

Transcript of Zoom Meeting at 5.00 pm on July 30, 2025

This transcript still has some machine-made mistakes. Thanks to Krish and Suresh for correcting and editing their parts for clarity. I have put in the Devanagari part and corrected some errors elsewhere. - Girish

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Okay. चित्रा जी आप सुर साधना के अंक के बारे में अपनी बात रखें.

Chitra Sahasrabudhey:

हाँ हाँ। तो मेरे ख्याल से सुर साधना का ये नया अंक आ गया है ... मैं आपको बताऊंगी क्योंकि अभी भेजा है उसको एक दिन पहले ही। लेकिन एक नजर अगर आप लोग ... एक नजर सभी लोग डाल सके। विशेष मतलब अंक में कौन कौन से लेख हैं ... तो हमारे लिए ठीक होगा क्योंकि इस अंक को मुख्य रूप से अक्टूबर में जो स्वराज पंचायत होनी है सात, आठ, नौ अक्टूबर को विद्या आश्रम पर उसकी तैयारी के रूप में इसको प्रकाशित किया है. अतः कोशिश यह है कि घोषणा में अक्टूबर की इच्छाशक्ति के लिए

अक्टूबर की स्वराज पंचायत में जो का तीन दिन का कार्यक्रम लिखा है वो कोई फाइनल नहीं है। इन लेखों पर जो भी चर्चा होगी उसके आधार पर ब्लॉक अक्टूबर आते आते फिर से एक कार्यक्रम की रूपरेखा नए ढंग से बनाएंगे क्योंकि आपस में चर्चा करके तैयारी बैठक में सबकी राय लेके उसमें क्या शामिल करना है क्या उसमें बताना है किस तरह से उसको संगठित किया जाएगा, यह खुला है और अभी केवल मोटीसी रूपरेखा उसकी प्रस्तुत की गई है। तो कोशिश हमारी ये रहेगी कि ये अगस्त-सितंबर का मिलकर निकाला है हम लोगों ने. लेकिन सितंबर के अंत तक हो सका तो ... वो पहले ही हो जैसी राय बनेगी लोगों की ... एक अंक और छोटा सा प्रकाशित करेंगे हम लोग. ये थोड़ा बड़ा बन गया है. सोलह page का है ये और करीब चौदह पंद्रह इसमें ये है लेखन ... लेख है। और ज्यादातर वाराणसी के लोगों ने लिखे हुए हैं। कोशिश तो यही थी कि वाराणसी ज्ञान पंचायत की ओर से सुर साधना निकलता है तो सुर साधना के लोग पहले उसमें लिखे अपनी बात. और बाहर के कुछ ... फिर हम लोग बनारस के बाहर के लोगों को आमंत्रित करें ... कोशिश ये है. इसीलिए और यह जरूरी है कि बाहर के लोग लिखें ... दूसरा अंक मुख्य रूप से बाहर के लोगों के लिखे हुए छोटे छोटे लेखों से बनेगा। इस अंक में केवल हम लोगों ने एक बहस को शुरू करने की कोशिश की है कि बहुजन समाज को कैसे देखना है ... और बहुजन समाज की शक्तियों को हम लोग किन किन कोणों से देख कर उस पर एक बात ... मतलब सार्थक बहस उठा सकें जिससे बहुजन समाज की एक सशक्त राजनीतिक, सामाजिक हैसियत उभरकर आये.

