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# QUESTION PAPER

(December – 2018)

(Solved)

## आधुनिक भारतीय राजनीतिक चिन्तन

समय : 3 घण्टे ]

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### भाग—I

निम्नलिखित में से किन्हीं दो प्रश्नों के उत्तर दीजिए।

प्रश्न 1. भारत के सामाजिक व सांस्कृतिक क्षेत्रों पर औपनिवेशिक हस्तक्षेप के प्रभाव की चर्चा कीजिए।

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उत्तर—राय जीवन के सभी क्षेत्रों में उदारवादी सिद्धांतों की वकालत करते थे। धर्म के मामले में राय सहिष्णुता, समस्याओं के गैर-संप्रदायवादी समाधान और धर्म निरपेक्षता के कायल थे। वह व्यक्ति की इस स्वतंत्रता की कद्र करते थे जिसके रहते वह अपने विवेक की बात माने और पुरोहित वर्ग के आदेशों को न मानने की हिम्मत भी रखें। राजनीति के मामले में, राय विधान की अवैयक्तिक सत्ता के समर्थक थे और सत्ता के किसी भी मनमाने इस्तेमाल की खिलाफत करते थे। उनका विश्वास था कि संवैधानिक सरकार का होना मानवीय स्वतंत्रता की सबसे अच्छी गारंटी है। यह अधिकार की रक्षा करने के लिये आवश्यक संवैधानिक साधनों के इस्तेमाल पर जोर देते थे, क्योंकि उनके लिये, इस तरह के सुधार कहीं अधिक स्थायी और गहन थे।

आर्थिक क्षेत्र में उदारवादी सिद्धांतों के अनुरूप, राय जायदाद के अधिकार की पवित्रता में विश्वास रखते थे। इसी तरह, उनका विश्वास था कि एक मजबूत मध्यम वर्ग सामाजिक-राजनीतिक गतिविधियों में एक अहम भूमिका निभा सकता था। वह जमींदारों के शोषण के शिकार गरीब किसानों की मुक्ति के हिमायती थे। वह चाहते थे कि सरकार जमींदारों से अपनी मांगों में कटौती करें। वह रैयतवाड़ी प्रथा और भारतीय सभ्यता के देहाती आधार को बनाये रखना चाहते थे, और आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक उद्योग की स्थापना करना चाहते थे, लेकिन वह एक अहम मामले में दूसरे पश्चिमी उदारवादी चिंताओं से भिन्न थे अर्थात् राज्य की भूमिका और राज्य की गतिविधियों के क्षेत्र में उनकी परिकल्पना में सामाजिक सुधार और जमींदारों से जोतदारों के अधिकारों की रक्षा करने के मामलों में पहल करने में राज्य से एक सकारात्मक भूमिका अदा करने की अपेक्षा की जानी चाहिए।

राय की संपूर्ण धार्मिक, सामाजिक, राजनीतिक सोच स्वतंत्रता की धुरी पर घूमती थी। मूर्ति पूजा की खिलाफत, सती प्रथा के खिलाफ उनका आंदोलन आधुनिक पश्चिमी शिक्षा की उनकी मांग और समाचार पत्रों की स्वतंत्रता पर उनका जोर, महिलाओं के अधिकारों पर उनका जोर, और “अधिकारों के अलगाव की रउनकी मांग, सभी स्वतंत्रता के प्रति उनके गहन प्रेम की अभिव्यक्ति थे। उनके लिये स्वतंत्रता मनुष्य समाज की अमूल्य निधि थी। भारत को राजनीतिक आजादी का संदेश देने वाले वह सबसे पहले व्यक्ति थे। यह मानते हुए भी कि अंग्रेजी राज से भारत को सकारात्मक लाभ मिलेंगे, राय ने भारत में अंतहीन विदेशी राज की कभी हिमायत नहीं की। वह ब्रितानी संपर्क को भारत की सामाजिक मुक्ति के लिये आवश्यक मानते थे। उसके बाद राजनीतिक आजादी का आना लाजमी था।

व्यक्ति के अधिकारों पर—भारतीयों में नागरिक अधिकारों के प्रति जागरूकता बनाने वाले राय पहले व्यक्ति थे। वह अंग्रेजों का इसलिये एहसान मानते थे क्योंकि उन्होंने भारतीयों के लिये

