India's pluralist epistemology, which made it emerge better from 'attacks' by Buddhism, Islam & Christianity.
4. Gandhi's assumptions in his abstract history - a) saw history in only religious (not political) terms, b) attributed the influence of religion to this doctrine, & no other societal factors, c) Though Hinduism had to transform for LC, but also defended caste system, d) Equated India with Hindu - history & philosophy.
5. Indian civilisation was based in rural context, MC was urban. Bharat darshan - people had faith, spirituality, dharma, contentment. He thought he'd discovered how to stir Dharma in Indian people's heart.

- 6. Fitness gloated about past glory or blamed all problems on British. IC had been degenerate before British & had helped them conquer. Had problems with Hindu customs, when it had lost character and courage (physical & intellectual).
- 7. Indians lacked common organisation due to their preoccupation with narrow personal interests and mutual distrust. Not sympathetic.
- 8. Deep streak of violence in Indian culture, but, -tic to oppressed. non-violence was a central theme - a) cherished it as a virtue, b) vetted by sages, c) basis of social structure in ancient India, d) present as: refraining from causing harm to other living beings.
- 9. But Gandhi had too little knowledge of Indian history to trace degeneration and back up his claims. Improve National character, social structure, religion. India shouldn't adopt MC, but assimilate some parts, but this can't be done without understanding your own civilisation first - other leaders hadn't succeeded in doing this.
- 10. First step was to critically look at our own civilisation and understand the values and faults. Then regeneration meant very complex & interrelated strategy to Swadeshi spirit, Satyagrah and Constructive programme.
- 11. Swadeshi - community, national or patriotic spirit, not nationalism. Sensitive to its faults and limitations but always trying to make it better.
- 12. Satyagraha - to instil courage in people and make them independent. Military training to acquire courage - big contradiction. So he proposed the method of Satyagraha to instil virtues - required protest meetings to sacrifice of life, everyone could participate. He led a protest & then told them.
- 13. Constructive Programme - to rebuild society and economy. A list of 18 items - religious unity, ban on alcohol, use of indigenous language, khadi, rural industries, equality etc.
- 14. Some of them were ambitious or naive - but it was specific and within the reach of people. Grass-roots movement.
- 15. No other leader before had worked out such a comprehensive strategy or the self-confidence and skill in developing organisational tools.

# Lecture

31/1

15

Look up: 11 vows of Satyagrahi

Assignment: Reimagine Hind Swaraj in today's world  
Could also criticize the topics.

Ch. 10 - later (along with religion)

Ch. 9 - 11, 12: Condition of India: Railways, Lawyers & Doctors

Criticism of Railways - bad ideas spread fast

Very controversial criticism of doctors and lawyers.

This problem - the interest of lawyers is to increase the conflict between two people rather than settle it

That they exploit the tension & lack of dialogue

# Similar to Habermas' "Communicative Rationality"

Conflict in society can come from conflict of interests.

They can be resolved by adjusting interests through negotiation where nobody loses entirely.

Dialogue becomes important for peaceful coexistence in society.

At the most basic level, restoration of dialogue helps resolve unease, but one might be afraid of staking their reputation.

What is at the root of dialogue is rationality.

And the very existence of ~~dialogue~~ a mediator/middle person is possible only in the absence of dialogue.

In the presence of British, there was no dialogue between Hindus and Muslims.

Conflicts on smaller scale can be forced to face each other and set up an interpersonal interaction in presence of "wise men".

# Gandhi is not in support of a strong state - that's why some people have found anarchist tendencies.

### Critique of Doctors

His criticism is that doctors help people indulge and not live "healthy" day-to-day lives.

Lecture - 3/2/23 - Missed

Hindu - Muslim relations

Vedic Hindu vs Post-vedic Hinduism → more monotheistic.

Gandhi's ideas -

- Single God - different religions: different paths to same God
- Important to be religious, to be pious
- Those of privilege should help those less privileged, that they have a duty towards them
- Gandhi's brahmacharya - men should be celibate to make women feel comfortable.

Lecture - 7/2/2023

Connect the assignment with Gandhi's Hind Swaraj and what we've discussed in class.

Recall Gandhi's main critiques of Parliamentary democracy -  
Majoritarianism  
Lack of initiative  
Popular sovereignty  
Active citizenship.

Also Gandhi's critique of Modern civilisation & Machine age and his focus on sustainable development.

Write the assignment through themes criticised in Gandhi's Hind Swaraj.

Ram Manohar Lohiya - Appropriate technology

Discussion about subjectivity, interpretations, Death of the Author, etc.

Gandhi's ideas on masculinity vs femininity (because he's using words like 'effeminate').

EPW debate:

Sujata Patel vs → Madhukishwar

Remember the language was that of 1909. But overall, his ideas on gender were not stereotyped.

But his ideas evolved over time - on women's education and participation in political realm.

Gandhi's views on sexual restraint & celibacy - not directly relevant to HS, but he advocated for restraint over senses and emotions and actions. His expectations of people following this are different based on context - their ashram "so on".

# Education: Nayi Talimi Sangh ?

Gandhi's critique of Machine

He develops the idea extensively and takes up the Charkha when he returns to India after 1915.

Charkha - representative of employment generation, and the rural industries that were prominent before colonialism.

Each region of India have their own version of handloom. These rural industries were non-mechanised and non-capitalistic.

Colonial power was sustained by the Manchester cloth, and to create market for it, indigenous Indian weavers were destroyed.

Gandhi asserts that with rural industries, production of goods is dispersed, which takes care of distribution of wealth (in the Marxist sense).

Writings of Jc Kumarappa, Miraben

\* Guba's article: Green Gandhians.