इस कोशिश में अलग अलग जैसे लक्ष्मण प्रसाद जी का लेख है। उसमें थोड़ा दर्शन की बात है। राम जनम जी ने जो लिखा है उसमें कब पूरी तरह से अपील है कि ... क्या कहेंगे ... वैश्विक स्तर पर बहुजन समाज के लोग एक हों ये एक नारा दिया जा सकता है और उसके बल पर एक नई राजनीतिक कल्पना को आकार दिया जा सकता है. फजलुर्रहमान के लेख में यह दिया है कि अक्सर आज की राजनीति में और आज की जो भी आधुनिक व्यवस्थाएं हैं उसमें लोकविद्या समाज को खासकर ... और बहुजन समाज को जनता कहते हैं और जनता की कोई और पहचान नहीं होती। आप बहुजन समाज जैसे ही उसको कहते हैं, वैसे ही उसकी सारी ऐतिहासिक विरासत, दर्शन साबित हो रहा है कि वह इस अनेक तरह की परंपराओं के साथ उसका एक चेहरा उभरकर आता है और जब तक यह चेहरा दिखता नहीं है, तब तक राजनीति की एक नई परिकल्पना करने में बाधा है। केवल परिकल्पना करने के लिए भी नहीं ... बहुजन समाज की प्रवृत्ति क्या है आज यह देख पाने में हम लोग असमर्थ हो जाते हैं। अगर हम उसको जनता के रूप में देखते हैं. तो फजलुर्रहमान ने इसको लिखा है खासतौर से बुनकर ... बुनकर समाज

की बात भी उसमें सामने लाई है। अभी तक हम लोगों ने कभी नहीं देखा कि अंग्रेजों ने बुनकरों के साथ जो भी व्यवहार किए हैं उसका एक विस्तृत चित्र सामने आए, केवल बंगाल के बुनकरों के साथ नहीं बल्कि देशभर में जो बुनकर हैं, उनकी क्या स्थिति रही ... डेढ़-सौ, दो सौ ... दो सौ साल पहले, ढाई-सौ साल पहले इसकी बात नहीं आई. तो इस पर थोड़ा सा ... थोड़ी थोड़े काम की कोशिश करने का यहाँ से प्रयास होगा. और उनके ऊपर एक दृष्टि और ... कि क्या स्थिति रही है इस समाज की और ... कौन से रास्ते अपनाना इनके लिये संभव हो सकता है. तो क्या स्वराज पंचायत में इस पर एक चर्चा हो.

बाकी लोगों के जो लेख हैं जैसे प्रेमलता जी का है, या पारमिता ने लिखा है बहुजन समाज की एक मोटी से पहचान सामने लाने के लिए और यह शब्द इस समाज को देने में अ क्या क्या उसके परिणाम होंगे किस तरह का एका स्थापित हो सकता है, किस तरह की शक्तियों का कोई एकजुट करना संभव होगा, इस पर जोर दिया है.

सुनील जी का लेख है इसमें स्वराज तो ... ज्यादातर लोगो ने पढ़ा है. स्वराज चेतना का स्वरूप क्या है? बहुजन समाज का और मेरे ख्याल से इस पर विस्तृत चर्चा होनी चाहिए। ये महत्वपूर्ण लेख है, और हम लोगों के बीच में चर्चा में रहना चाहिए।

चेंगलपेट दस्तावेज के नाम से बहुत पहले हम लोगों के समूह में चर्चा में लाए थे। जी एस आर कृष्णन् जी का लेख है। अंग्रेजी में था उसको हम लोगों ने हिंदी किया है और उसको प्रस्तुत करने का तरीका बदल दिया है। कुछ शीर्षक डाले हैं ... कि किस तरह का समाज था ... कौन सी जातियां थीं ... आमदनी कितनी थी ... किस तरह के घरों में रहते थे ... वगैरह वगैरह ... आवंटन उत्पादन कैसे था, उत्पादन का आवंटन कैसे होता था? इन शीर्षकों के तहत उसको अलग अलग किया है बिंदुओं में. ताकि सामान्य लोगों को सौंपने में और समझने में आसानी हो। ये लेख हमको लगता है काफी महत्वपूर्ण है। इसका हिन्दी हमने कहा है कि और यहां की कम से कम उत्तर भारत के सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं को, पढ़े लिखे लोगों को सभी को इसको पढ़ने में सुविधा हो इस ढंग से इसको प्रस्तुत किया है। लेकिन इसका एक इसको एक चर्चा में लाना ... दस्तावेज को ... एक बहुत ही जरूरी कार्य है जो लोकविद्या जन आंदोलन को अपने हाथ में लेना चाहिए, और चेंगलपेट के अलावा और जहां जहां ये सर्वेक्षण हुए थे, उस पर एक फोकस करना चाहिए कि यह स्थिति केवल दक्षिण नहीं बल्कि देश के अन्य हिस्सों में थी। उसका जिक्र आया है इसमें। लेकिन विस्तार से मुझे लगता है कि ये कुछ है. तो इस समूह में पिछले डेढ़ दो साल से जो बातें हो रही हैं उनको समझने की कोशिश की है हमने की ये सामान्य सामाजिक कार्यकर्ताओं के बीच में चर्चा का एक हमें आधार हो और एक पंचायत में सार्थक करने का माहौल बना सके.