उन्होंने भारतीयों के लिये वे सारे अधिकार उपलब्ध कराये, जो इंग्लैंड में महारानी की प्रजा को प्राप्त थे। राय ने नागरिक अधिकारों की कोई फेहरिस्त तो नहीं बनायी, लेकिन शायद उनकी परिकल्पना के नागरिक अधिकारों में ये नागरिक अधिकार शामिल थे। जीवन और स्वतंत्रता का अधिकार, मत रखने और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता का अधिकार, जायदार का अधिकार, धर्म (अपनी पसंद का) धर्म मानने का अधिकार, इत्यादि।

राय मत और अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता को सबसे अधिक अहमियत देते थे। उनकी दृष्टि में मन और बुद्धि की रचनात्मकता की स्वतंत्रता, और विभिन्न माध्यमों से अपने मत और सोचों की अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता इसमें शामिल थी। राय के अनुसार अभिव्यक्ति की स्वतंत्रता शासक और शासित दोनों वर्गों के लिये समान रूप से उपयोगी थी। अज्ञानी लोगों से इस बात का कहीं अधिक डर रहता है कि वे शासकों के हरेक काम के प्रति बगावत कर दें, वे अधिकारियों के खिलाफ भी हो सकते हैं। इसके विपरीत प्रबद्ध जनता केवल अधिकारियों द्वारा सत्ता के दुरुपयोग का ही विरोध करेगी, अधिकारियों का नहीं। राय का तर्क था कि स्वतंत्र समाचार पत्र दिये जा सकते हैं जहां समाचार पत्रों की स्वतंत्रता न होने के कारण लोगों की शिकायतों को अधिकारियों तक नहीं पहुँचाया जा सका, नहीं दूर किया जा सका, जिससे स्थिति एक हिंसक, क्रांतिकारी बदलाव के लिये बन गयी। केवल स्वतंत्र और स्वाधीन समाचार पत्र ही सरकार और जनता की अच्छाइयों को उजागर कर सकते हैं।

लेकिन, राय समाचार पत्रों की स्वतंत्रता पर उचित प्रतिबंधों के खिलाफ नहीं थे। वह तो भारतीय समाचार पत्रों पर कुछ अलावा प्रतिबंधों को भी स्वीकार करते थे, जिन्हें इंग्लैंड के समाचार पत्रों पर नहीं लगाया गया था। उनका विश्वास था कि इस तरह के प्रतिबंध यहाँ इसलिये आवश्यक हैं कि क्योंकि यहाँ कुछ भारतीयों की तरफ से यह आशंका थी कि वे यहाँ के लोगों के मन में अंग्रज शासकों के लिये घृणा पैदा कर सकते हैं। राय पड़ोसी दोस्त राज्यों के साथ शत्रुता पैदा करने वाली राजद्रोही किस्म की कोशिशों पर रोक लगाने की दृष्टि से लगाये गये प्रतिबंधों पर सख्त आपत्ति करते थे। उनकी राय में प्रतिबंध मनमाने और इस देश की परिस्थितियों में आवश्यक हैं।

**कानून और न्यायिक प्रशासन पर**—राय का दावा था कि कानून तर्क की सृष्टि है और उसमें भावना के लिये कोई स्थान नहीं। यह शासक का आदेश होता है इसलिये ईस्ट इंडिया कंपनी के बड़े से बड़े अधिकारी में भारत के लिये कानूनों को लागू करने की क्षमता नहीं थी। यह अधिकार केवल संसद में सम्राट को था। यही नहीं, राय का यह भी तर्क था कि इंग्लैंड की संसद को भारत से संबंधित किसी भी विधान को अंतिम रूप देने से पहले इस देश के आर्थिक और बुद्धिजीवी कुलीनों के विचारों को भी ध्यान में रखना चाहिए।

राय ने कानून के संदर्भ में एक और अहम विचार दिया। वह था कानून को संहिताबद्ध करना। शासक और शासितों दोनों के हित में था। उनका सुझाव था कि कानून को संहिताबद्ध करने का काम उन सिद्धांतों को आधार मानकर किया जाये, जो समाज के सभी तबकों और गुटों में समान रूप से हों और सभी उन पर सहमत हों। कानून को संहिताबद्ध करने की प्रक्रिया में इस देश की प्राचीन समय से चला आ रही प्रथाओं को नजरअंदाज नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। बेशक, केवल ऐसी प्रथाओं को लिया जाना चाहिये जो तर्कसंगत हैं और जन साधारण की भलाई के लिये हैं। इस तरह संहिताबद्ध किया हुआ कानून सरल, स्पष्ट और सही होना चाहिए। संहिताबद्ध कर देने से कानून की विवेचना और भी अवैयक्तिक हो जायेगी और इसे और भी समान रूप से लागू किया जा सकेगा।