Gandhi discourages the idea of adopting Western modernity and capitalism.

Kumarappa is appointed as Gandhi's economist and conducted several surveys for him. Kumarappa proposed that for goods that need large scale industries, such goods would be produced by the State. Anything that needs standardisation (absolutely necessary) would be produced in large scale industries.

Everything else could be produced thin in cottage or rural industries that are dispersed.

Eg. Shoes - no need for standardisation, could be produced locally. Similarly for organic farming, clothes etc.

Have everything produced locally, in smaller quantities.  
 Kumarappa: Cost of product increases with the distance  
 the raw material has to be transported.  
 When things are sold locally, the producer benefits,  
 but when things are transported, other players  
 come in.

Current model: parasitic development - industries are  
 dependant on a particular industry.

Caste-based professions are prob problematic because there's  
 no occupational mobility or dignity of labour.  
 But this has allowed communities to build specialised  
 skills (and also no unemployment - true, I guess...)

↳ These skills would be documented by All India Village  
 Industries Association and taught to other people.

Would this model have yielded surplus - we don't  
 know. This experiment was not done.

The elite live without being in touch with processes  
 and materials that allows us to live & enjoy.

## Lecture

10/2/23

### Secondary citizenship to Asians in SA

- Discrimination
- Not allowed in certain areas
- Mandatory registration.

First methods by Gandhi (1894 - 1906) : typical liberal methods

- Writing letters, articles
  - Lobbying with parliament in Britain
  - Meeting with concerned officials
  - Creating awareness with other Indians / INC members.
- to bring about policy change.

### Evolution of Passive Resistance in SA.

- 11 May 1907 - 'Indian Opinion' - appeals to Asians to break  
 the law & go to jail
- Publishes names of people doing this & provides them free  
 counsel



- Explains the idea of non-violent resistance and organizes one in July 1907 outside govt. offices to burn registration slips. (19)

→ Influence of Thoreau's "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience"  
Thoreau pondered upon an individual's right to resist unjust law, by not paying taxes. Liberal philosophy: state vs. individuals. (abstract, philosophical idea)  
Gandhi was influenced by this and develops this as a tool of non-violent mass action to achieve a political end.

→ Passive Resistance - Sadagraha - Satyagraha

- Initially, Gandhi grudgingly used the term 'passive resistance' (which is when disagreeing minority party abstains) for his method.
- Gandhi wanted to use this as the main method and asked from people for a better term.
- Sadagraha (assertion of good) → Satyagraha (insistence of truth)

→ Why non-violent assertion?  
This is directly associated with Truth.  
Truth is about answering - what is the nature of being?  
what is perception?

### Relative & Absolute Truth

The story of the Blind & the Elephant - the truth depends on your experience, your social context.  
What we think of as truth man is a part of larger reality. If you reject other people, then it's like your chopping off the real, absolute truth.  
So in Satyagraha, you try to talk and compromise.

→ Fundamental Rules (Bondurant 1983)

1. Self-reliance at all times
2. Initiative is in the hands of Satyagrahis (ready but not desperate for dialogue)
3. Propagation objectives, strategy and tactics of the campaign
4. Reduction of demands to a minimum consistent with truth
5. Careful consideration of when to proceed to next stage of Satyagraha  
Static condition must be avoided.

(2)

6. Examination of weaknesses within the Satyagraha group
7. Persistent effort to search for avenues of cooperation with the adversary on honourable terms.
8. Refusal to surrender essentials in the negotiation
9. Insistence on full agreement of fundamentals before accepting a settlement.

#### → Code of discipline

- Harbours no anger but suffers the anger & refuse to return the assaults
- Refuse the orders given in anger
- Refrain from insults and swearing
- Protect the opponent from insult or attack, even at risk of life
- Don't resist arrest & behave like an exemplary prisoner
- Obey the Satyagrahi leader & resign in case of serious disagreement
- Don't surrender property if you're a trustee

#### → Steps

1. Negotiation & Arbitration
2. Preparation of group for direct action
3. Agitation
4. Issuing an ultimatum
5. Economic boycott & forms of strike
6. Non-cooperation
7. Civil disobedience
8. Usurping the functions of the Govt
9. Parallel Government

Over 20-30 years, the idea of passive resistance was developed into a well-refined strategy for civil disobedience and non-cooperation.

- Plato's Virtues: Creativity, Courage, Reason - here courage is to do violence, Gandhi's idea of courage is to resist through non-violence.
- Dharampal: (has considered non-traditional sources) writes about civil disobedience in pre-colonial times. Gandhi doesn't take effort to get these examples from real life his students. Bhare and JC Kumarappa, were more scholarly in their efforts to connect ideas with theories and examples
- Gandhi alluded to mythological examples in order to connect to the lay people and mobilise masses. Even HS was not written for an academic audience.

#### # Rajiv Bhargava's work on Secularism

- Religion was marginalised and secularism & rational thought was prioritised in 1960s & 70s in India. This led to fundamentalists asserting their monopoly on religion and defining it as they want.

- Richard Fox: explains HS and Gandhi's arguments by saying that he turned the Orientalist argument (either mystical or backward) on its head and showed the demoralised colonised society and the colonisers see that Indian civilisation is different and great.

In first 20 years of INC, they didn't take up any social issues as a part of the nationalist movement, which would divide the society.

Gandhi brings together nationalist movement and social reforms.

- Strategies to read a text to get to the true meaning of an author's text - Hermeneutics of Dilthey and Schliermacher.

They come from background of religious studies and wanted to ensure that the reader doesn't impose their own interpretation on the text when translating, for instance. (This is opposite to Derrida's idea of DOTA).