आप सभी लोगों से हम आग्रह करेंगे कि इसको थोड़ा सा देखें, सब लोग इसको जितना देख सकते हैं, और इसमें और क्या कुछ कमी हो जिसके बारे में सोचा जा सके ... तो इस पर हम लोग सुझाव।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

धन्यवाद! इसपर कुछ बात-चीत हो सकती है. क्या सुझाव हैं लोगों के ... अगला अंक तो अक्टूबर में निकलेगा ... या इससे पहले?

Chitra Sahasrabudhe:

हाँ, सितंबर के अंत में।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

हाँ तो उसके लिए भी बातचीत हो सकती है और लोग बार लिखना चाहेंगे जो उस पर बात कर रहे हैं। तो यह बात नहीं है। अभिजीत, आप लिखेंगे कुछ अक्टूबर के पहले। अभिजीत?

Abhijit Mitra:

हाँ। हाँ, hello मैं कोशिश कर रहा हूँ बनाने की ... लेकिन कुछ कमिट नहीं कर पा रहा हूँ। कोशिश कर रहा हूँ।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

चित्रा जी, मेरे ख्याल से पंद्रह तक ... आपको पंद्रह सितंबर तक लगेगा कि उससे पहले।

Chitra Sahasrabudhe:

हाँ हाँ हाँ। लेख आ जाएं। अगर पन्द्रह सितम्बर तक तो यह हम लोगों ने कहा था कि। अ दस से पंद्रह ...

Abhijit Mitra:

ठीक है, कोशिश मैं कर रहा हूँ ... नहीं चिंतन करते करते टूट जाता है। देखते हैं।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

जी। Okay ... Krish?

Krishnarajulu:

Yeah, I am sending a write-up for the October meeting. Yeah, by this weekend it'll come as a mail attachment to Buddhey's mail of June 16th. You know, he informed about the Swaraj Gyan Panchayat and I said I would give an article. So I got that article ready almost ... just final editing, and then I think in the in a day or two I would have mailed it to Buddhey ... whatever mail id I got the announcement. It is, of course, the article is titled Bahujan and Swaraj.

It is just a write up about this term or this word Bahujan, and what it implies. That we've used the term Bahujan to describe or identify Lokavidya Samaj. So, in my view, what it means. Secondly, Swaraj, what Swaraj means, and what is this Swaraj chetana ... the consciousness that is required, or which is there ... which requires to build a Swaraj. Okay, that's it. That kind of thing. So about Swaraj and about Bahujan. These two things are being covered in that write up. The other thing which was mentioned ... Lokavidya, I not ... I just assumed that the people who attend the conference, and others who read understand what we mean by Lokavidya. So there's nothing to ... I have not put any elaboration in my note. 3 of 4 page note. That's it.