**राज्य की कार्यवाही के क्षेत्र पर**—उदारवादी चिंतक होते हुए भी राय का विश्वास अहस्तक्षेप में नहीं था। वह इस बात को कभी स्वीकार नहीं कर सके कि राज्य की कार्यवाही का क्षेत्र केवल राजनीतिक क्षेत्र तक ही सीमित था। अपने लेखों में उन्होंने राज्य के अधिकारियों से बार-बार यह आग्रह किया था कि वे ऐसी कई सामाजिक, नैतिक और सांस्कृतिक जिम्मेदारियों को अपने ऊपर लें जो “राजनीति” की श्रेणी में नहीं आती। वह चाहते थे कि राज्य जमींदारों से किरायेदारों की रक्षा करें। उपयोगी और उदार शिक्षा की व्यवस्था करें, सती जैसी कुप्रथाओं को समाप्त करें और सभी पुरुष दोनों के जीवन रक्षा समान रूप से करें और स्वतंत्रता, समानता, बंधुत्व और सामाजिक न्याय के सिद्धांतों पर आधारित एक नयी सामाजिक व्यवस्था बनायें। राज्य के अनुसार किसी सरकार का होना केवल तभी सार्थक होता है, जब वह अपने मूल कार्यों के अलावा इन सारे कार्यों को भी अंजाम दे।

**शिक्षा पर**—राय का विश्वास था कि जब तक इस देश की शिक्षा व्यवस्था को बिल्कुल बदल नहीं डाला जाता, तब तक इस बात की संभावना नहीं बन सकती कि लोग इतनी सदियों की नींद से जाग उठेंगे। उनकी महत्वाकांक्षा शिक्षा व्यवस्था को बिल्कुल बदल डालने की थी। उनका विश्वास था कि केवल आधुनिक वैज्ञानिक शिक्षा ही भारतीय जनता में नयी जागरूकता और नयी क्षमताएं भर सकती हैं। इस तरह की शिक्षा के बिना भारत में समाज सुधार का काम बहुत कमजोर होगा और देश हमेशा पिछड़ा रहेगा।

**अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सह-अस्तित्व पर**—इस विषय पर राजा राममोजहन राय के विचारों और उनकी भविष्य उन्मुख कल्पना और अंतर्दृष्टि की अभिव्यक्ति है। उन्होंने अंतर्राष्ट्रीय सह-अस्तित्व की एक सुंदर तस्वीर बनायी है, वह 18वीं सदी के शायद पहले चिंतक थे जिनके पास अंतर्राष्ट्रीयता की सही परिकल्पना थी। यह परिकल्पना (दृष्टि) सार्वभौम धर्म की तलाश करते समय उन्हें मिली होगी। सार्वभौमिकता के भविष्यवक्ता, राय का यह



# Sample Preview of The Chapter

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# MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

**BLOCK-1**

**BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THOUGHT**

## COLONIAL INTERVENTION IN ECONOMY, SOCIETY AND POLITY

1

### INTRODUCTION

It is needed to go through the implication, that colonialism imparted on our society. It is so because colonialism has been an important phase of Indian history. The word colonialism is often been understood to mean only political control by one country over another, but it means more than more this. It is often used to mean our expression used for British rule in India. But we must keep in mind that political control by one country over another, or British rule in India were only components of colonialism, but did not mean it totally. Colonialism infact is a larger phenomenon. It should be treated as a world phenomenon. It continued or affected various countries in many spheres. The countries of Asia, South Africa and Latin America were victims of this process, and the leading and economically powerful countries like France, Britain, Holland, Spain, Portugal were on the beneficiary sides. Colonialism fulfilled the interests of the latter ones. Colonialism should be treated as a structure which contains '*political control*'. When we say of colonialism, we mean the colonial interest (whatever the colonising country may have); policies, state and its related institutions (judiciary, army, bureaucracy, legislature, etc.); culture and society. The wave of modernisation including modern education and societal control, eradication of evil practices etc.; idea and ideologies like the ideas introduced by Britishers and its personalties are to be seen functioning within the parameters of colonial structure. This structure can be defined by their interrelationship as a whole. So, we