Example of strategy - Life study (reading other works of the author) and linguistic study (studying the original language well).

- Another approach by Gadamer: Historical horizon and historicity. What exists in the text's historical horizon can't be transmitted, which limits our understanding of the "authentic" meaning of the text, because of our historicity. Don't try to bring historical context (because you can't anyway) - your interpretation is your own.

## Annihilation of Caste - Dr. B R Ambedkar

This text is a critique of the Hindu social order. Hind Swaraj is more of a critique of modern civilisation and a text about nationalism. So, these two texts are not contemporary or counterpoints of one another. We're not focusing on Gandhiji's idea of caste or Ambedkar's idea on nationalism directly.

### Historical Context

What made the author make the arguments the way they've done in the text?

The reader's background and position also shapes the context for each person.

There is also a regional context - why does anti-caste struggle occur in certain regions of the country?

The Northern parts of the country hasn't seen such struggle.  
# Dominant caste: the majority land-holding caste in the region.

### Regional Context

The Bombay Presidency also included parts of Gujarat, Sindh and coastal Karnataka. Certain Maharashtrian families had migrated to Nagpur, Indore, Ujjain etc. so they were called Brahmin-Maharashtra.

Ambedkar belonged to Mahas caste, an untouchable caste, which was prevalent in this region.

### 1931 Census - (Kast caste census)

Brahmins - 3.9%

Kshatriyas - 1% [Shivaji was deved power because there should be no kshatriyas in MH]

Vaishyas - 1.7%

Shudras - 31.2%

Untouchables - 16.5%

## Balutedari System

Describes the 12 kinds of village officials who were given a share of produce by the cultivators for their services

1. Patil (Village Head)
2. Kulkarni (Accountant)
3. Sonar (Silversmith)
4. Lohar (Locksmith)
5. Sutar
6. Kumbhar
7. Nhavi (Barber)
8. Parit
9. Gumar (Temple guard)
10. Mang<sup>Mang</sup> (Rope maker)
11. Chambhar (Shoemaker)
12. Mahar

The last 3 castes were considered as untouchables.

For about 2 centuries, there was Peshwa (Brahminical) rule in the region and very inhuman restrictions were put on the untouchables -

- completely segregated living
- had to carry earthen pot around their neck to spit in
- had to tie a broom at around their waist to brush away their footprints.

## Role of Mahars in village system

- Gate keepers
- Travellers' postmen
- Boundary referees
- Levying taxes
- Summon landholders to pay taxes
- Escorting govt. treasury
- Sweeping roads
- Carry death notices
- carrying messages to other villages
- bringing fuel to burning grounds
- removing cattle carcasses

# Several memoirs and autobiographies about their life.

So, they had some power / duty they had in the village system, but they were also at the lowest rung of social hierarchy.

Some were unwilling to give up their role - caste system legitimises the oppression.

In any of the functions that untouchables do, there is no special skill required. With the advent of technology, these roles became obsolete, and many people became unemployed & moved to cities. (25)

# Ambedkar encouraged migration to cities, as opposed to Gandhi

Migration to cities

1918 -  $\frac{1}{10}^m$  of textile mill workers were Mahars  
1921 - 55% Chamars, 33.2% Marj and 13% Mahars were in traditional professions

Many joined military services -  $\frac{1}{6}^m$  of regiment of EIC

Early exposure to British institutions.

Lecture

1/8/23

Historical Context

Important figures influencing Ambedkar and his contemporaries

1818 - End of Peshwa rule, Rule of British EIC  
Missionaries established schools, which were taken up by people of castes who were denied education traditionally.  
Jyotirao Phule was one of them, who was exposed to liberal ideas of Spenser, Mill, Bentham & especially Penn's 'Rights of Men' which emphasized education as a path to Enlightenment and empowerment

1827 - Birth of Phule

1848 - Opens a school for Shudratishudras

1851 - School for girls

Phule insisted that Shudratishudras and women were oppressed groups who should form an alliance against Shetji (capitalists) and Bhatji (Brahmins). Education would make them aware & empower them.

Important texts - Tritiya Netra (Play, 1855), Powada for Shivaji (Ballad portraying Shivaji as protector of peasant rights - 1869).

Brahmanache Kasab (Dialogue - 1869), Gulamgiri (Dialogue - 1873),  
Shetkaryacha Asud (Dialogue - 1883)

# Cultural  
Revolt in  
a Colonial  
Society

He uses these texts to reinterpret mythology as a conflict between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. He used the Aryan Invasion theory and conflict between high tradition and folk traditions. He used cultural intervention to show how dominance hierarchies have been legitimised and certain groups oppressed.

- 1860-63 : Supports widow remarriage  
Orphanage for children born to widows out of wedlock
- 1868 : Opens well for untouchables
- 1873 : establishment of Satya Shodhak Samaj
- 1882 : Statement before Hunter commission.
- 1890 : Death.

In 1885, INC was formed and majorly constituted of Brahmins (like Tilak, Gokhale) and Savarnas. Phule claimed that INC was only reestablishing the old hegemony and said that Untouchables wouldn't benefit from joining INC.

Nationalism tries to create a unified identity for everyone - but this doesn't benefit people at the lower rungs of society. For instance, Tilak prioritised political reforms over social reforms.

This can come across as anti-national, but they were criticising the Nationalist narrative.

Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj, Prarthana Samaj - emerged as "Protestant" Hinduism, criticising widow treatment and superstitions, but they weren't against caste-based exploitation.