That will have to be translated into Hindi. I mean, this is ... If it's going to be presented, I mean put into that publication, or in that conference. If it's in October, then I will not attend, I'll not be able to attend, but it can be published in the with the appropriate ... I mean, there is enough time for me or all of us to discuss it and modify it if necessary, etcetera.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

I want to ask ... yeah ... Sivaramakrishnan, has a long-standing idea. I mean, he had had many discussions with Dharampal also, and has clearer (idea) than most of us. The idea about Chengalpettu data. Can GSRK, write a piece on fiscal system that when ... that can be read into the Chengalpettu data that ... how is where ... how much tax ... where all does it go ... who disperses it ... who collects it? All these things with some comparison with the British system that might open the book ... Could be ...

Sivaramakrishnan G:

Oh, I have. Yeah, I have. I have lost contact with the data now for quite some time. I will have to have a fresh look at it again, if one has to. It's very long time since I had anything to do with that data. We will have a look at it to see what can be improved. There may not be much detail about that kind of yeah. I mean.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

But it's just an idea or a ... more a model of a ... of a fiscal policy or fiscality, which is different from what we have in modern world. Modern world like, we know the British ... two key features that distinguished it from the earlier one is that the tax increased considerably, and that it went to one place from where it was disbursed.

On both these counts. The amount of tax is one thing, but perhaps more important, maybe more important, is the structure of its disbursement that where all does it go? Sometimes it goes to the place where it is spent. Sometimes it goes through a higher body which further disperses it. So there, there are various I mean things like going for the allocation for the oil in the lamp, in phenomena, like irrigation and all ... some ... Because if this can be presented in some neat form, it makes easier, and imagination of Swaraj about an imagination of an autonomy of a certain kind...

Sivaramakrishnan G:

Yeah, yeah, I will. I will look at it. There is this, I mean, you know the story. I mean, how talks about the Mughal rule and the revenue exchequer that it had, etcetera. There was a big gap between what is the estimated revenue of the Mughal Empire and what was actually received at the exchequer in terms of realized revenue ... So this is explained by the Cambridge historians at the time as something that gets eaten up at the what they call as the feudal lords level, etcetera.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

Oh, I see. Okay.

Sivaramakrishnan G:

Does not really go up. Yeah, so this is mansabdars, ... and others, they take it away, and so on. Yeah. Dharampal had a different view. See? He thought, maybe it was never collected in the 1st instance, you know. It is only notionally collected, but then, actually it is not collected. It is left at

the ground at the level of the village, and no people at that level to be spent on a whole lot of things. And in the book entry they make this entry. That this is the, you know revenue that is received from this and that, etc. And they make an estimate of this is the total revenue of the Mughal Empire. So, actually what goes to the the exchequer is only some 20%, or even 15% of the estimated revenue. So Dharampal's very, very interesting conclusion was that these historians have misunderstood the entire arrangement. And this is a very old arrangement. It's not Mughal arrangement, and therefore he talks about the various ... that ... systems that we had in various parts of India, the (?), the (?) land, and this and that, and the various other grants that were given ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

The bhaichara lands ...

Sivaramakrishnan G:

And so then, finally, this Chengalpattu data came up you know, and that that virtually really it ... it was so consistent with his picture ... the earlier picture of Mughal. So, he thought, that this is what is the total arrangement of India. So one can ... I mean, I can write something about all that ... in terms of maybe ... Yeah, yeah, possible.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

It will be, it will be extremely good for the conference we will have. We will translate in Hindi. Yeah. And maybe some of these articles which are relevant too should be translated into more languages than just in Hindi. Of course it will be done because there are ... there is this event, and all ... anyway, because just this description of two minutes that you gave deserves to be elaborated in a wrtte-up.

Sivaramakrishnan G:

Yeah, yeah, let me see. Yeah. I have narrated this story so many times. So it is ... it's not very difficult to recollect them, and then put them together, etcetera.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

And put it in writing. Yeah, okay. Thank you. ये बहुत बढ़िया हो जाएगा.

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Avinash, you were writing something which ... for this, Right, Avinash?

Avinash Jha:

Yeah, I'm writing something almost for this Sur Sadhana, something like Swaraj ki Gyan-Dristi.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

ठीक है ... Yes, yes.