can understand the phenomena of colonialism as an integration of economy of the colony (like, India) with the economy of the metropolis (like, Britian) through trade, industry and business. This integration is concluded to serve the interests of the metropolitan economy and to that extent, it completely subordinates the economy of the colony to the economy of the metropolis. But this subordination does not confine to economy only, but also spreads to all the areas of society. And it is applied through various stages. Historically, colonialism in India as well as other countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America underwent three stages. Each stage represented a different pattern of subordination of colonial economy, society and polity and consequently diferent colonial policies, ideologies, impact and colonial peoples' response. The shift from one stage to another is infact the influence of change in the social, economic and political pattern of metropolis itself. Also, it is influenced by the broad changes in the positions of world economy and polity.

### SUMMARY

It was the British rule that transformed India into classical colony. It became a big market for British manufacturers, a large source of raw material and food-stuffs, and are important field of investment for British capital. A heavy tax was imposed on Indian agriculture for British interests. All the major economic components such as transport system, finance, banking, mines, industries, trade, insurance, shipping, postal, railways were under foreign control. India was a source of employment for thousands of middle-class British nationals and about one-third of its revenue was spent

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on the payment of their salaries and emoluments. The Indian Army was used as an instrument to maintain far-flung interests of British Empire in East, South-East, Central and West Asia and North-East and South Africa. And more than all such things Indian economy and social and cultural development was wholly subordinated to British economy and social development. Indian economy was integrated with the world capitalist economy in a subordinate position to international division of labour. During the time when British Empire was developing into a strong economy and a strongly developed colonial country of the world, India was sliding back into the position of a backward colonial country of the world. The entire edifice of economic relations between Britain, and India involving trade, finance continuously developed India's colonial dependence and underdevelopment.

LONG ANSWER TYPE QUESTION

**Q. 1. What are different stages of colonialism?**

**Explain.**

**Ans.** There are three important stages of colonialism:

- (i) **First Stage:** The period of Monopoly Trade and Revenue appropriation.
- (ii) **Second Stage:** Exploitation through Trade—The era of foreign investment and International competition for colonies.
- (iii) **Third Stage:** The era of Foreign Investment and International Competition for Colonies.

(i) **First Stage:** During the first stage of colonialism, the basic objectives of colonialism were:

- (a) Monopoly of trade with the colony *vis-a-vis* other European merchants and the colony's traders and producers. However, whenever handicraftmen or other producers were employed on account of the colonial state, their surplus was directly seized not in a manner of industrial capitalists, but in that of merchant-users.
- (b) The direct appropriation of revenue or surplus through the use of the state power. The colonial state required large financial resources to wage wars in the colony and on the seas and to maintain naval forces, armies and trading posts. Direct

appropriation of the colony's surplus was also needed to finance purchase of colonial products.

It is to be noted that the element of plunder and direct seizure of surplus is very strong during this stage of colonialism; and there is no significant import of metropolitan manufacture into the colony. A basic feature of colonial rule during this period was that no basic changes were introduced in the colony as regard administration, judicial system, transport and communication, methods of agricultural or industrial production etc. The only changes made were in military organization and technology, which contemporary independent chieftains and rulers in the colonies were also trying to introduce, and in administration at the top of the structure of revenue collection so as to make it more efficient.

(ii) **Second Stage:** The essence of second stage of colonialism was the making of the colony into a subordinate trading partner which would export raw materials and import manufactured goods. The colony's social surplus was to be appropriated through trade on the basis of selling dear and buying cheap. This stage of colonialism could even embrace countries which retained political freedom. The second stage of colonialism generated a liberal imperialist political ideology and sections of imperialists statesmen and administrators who talked of training the colonial people in the art of democracy and self-Government. It was believed that if colonial people '*learnt*' the virtues of law and order, sanctity of business, contract, free trade and economic development, the economic interest of colonialism could be perpetuated even if the metropolitan power was to withdraw direct political and administrative control.

One point needs to be stressed in this connection : The colonial authorities did not deliberately set out to underdeveloped colony. On the contrary, their entire effort was to develop it so that it could complement, though in a subordinate position, the metropolitan economy. The earlier forms of surplus extraction continued during this stage and became a drag on its full working. Moreover, since the colony had also to pay the costs of its transformation, the burden on the colonial peasant rose steeply.