He established Satya Shodhak Samaj and came up with some counter-cultural reforms and practices



## Chhatrapati Shahu of Kolhapur (1874 - 1922)

- He enacted acts for anti-caste struggle and women's rights -
- legalised inter-caste marriages
- discontinued hereditary transfer of titles
- supported widow remarriages
- prevention of child marriage
- Ban on dardasi (1920)
- Opened hostels for untouchable students

He also supported Ambedkar with a stipend and announced him as the leader of untouchables in a speech

## Maharaj Vitthal Raoji Shinde

- Formed the depressed classes society, which he then passed off to Ambedkar
- Argued with Tilak - said that both political and social reforms were important
- Sidelined later on by nationalist movement and the anti-caste struggle.

3/3/23

## Lecture

- Caste mobility is technically allowed, but hasn't been realised. Something that was categorically denied to some communities (like good clothes, gold/silver jewellery, practices of acceptance), are now subtly kept away. Like with matrimonial ads and caste occupational mobility.
- Most people from artisanal castes lack the money for education that provides better occupation. So there's a vicious cycle that keeps their opportunities limited.

# Shilpa Phadke : study on caste-gender intersection in the use of public spaces - especially women of Koli community.

Phule and Satya Shodhak Samaj distanced themselves from INC and was predominantly a non-Brahmin movement. Ambedkar emphasized that he was against Brahminism, not Brahmins themselves. Brahminism is the tendency of one group to believe they are superior to other castes. The anti-caste movement (distanced from INC) was led by mostly Marathas. Since this was majority of the community, Kakaheh Gadgil promised that no Brahmins would take leadership position in INC (in 1930s). So, people in non-Brahmin movement agreed to join INC based on this condition.

This was also the period when Ambedkar was rising in influence of \$ and power.

After independence, Ambedkar joins INC, drafts the constitution, acts as labour minister and also rejects Hinduism and converts to Buddhism, formulates Navayan Buddhism.

Lecture

After Dr. Ambedkar movie discussion.

Role of Santri Ambedkar : sidelined after Ambedkar's death  
 Gandhi's adamant denial against separate electorates  
 He used fasts as a method to coerce everyone else into doing what he wanted. Gandhi didn't want separate electorates i.e. separate voting, he wanted what we have now — reserved constituencies  
 Gandhi's issue : with separate electorates, he thought that people would get categorised at large. So society would get fractured. # Religions had gotten separate electorate back in 1906.

After independence, in the constituent assembly, Ambedkar (29) changed his mind about separate electorates and accepted reservation.

This argument for electorates: the society is already divided between Savarnas and Avarnas, it's already stratified and electorates wouldn't make it worse. Gandhi: naive about caste issues. Harijan Sevak Sangh - was active and had claimed to do a lot, but it was just for show.

Personal laws in Hindu Code Bill dealt with marriage, divorce, alimony and adoption. Hindu Code Bill banned bigamy, gave women right to ask for divorce, right to alimony and right to adopt. Many women also opposed this.

# Essay. Who invented Hinduism?

One practice common to all Hindus - faith in caste system (Varnashram). Hindu nationalists tried to create a unified Hindu identity - with Gita as the main text and Lord Rama as the main figure.

VD Savarkar defines Hindutva through Pitrubhumi (fatherland) and Pnyabhumi (religious/devotional source) - so he questioned the nationalist fervitude of other religions.

Ambedkar claimed that Manusmriti as the central text of Hinduism. The Hindu Code Bill would apply to all people (SC/ST) even though different communities followed different smritis and customs. It would be an unintended consequence of imposing the identity.

## Background of Annihilation of caste

Ambedkar had been invited to give a talk in 1935 in Lahore by Jat Pat Todak Mandal.

1935 - Govt. of India Act is enacted

By this time, Non-cooperation movement (1919), Civil disobedience & salt satyagraha (1930), Round table conferences (1930-32) and Poona pact (1932) have happened.

Also, Tilak had died in 1920, and he had a strong following in Congress, especially NC Kelkar who had ambitions of becoming leader, but Gandhi had gained popularity in 1919, which also sidelined Jinnah.

1919 - Morley-Minto reforms gave representation in local bodies.

This puts power within reach — which leads to heightened discussion about identity consolidation.

For instance, Tilak was against the participation of non-Brahmins in political reform.

NEM was a huge mass movement, which makes British apprehensive. RTC — to discuss power-sharing in free India, the result of which is GOI Act 1935.

1930 - Kalaram Temple Entry Satyagrah: only one which Ambedkar participated and led.

This is significant because it is one of his last attempts to reform Hinduism. That "if you consider us as Hindus, then give us all the rights — allow us to worship God".

They appeal to the trustees, they are unwilling & reluctant but said that the final leg of Rath Yatra would be passed on to Dalits and they would enter the temple. But they had planned it so that people would just drag the chariot in, doors were closed and Dalits were beaten. This was the last blow to Ambedkar's efforts.

Despite his education and achievements, he was treated (31) atrociously. He was in correspondence with Nasik authorities from 1930-33 to gain temple entry legally, but he begins to lose faith in Hinduism and Savarnas to reform. In 1935, in Yeola conference, he announces that he was born a Hindu, but he wouldn't die as one. He doesn't want to consider caste as a religious issue because religion is not ready to evolve, nor is the society. He says that changing caste would come about by changing the mindset of Dalits (by coming out of the Hindu fold) and through political empowerment. In Dec 1935, he's invited by Jat-Pat Todak Mandal, he writes the speech in 1936 and sends it to them. They rescind their invitation after reading it. He publishes it as a booklet and within 2 months, 1000+ copies are sold and it's also translated to several languages.

He chooses Buddhism for Pragnya (knowledge), Maitri (Kinship) and Karuna (compassion), which he considers as superior virtue as compared to virtues of French Revolution - liberty, fraternity and equality. In his way of Navayan Buddhism, he adds other vows - for instance, "I will not believe in life after death, and karmic rebirth." Reason & Rationality.