Avinash Jha:

I'm trying to finish it now. short, not very long, maybe 7-800 words or something.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

That's fine. One and a half page. Not one page ... less than 2. That would be right

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Gandhi. You have already written one piece which may have to be adopted for Sur Sadhana, and of course, the Conference. Gandhi?

Krishna Gandhi:

हाँ मेरा तो basically जो लिखा था ... I think I will slightly rewrite it, if possible, and then also translate into Hindi by myself. So that is what I think I will be able to do. So. The basic idea is already there. So it will be only more laborated, maybe.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

But can you write one more? I mean centered on the idea of Swaraj as a law of nature?

Krishna Gandhi:

That I had the earlier article, but it has to be rewritten or shortened ...

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Hmm, so this will be, yeah, very ... It's kind of a it's an idea with which people have not ... I mean, there is no ... no one has put forth this idea. It is ... it is ... That Swaraj is a law of nature would be a way of talking about it in a very different ... from a very different angle. Far more universal in nature, far more rooted in what humanity is, etc. Rather than a regional or a national framework. वो रहेगा तो बहुत अच्छा हो जाएगा.

Krishna Gandhi:

So I will. But I want ... I suppose there is no problem pressing two articles in the same thing ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

क्यों? ठीक है... I don't know. Let ... let these come.

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

No, it is also for your sessions, for the sessions, I mean सुर साधना and sessions also.

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

There can be two in the publication. पब्लिकेशन में एक आदमी के दो आर्टिकल होंगे तो उससे क्या हुआ?
What stops anybody that issue?

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

That issue is ... बढ़ा होगा न? That is why उसमे तो अभी कोई पेज लिमिट नहीं है ...

Chitra Sahasrabudhey:

हाँ, हाँ उसमे पृष्ठों की कोई सीमा नहीं रखी है ...

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Okay. Conference होगा तो उसमें थोडा लम्बा तो होगा ही ... ठीक है

Krishna Gandhi:

ठीक है तो कोशिश करता हूँ मैं ... nature वाला

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

ठीक है Okay, so we can start on the other part of the agenda. Okay, transcript. आपने पढ़ा है क्या गांधी ... ट्रांसक्रिप्ट पिछले बार का? Have you glanced through it? I had sent a transcript of the last

Krishna Gandhi:

Hello. हमने जो सुरेश ने बोला है उसको पढ़ा है ... लेकिन बाकी जो लोग हैं उनका मैं पूरा पढ़ नहीं पाया ... असल में यहाँ क्या हो रहा है कि ... हमने आपको बताया क्या पहले ...BIDA करके बुंदेलखंड में Industrial Development Authority करके NOIDA के तर्ज पर बन रहा है तो अभी नोटिस आया कि बारिश जितनी भी ज़मीन है वगैरह सब वो ले रहे हैं ठीक हैं?

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

अच्छा! मतलब झांसी ...? खेती वाली?

Krishna Gandhi:

हाँ खेती वाली ... तो अभी जो है गांव वाले जो है ... सारी चीजें क्या हो रहा है किसी को कुछ मालूम नहीं है क्योंकि टोटली नॉन ट्रांसपेरेंट तरीके से सब हो रहा है। कोई भी कानून के अंतर्गत यह नहीं हो रहा है ... अभी फिलहाल क्योंकि वो जो एक्विज़ीशन एक्ट लागू नहीं है अभी ... अभी क्या कर रहे हैं ये लोग की किसान स्वेच्छा से जो है

सहमति दे रहे हैं कि तुम अपनी जमीन ले लो ... ऐसे किसानों को फंसाया जा रहा है ... तो कुछ यहां पर अब क्या हो रहा है कि किसानों के शुरू में लग रहा है तो केवल खेती वाली जमीन जाएगी। अब वो मकान रहने का वो भी वह लोग ले रहे हैं।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

अच्छा ... जमीन पर जो है।

Krishna Gandhi:

नहीं ... आबादी वाले आधे हिस्से को भी वो लोग ले रहे हैं। तो यह नहीं है।

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

हम् हम् ... ये तो नो नो It is going toward ... अर्थशास्त्र में कोई कंसेप्ट है ... that all land belongs to the state। इस टाइप का कुछ ...