(iii) **The Third Stage:** The new stage of colonialism was ushered in as a result of several major changes in the world economy, for example:

- (a) Spread of industrialization to several countries of Europe, North America and Japan;
- (b) Intensification of industrialization as a result of the application of scientific knowledge to industry; and
- (c) Further unification of the world market due to a revolution in the means of international transport. There now occurred an intense struggle for new, secure and exclusive markets and sources of agricultural and mineral raw materials and food-stuffs. Moreover, expanded reproduction at home and extended exploitation of colonies and semi-colonies produced large accumulations of capital in the developed capitalist countries.

Politically and administratively the third stage of colonialism meant more extensive control over the colony. Moreover, it was now even more important that colonial administration should permeate every pore of colonial society and that every port, town and village be linked with world economy. The administration also now became more bureaucratic, detailed and efficient.

A major change now occurred in the ideology of colonialism. The talk of training the colonial people for independence died out and was revived later only under the pressure of anti-imperialist movements. Instead came the talk of benevolent despotism of the colonial people being a permanently immature or 'child' people over whom permanent trusteeship would have to be exercised. Efforts at the transformation of the colony's economy, society and culture continued during this stage also though once again with paltry results.

**SHORT ANSWER TYPE QUESTIONS**

**Q. 1. Discuss the emergence of Indian Civil Service and role of Cornwallis in shaping it.**

**Ans.** The actual civil service was brought into existence by Lord Cornwallis. Before that, East India company carried on its trade in East through servants who were paid low wages but who were permitted to trade privately. Later when the company became the

territorial power the same servants assumed administrative functions. They now became extremely corrupt. By oppressing local weavers and artisans, merchants and zamindars, by extorting bribes and 'gifts' from *rajās* and *nawābs* and by indulging in illegal private trades, they amassed untold wealth with which they retired to England. Clive and Warren Hastings made attempts to put an end to their corruption, but were only partially successful.

Cornwallis, who came to India as Governor-General in 1786, was determined to purify the administration, but he realised that the Company's servant would not give honest and efficient service as long as they were not given adequate salaries. He therefore enforced the rules against private trade and acceptance of presents and bribes by officials with strictness. At the same time, he raised the salaries of the company's servants. For example, the Collector of a district was to be paid Rs. 1500 a month and one per cent commission on the revenue collection of his district. In fact, the Company's, civil service became the highest paid service in the world. Cornwallis also laid down that promotion in the civil service should be by seniority so that its members would remain independent of outside influence.

**Q. 2. What was the rule of law introduced by Britishers ?**

**Ans. Rule of Law:** The British introduced the concept of the rule of law. This means that administration was to be carried out, at least in theory, in obedience to laws, which clearly defined the rights, privileges, and obligations of the subjects and not according to the caprice or personal discretion of the ruler. In practice, of course, the bureaucracy and the police enjoyed arbitrary powers and interfered with the rights and liberties of the people. One important feature of the concept of the rule of law was that any official could be brought before a court of law for breaches of official duty or for acts done in excess of his official authority. The rule of law was to some extent a guarantee of the personal liberty of a person. It is true that previous rulers of India had been in general bound by tradition and custom. But they always had the legal right to take any administrative steps they wanted and there existed no other authority before whom their acts could be questioned. The Indian rulers and chiefs sometimes exercised this power to do as they wanted. Under British rule on the other hand, administration

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was largely carried on according to laws as interpreted by the courts though the laws themselves were often defective, were made not by the people through a democratic process but autocratically by the foreign rulers, and left a great deal of power in the hands of the civil servants and the police. But that was perhaps inevitable in a foreign regime that could not in the very nature of things be democratic or libertarian.

**OBJECTIVE TYPE QUESTIONS**

1. **Who brought into existence, civil service in India?**

- (a) Lord Cornwallis                      (b) Lord Clive  
(c) Warren Hastings                    (d) Lord Duffrin

2. **A college named, the College of Fort William was established to educate civil servants in India. It was situated at**

- (a) Bombay                                      (b) Calcutta  
(c) Madras                                      (d) Hyderabad

3. **Police in India was created by**

- (a) Lord Cornwallis                      (b) Lord Clive  
(c) Warren Hastings                    (d) Lord Duffrin

4. **How many stages of colonialism were there?**

- (a) Two    (b) Four  
(c) One    (d) Three

Ans. 1. (a); 2. (b); 3. (a); 4. (d)