# After 1920, Jinnah takes a hiatus from mass politics, but in 1935, the Muslim League invites him to take over and he returns.

In early 1930s, identities are solidifying, political parties are forming. Ambedkar was already a member of Bombay Legislative Council (appointed) and brought about important reforms.

Savarkar: released from prison in 1922 (after multiple appeals to British Govt.) and in 1924, he publishes 'Hindutva' and establishes Patit Pawan Temple in Ratnagiri to consolidate

(12)

Hindu community. He also spoke for Sahabhojan - to organise inter-dining ceremonies.

# Mythology and imagines are used by different factions to prove out their arguments.

Lecture

13/3

CK Bhole: Important figure in this context.

Phule dies a year before Ambedkar is born. Phule's Satya Shodhak Samaj is led by Jadhve and Jambhakar, who are Marathas, and they turn it into a movement against Brahmins and not against Marathas.

Ambedkar (born in 1891) is just graduating in 1915, whereas Gandhi had already come back to India after SA in the same year.

Sitaram Keshav Bole (a leader from OBC caste, who was a leader in the non-Brahmin movement) felicitated Ambedkar after matriculation, along with Keluskar, who also gave Ambedkar a biography of Buddha.

CK Bole, while in Bombay Legislative Council, around 1921, brings about legislation to open public spaces (wells, water tanks, schools etc.) to untouchables and punishment if this is not done.

Ambedkar always used existing laws and did satyagraha to implement them (much unlike Gandhi who did it to break unjust laws). Bole was also instrumental in abolishing Khoti Zamindari system and temple entry for untouchables.

Ambedkar was only a student and just graduating from Columbia, and he's not interacting with the masses or mobilising them.

Around the same time VR Shinde (born 1873, a researcher of comparative religion) establishes the Depressed Classes Mission in 1906 in Maharashtra, Mangalore, Indore, Madras etc.

Through the DCM, they open a lot of schools for untouchables and non-brahmins. (33)

Chhatrapati Shahu is denied the Vedic matras (Vedokta controversy) because he's considered a Shudra (cannot be a Kshatriya). He creates a post called Kshatrajagadguru and offers it to Shinde, who rejects it on principle and this offends Shahu. To sideline him, Shahu announces Ambedkar as the leader of depressed classes in Madgaon Parishad. Later Shinde is marginalized by all factions.

Thinking and discussing about Bole and Shinde is important because it's they who had set up the platform for the work that Ambedkar did, who emerged as the organic leader and mobilised people and giving them consciousness about their state and how to get out of it.

While in Columbia, Ambedkar presents a paper called "Caste in India" in a conference. There, he argues that castes are endogamous groups, and the measures and restrictions that are used to maintain these groups. He posits that all the restriction on women are used to maintain the purity of castes. Intercaste marriages are heavily ostracized. He also pointed out that Sati, widowhood and child marriages are ways to maintain gender balance.

He doesn't think of caste as a sociological phenomenon, it's not merely a way of organisation of diverse groups, but rather, it's a system that divides groups and establishes a hierarchy among them. He argues that castes were set up by imitation, Brahmins were venerated & they set up endogamy and other people followed.

# In ADC, he gives agency to Brahmins in setting up and maintaining the caste system.

Caste is not just a cultural group - it also determines a person's economic status and access to resources.

This doesn't come across well in Caste in India. But his experiences after he comes back from NY & London, despite his education and achievements, he is treated just as poorly. The discrimination against certain castes still doesn't go away.

Why don't the oppressed groups revolt against this system? He answers this in AOC - mainly because of the theory of Karma (your situation is because of your previous misdeeds) and the mythology of Purusha sukta (that Shudras originated from feet). Hinduism legitimises this hierarchal system and thus the discrimination that comes along with it.

14/3/23

### Lecture

Hermeneutic methods - to arrive at an authentic interpretation of the text.

1935 - Ramabai's demise

Yeola conference where Ambedkar declares that he will not die as a Hindu

Dec 1935: invitation to give a talk at Jat-Pat-Todak

Mandal. In March 1936, he sends a copy of the speech, they ask for modifications and he refuses and publishes the speech after the invite is rescinded.

1928 - Gives statement to Simon commission about the state of untouchables

1929 - extends support to Parvati temple entry satyagrah in Pune

1930 - Attempt and failure of Kalaram temple entry in Nasik. The conservatives refuse to budge. He tries till 1932 & others till 1935, but to no avail.

1927 - Establishes Samata Samaj Sangh to propagate equality, burns Manusmriti

1928 - SSS performs thread ceremony for 500 Mahars at Mumbai



# What should be the result of annihilation of caste? (35)  
Is it enough to include women and lowered caste people in priesthood? Or is this another way of re-establishing hierarchy? We want to remove these structures in the first place.

Dr. Ambedkar refuses to imitate Brahmins and fall into the same hierarchy, except for this instance of thread ceremony. He does this for a small time. He made efforts to start dialogue and gave caste Hindus a chance to prove their intentions. It's only after that all this fails that he discards Hinduism.

1930 - Ambedkar goes to first RTC

Dec 1931 - 2nd RTC: conflict between Gandhi & Ambedkar on the issue of separate electorate

1932 - Poona Pact, after which Gandhi establishes Harijan Sevak Sangh and the newsletter.

JPT Mandal rescinds invitation and Ambedkar accuses them of not acting on their principles - that they're only saying that they want social reform.

Another context: communal identities are already sharpened (Muslim League vs Hindu Mahasabha in some provinces), especially in Lahore, Punjab. They are afraid that Ambedkar would say he's converting to Islam and that other Dalits would follow him.