Krishna Gandhi:

वो तो वो तो अंग्रेजों ने वैसे ही बनाया था ... All land belongs to the state

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

हां, To State ... Presently also ... according to the constitution ownership तो सारी स्टेट की आती होगी

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

जंगलों की है ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

नहीं नहीं लैंड्स की भी होगी ये जो somebody can tell us by looking into that what is the status of an agricultural land ये जावंधिया साहब बता रहे हैं कुछ ...

Sivaramakrishnan G:

It's called eminent domain, which ... which which means that the State has absolute ownership of all this, and if they decide to take over a piece of land for the good of public or greater good, etcetera. There is no way you can contest it even today in the Indian law. if they announced that this is for public purpose, for highway, or whatever you know, fly over whatever that highways, etcetera. All that the farmers are people who have, whose land has been notified can get only a compensation. They have no right to say that you have. No, I mean, you cannot take over this land, etcetera. That's that is the position. Today. I mean, this has come. This comes from the British, I mean the Anglo-saxon jurisprudence, ... eminent domain it's called, and therefore that is what is in force today all over India. I see every ... every time they take over the land. They simply say that this is for public purpose, and it cannot be contested. I mean, it is once they declare it is for public

good. This is, yes, they have a right to take over the land itself. You can only get compensation. You can only question whether the compensation is adequate, proper, or whatever it right. not beyond that.

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Oh, oh, yeah.

Vijay jawandhia:

Actually बिल्कुल सही कहा है land ... agriculture land जो है जिसको अपन 7/12 कहते हैं, land रिकॉर्ड कहते हैं उस पर जो किसान का नाम है वो टेनन्ट है और जो वायदा है वो किसान रेंट करके सरकार को देता है। सरकार मालिक है और अभी बिल्कुल सही कहा कि सरकार यह जमीन एकायर कर सकती है पर अभी जो नया नियम आया है land acquisition का उसमें उन्होंने सिर्फ कॉम्पेंसेशन के लिए इतना तय किया है कि जो सर्कल रेट है उससे चार गुना या छह गुना उसको कॉम्पेंसेशन देना चाहिए ... तो वो अच्छी अमाउंट हो जाती है कई जगह पर ऐसा लैंड एक्विजिशन के लिए किसान खुद होकर तैयार हो जाता सही कहा है ... पर जो जमीनें बिल्कुल शहर के बाजू में है, उन पर अन्याय होता है क्योंकि वहां के ऑलरेडी जमीनों की कीमतें बहुत बढ़ी गई होती है और उतना सरकार कॉम्पेंसेशन नहीं देती है ... तो सरकार जमीन ले सकती है और सरकार ही उसकी ओनर है ... We are tenants ... I mean farmer is a tenant on that land and we pay उस पर वायदा जो देते हैं, वह उसका रेंट देते हैं।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

हम वो मतलब ये थ्योरी में कॉन्स्टिट्यूशन में किसी दिन किसी हाईकोर्ट या सुप्रीम कोर्ट के जजमेंट से यह पॉपुलर नॉलेज में वो कन्वर्ट कर देंगे इसको which it is not yet the case.

Krishna Gandhi:

नहीं... यहां पर क्या हो रहा है कि यहां पर वह जो दो हज़ार तरह का कांग्रेस गवर्नमेंट ने जो लैंड एक्विजिशन एक्ट लाया है, उसको भी उन्होंने अनाउंस नहीं किया और यह नहीं किया कि ये जो जमीन उस एक्ट के अंतर्गत ली जा रही है ऐसा नहीं किया दो केवल जो है यहाँ के लोगों को प्रेशराइज कर रहा है कि तुम जो दे दो और कुछ प्रधान लोग थे जो मना कर रहे थे कि हम नहीं देंगे। तो उनको दबोच लिया।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Hmm.