Section II - for 15/3 class

15/3/23

### Lecture

Bhakti Movement - that devotion towards God is more important than rituals, religious practices or knowledge. This removes the need for priests or other middlemen between common man and God. The Bhakti saints rejected ritualistic practices and this movement is seen all across India.

(2) In Maharashtra, earliest of these saints were ones  
Dnyaneshwar in 12<sup>th</sup> century and Tukaram (non-Brahminical)  
and Ramesh Swami (not of Bhakti tradition, Brahminical association  
established Math) who were contemporaries of Shivaji.

There has been a lot of contestations about Shivaji's  
associations with these saints.

Other than a few saints, most leaders of the Bhakti  
movement were not from Brahmin community.  
For instance, Chokhamela was a Mahar saint.

There is protest in the writings of these figures, but the  
existing patriarchy and caste system were not  
broken in most cases. These saints removed themselves  
from the existing exploitative structure.

But, Wari and other Bhakti traditions only give a  
semblance of equality - caste distinction is still  
followed inside the villages or at other times during  
the year when not on pilgrimage.

All these figures were in conflict with village priests  
and Brahminical structures. They made spaces for  
themselves, carved out with a spiritual niche for themselves.  
Their protest was ideological and even if they tried,  
they weren't able to mobilise masses to bring about  
social reform, like what happened with Ambedkar's efforts.

The coming of a new economic system with the British  
was another major factor that allowed for change  
in mental state of people. The virtues moved from  
obedience and hierarchy to liberty and individualism.

AOC starts with quoting Ramesh, who said that "untouchables  
cannot be accepted even if they acquire skill  
and property". Dr Ambedkar himself has faced this.

## Section II

Critique of the defeat of social reformists and that of Congress and Communists.

For acting about political change, INC was founded in 1885. Social change mainly happened in Bengal & Bombay presidency. Ambedkar's focus is on Bombay province, which made changes in age of consent (to marriage), education of girls, widow remarriage.

# Education of girls was continued by Pandita Ramabai (who had converted to Christianity) and D.K. Karve who established the first girls' school and women's university (in 1916).

These reforms only benefited only Brahmin women. # V.R. Shinde's widowed sister was not admitted into Karve's school because was not a Brahmin.

These reforms were also to do with Hindu family laws and not Society reforms.

Social conference (organised by M.G. Ranade) also used to meet in December, along with INC. Upto a time, social and political reform were going hand in hand. Bureaucrats couldn't be involved in political organisations, so people like Justice Ranade, Bhandarkar & G. Agharkar were involved in that.

But with rise of Tilak's prominence, he put a backbench on social reform because he thought they were divisive, whereas political reform was unifying & apparently more important. So, social conference was subdued directly and indirectly. This pandal was burned in 1903 by Tilak's followers.

Ambedkar claimed that social reform failed because it was mostly focused on Brahmin women, and didn't consider the other 97% of Hindu society in MH.

# Ranade organised spaces where people from different castes could come together and talk about secular issues.

Whereas Congress was able to mobilise support on the basis of political reform and independence, even though they don't treat everyone equally.

17/3

### Lecture

In Section II, Ambedkar is arguing for the primacy of social over the economic.

Social is a comprehensive domain which affects public and private life for instance, in sociology, family is considered as a social institution, that has evolved over time. Parts of economic, religious and political domains are part of the social domain.

But Ambedkar is emphasizing social as distinct from economic and political.

### Processes of societal change

Societies change. What is the pattern of change?  
Can individuals change society - do they have agency?

Ambedkar is constructing social as an independent domain from political & economic and claims that it's more important than either.

This is relation to Tilak's faction in Congress who claimed that social reform would follow political power.

But Ambedkar questions how they would bring about social change? If the political structure is not altered, then even with the departure of British, there would be a colonisation, where certain sections of society are deprived of rights and are ruled over by other, more powerful factions.

Ambedkar is talking to communists and socialists in this context.

Hegel : an influential philosopher who proposed that (39)  
first there is a change in consciousness and  
later there are changes in society. He believed that  
society progresses as rationality manifests increasingly.  
Changes in ideas : Thesis + Antithesis  $\rightarrow$  Synthesis.

Marx was also a Young Hegelian. But, Marx argued  
that first, there are changes in material realm,  
and consequently, later in ideas and consciousness.

Material changes are because of changes in mode of  
production — i.e., changes in means of production  
or production relations. This changes dynamic between  
land, labour and capital which are all necessary  
for production.

Communists were very firm on this matter — consciousness  
ideology — anyone who disagrees is considered  
anti-revolutionary and reactionary, and it's not tolerated.

Everything was analysed in this context — why did  
revolution happen in Russia, which was not capitalistic?  
This was one of the main questions.

Marxism promises an egalitarian society along all axes.  
Communists in India believed that abolishing class  
differences would remove caste differences too. It took  
a long time for them to acknowledge differently.

Congress argued for primary of political change and  
communists argued for economic change and social  
revolution. Ambedkar insists that they wouldn't fix  
the issues in social domain, which is independent  
of political and economic domains and is a  
foundation of society.

Section V : Caste is not the same as race

- No caste is pure
- Caste came about long after different races had commingled in blood and culture
- Caste system doesn't demarcate different races - its a social division of people of the same race

Varna system refers to the Hindu organization of society into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyās and Shudrās.

Castes are endogamous groups with a strong link to occupation. Different castes belong to different Varnās, in which varies from region to region.

For instance, goldsmiths aspire to be Brahmins, because they work with gold and have greater access, but they're not necessarily accepted by Brahmins.

Shivaji was from Maratha caste, and he was not accepted as a Kshatriya by Brahmins in Maharashtra.

Scriptures don't talk about caste system, but rather about the Varna system.

The people without Varna (the Avarnas) were the untouchables. Shudras were denied rights, but they were not treated as untouchables - who couldn't enter villages in the first place.

Shinde

Ambedkar wins the word 'Bahujan' (people in majority) for Shudras, Avarnas and some other groups based on economic criteria.

Tribal people living in forests remained far away from the village system, but nomadic tribes had some interactions, but didn't stay in one place.

## Lecture

21/3

The idea of liberty started with economic freedom (in trade, taxation etc.) and to protect this economic freedom, there's a need for secular power, for which you need political freedom.

(41)

# Tarabai Shinde - 'StrEEPurush tola'

Discussions on the activism of communists and socialists around 1930s and 1940s.

Marx's idea of Asiatic production and others' opinion on that

## Section IV

Defense of caste: "division of labour" is necessary in any civilised society.

Modern societies are structurally differentiated - leads to decentralised, complex & stable society.

But caste is -

- a division of labourers
- graded division
- hereditary, and not based on skills of the person
- Absence of choice
- Static organisation

24/3/23 Lecture

Arjuna didn't have any occupational mobility, whereas Shudras had 'some'.

Sects in Buddhism - Heenayan, Mahayan, Navayan

Missed lecture - 28/3/23

Section VI

Ambedkar vs. Savarkar's idea of Hinduism, rather Hindutva.

Q. from here

Ideas of Punjabhuni & Pitmbhuni  
History of Savarkar's life

— Refer to Likhita's chat —

Indian identity and Hindu identity.

## Lecture

(42)

- Hindu community wasn't cohesive, there wasn't a sense of community until early 1900s, which coincided with large scale resistance against British.
- The practices are similar, but they are not owned in common. Everyone celebrates Holi in their own colony. This ghettoisation has reduced somewhat due to the market, but it still exists prominently.

AOC is a seminal text because Ambedkar comes up with several important ideas that have been theorized later on. Eg. Isabelle Wilkinson: can we generalize the concept of caste? Saraj Yengde

Hinduism - not a federation of castes  
not a collection of castes either, but a set of marrying groups, existing for its selfish ideal.  
Keeps the differences alive and prevents solidarity.

Puranas - community-based scriptures which list caste-based rituals and describe the genesis story of that community.

## Lecture

31/3

Section - 8, 9, 10

The village was organized by the caste system and 'untouchables' lived on the outskirts of the village.

There were migratory/nomadic tribes who were in association with the village society.

Scheduled tribes lived in forests, completely away from the village. They have a very different cultural and social practices. The patriarchy operated differently.

Bhil tribe (present in northern MH & MP) revolted against the British before 1857, and when they lost, they were named



as criminal tribes. People born into it are treated as criminals - unjust incarceration, arrest without proper reason etc. This has been happening until recently. Such tribes have been decriminalised recently. (41)

In tribal regions, Christian missionaries have been very active and a lot of people converted to Christianity.

Dr. Ambedkar asks: how can you blame them? What is their social and religious status according to Hinduism?

# Renke commission - report on migratory tribes by Navalinale.

Will the Hindu community with a sense of service and duty extend itself to include tribal people, as the Christians have done?

These people are denied any social status, basic needs and dignity in Hinduism.

There are social hierarchies in all ~~see~~ religions, but Hinduism rationalizes the caste system.

Caste is experienced based on -

appearance	} some homogenisation
location	
identity	- political identity remains important
Occupation	} hasn't changed much at all
marriage	

When a person changes their religion, their identity changes, but occupation or marriage rarely does. So, in general, conversions weren't successful in removing social hierarchies.

But Ambedkar's intention in converting to Navayan Buddhism, was to change the normative ethos, change the mindset of people.

S.9 - Hinduism used to be a missionary religion, but stopped when it started philosophizing the caste system

# Baburao  
By Bagul  
Story about  
a boy from  
manual  
scavenges

Recurring themes in the text: communalism

Section 15-18

Ambedkar's criticism against the ideology of Arya samaj.

Arya Samaj - believes in Chaturvarnya, but holds that it was not hierarchical or discriminatory.

They believed that Chaturvarnya was a way of organising society, and they intended to reform Hinduism and this practice.

- Sec 15 - A.S: "4 varnas and not 4,000 castes" - Ambedkar objects this on the basis that these terms have the same biases and associations.

To actually reform a society, you have to change the ethos and the basic terms.

- Sec 16 - Argues that caste is based on birth and varna is based on worth. How can you compel someone of higher birth-based status to give it up? And live according to their worth.

So, he argues that, to set up the Varna system, the caste system must be broken up.

Castes ~~were~~ are regional and not found everywhere, and their Varna status is ambiguous.

Plato's ideal society - divided into 3 classes, based on the inherent virtues people are blessed with - Reason, Courage and Appetite (Creativity). Rational people would be the rulers, who would make decisions.

He also designed a family & education system so that the status wouldn't be based on birth.

He rejects the standard idea of family and comes up with communism of family - where children are taken care of by the community/state and everyone ~~is~~ is given equal education.

Criticism: How would this society be emotionally healthy?

Plato's classification, as well as Chaturvarnya, would fail because you can't classify or pigeonhole people. That's why 4 classes → 4k castes. It's not practical to classify all people into 4 groups. (45)

Any transgression is punished — especially for those of lower caste. Without a penal sanction, this system cannot be maintained.

And what will happen to women in the Varma status? Will they have a status independent of fathers and husbands? Intersectionality!

Red Read Sec 17-18 on your own!

11/4/23

## Lecture

Ambedkar's shifting identities should be understood in the context of compulsions of colonial and nationalist politics. It's not opportunistic, but rather attempts to make space for his objectives.

## — Discussion about symposium —

Hierarchical systems (patriarchy, Brahminical caste system & Capitalism) oppress certain sections of the society. Revolutionaries like Marx, wrote about the exploited people — women, lower class & lowered caste people — to unite, fight against upper classes and overthrow the system.

In this context, Gandhi is in dialogue with privileged groups to make them realise their privilege and exploitative systems and asks them to give it up. He is taking on different exploitative systems and not focusing on any one identity.

Lecture

46

Annihilation of Caste can be broadly divided into 4 parts -

1. Social change - primary of the social
2. Caste is the Hindu social order - nature of caste, how it shapes people, how it is unique in its stratification
3. Varma and caste
4. Rejection of Hinduism

Different people have different opinions on Varma and caste -  
 Gandhi & Arya Samajists supported varma but not caste.  
 Ambedkar rejects the idea that people can be divided into 4 groups - that's why they broke into 4000 castes.

At this point (Yeola-1935), he's sure that he wants to leave Hinduism, but not sure to which religion.

There is a fifth part after the speech - his correspondence with Gandhi. Gandhi publishes editorials about Annihilation of Caste (2 articles) and Ambedkar responds to that.

Sec 15-18 : Shows that Chaturvarnya (as proposed by Arya Samajists) is not viable.

Gandhi criticizes Ambedkar's focus on Manusmriti, because scholars and believers of Hinduism don't consider Manusmriti as the central text of Hinduism.

Ambedkar is arguing against what is written in Manusmriti.

Different smritis were practiced in different parts of India.

Gandhi believes that caste-based discrimination is a perversion of Hinduism. He brings up Bhakti traditions (which propounded kinder virtues) and asks what Ambedkar has to say about these contributions of Hinduism.

Gandhi focused on duty and service.

## Sec 19 - Caste in non-Hindus -

(47)

- it's not justified or rationalized - no religious consecration
- transgressors are not outcasted
- there are other threads that bind them together

Sec 20 - Castes are not similar across the country - highlights differences between practices of Brahmins in North India, Bengal vs. South India.

Intercaste marriage doesn't necessarily solve the problem - patriarchy comes into picture: the children are assigned the caste of the father; and depending on social dynamics, women are oppressed because of their caste.

Then, what is the program for Annihilation of Caste?  
Will changing the religion solve the problems?

15/4/23

## Keefure

Ambedkar: inter-dining will not help.

Only inter-marriage can break caste system by creating feeling of kinship with other castes.

Why do people follow caste - not because they're inhuman, but because they're deeply religious.

The religion is wrong which propogates this system, so we need to grapple with the shastras.

To change people's minds, you have to destroy the belief in the sanctity of shastras. Caste has a divine basis and this divinity should be destroyed.

This rejection of shastras & religion is something that doesn't sit well with Ambedkar. Jat-Pat Todak Mandal.

The intellectual class, which should advise and set examples, is entirely comprised of Brahmins, who would not take part in tearing down a system that benefits them. Ambedkar is critical of all Brahmins because they wouldn't go against priestly Brahmins.

This is similar to Marx's argument that the agency of the revolution only lies with the proletariat class. Only those who have gone through the suffering and experience, you won't understand.

But this is somewhat problematic - because what is the solution for a group of people who won't change?

And it's not true that just because you're born in an oppressed group doesn't mean you carry that consciousness.

People at the forefront of struggle with Ambedkar were also Brahmins, who were his close associates. Ambedkar didn't doubt them, but still makes this statement. So this is not the core of Ambedkar's views.

### Theory of Prayashchitta

Ambedkar asks why the lives of Brahmins aren't changing despite the changing world around them?

From rural to urban, the context and practices change.

But this idea of repentance (fasting, donations) is that it allows you to go back to the Standard Path when you deviate.

### Reason and morality

These are the important tools of a reformer. But people are not considered to examine whether caste conforms with reason and morality - that's why shastras should be destroyed.

In Hinduism, there's little difference between rules & principles. Religion means commands and prohibitions, and true spiritual principles are not a core part of everyday life.

# Current times: people defend caste because of relative deprivation.

## Summary points

(49)

1. Primary of the social
  - Not political (Congress)
  - Not economic (Communist)

### 2. What is caste?

- Division of labourers
- Graded hierarchy of groups
- Hereditary occupation assigned at birth
- Hasn't changed for centuries
- Complete absence of choice

Caste is NOT race - castes are not pure; people of certain region are more similar; it's a social, not racial division

### 3. Caste and Hindu society

↳ amounts to divisiveness, doesn't allow for consciousness of kind

No individualism      No public spirit      No fraternity

Equality, maybe a fiction, but should be the governing principle

### 4. Problems with Chaturvarnya

- associational memory
- implementation
- classification
- Penal system
- Status of women

It's a status-quoist ideology, which denies the right to self preservation. Keeps shudras oppressed - no education, no arms, no escape.

Inherently broken - accounts of enmity among varnas.

### 5. Caste among non-Hindus

- It doesn't have the same significance, although it exists
- No religious consecration
- There are other organic filaments that bind them together.

### 6. How to annihilate caste?

- Merging sub-castes together, only makes caste stronger
- Interdining : hasn't solved problems so far
- Inter-caste marriages - real remedy, urgent need
- Change the minds of people by destroying the authority and sanctity of shastras.

### 7. Obstacles

- Character of the intellectual class
- Prayashchitta

### 8. Condemnation of the Religion of Rules

No reason or morality in Hinduism

It's a set of rules, not principles. (commands & prohibitions)