Krishna Gandhi:

तो बेसिकली क्या हो रहा है कि ये जो स्व-सम्मति से इस तरह की बात करके ये लोग उसमें यह होगा कि कंपनसेशन के अलावा अलावा रीहेबिलिटेशन और वो सब चीजें एक्स्ट्रा जो राइट्स जो थे लैंड एक्विजिशन एक्ट में वह डिनाई होगा किसानों को यहां पर केवल जो गवर्नमेंट का जो सर्कल रेट जो स्टाम्प ड्यूटी जिस रेट पर देते हैं जब ट्रांजेक्शन्स होते हैं उस सर्कल रेट का चार गुना यहां पर दिया जा रहा है और वह सर्किल रेट भी बहुत जमाने से वो फ्रीज करके रखा हुआ है और किसान जो है केवल सरकार को जमीन दे सकते हैं। और किसी भी को नहीं बेच सकते ऐसा है।

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

हम् हम् तो ये अब उसके सारे कन्वर्शन बंद हो गए? ये जो नॉन-एग्रीकल्चरल कन्वर्शन हुआ करता था ... वो सब नहीं होता?

Krishna Gandhi:

नहीं ये जो गवर्नमेंट है ये बहुत ज्यादा जमीन, सब लोगों से ले रही है। किसानों को जो है हटा रही है ... तुम भागों यहां से हमें जमीन चाहिए तुम्हारी ... तुम क्या कर रहे हो? आगे चल कर के हमें कोई मतलब नहीं उसे ...

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Hmm. हम् लेकिन नॉर्मल तो कोई पब्लिक पर्पज़ दिखाना पड़ता है। वो भी नहीं कर रहे हैं क्या?

Krishna Gandhi:

पब्लिक पर्पज़ के नाम पर वो लोग कोई एक्ट के अंतर्गत ये एकायर करना है, ये नहीं दिखा रहे हैं... पब्लिकली अनाउंस नहीं कर रहे हैं कि इस एक्ट के अंदर कदम जमीन ले रहे हैं ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

यह बड़ा खेल। और यह केवल केवल जमीन का नहीं है। General direction that, I think can be seen is nothing small shall have a life of its own यह base में है ... मंदिर छोटे नहीं होंगे केवल बड़े होंगे lands, छोटी प्रॉपर्टीज छोटी नहीं होंगी केवल बड़ी होंगी ... इंडस्ट्री छोटी नहीं होगी केवल बड़ी होगी accumulation पैसे का भी छोटा नहीं होगा, बड़ा होगा ... Accumulation on a larger scale, whatever that... how that scale is understood in industry or in terms of assets or मंदिर भी है we had ... That is, kind of social power, सब लोकल कुछ नहीं रह जाएगा। छोटा कुछ नहीं रह जाएगा This is exactly opposite to what Swaraj may mean. जो पिछली बार हम लोगों ने बात की थी। हमने कहा था मतलब ... पिछली बार के discussion में हम लोगों ने वो ये कि सिविलिजेशनल स्टेट के दो अर्थ हैं, एक एंपायर बिल्डिंग और दूसरा स्वराज ... At least in India ये दो अर्थ हैं Indian civilization के ... At least in India, Indian civilization is Swaraj as well as Empire. Now, Indian civilization is both Swaraj as well as ... and तो वो किस किस का मिक्स था ... at different times उसमें क्या ज्यादा था क्या कम था यह तो एक historical question है। At present there is a clear bend of the ruling classes towards building an empire at the cost of Swaraj like systems, or व्यवस्था, जो भी हो, I think part of our enterprise related to Swaraj is to claim that Indian civilization is a Swaraj's civilization, not just political organization. Look at them every time. Krishnaju says that it is not only a political, it's not a question of governance only उसको आप सोशल दुनिया में देख लीजिये, रिलिजियस दुनिया में देख लीजिये ... In the social world, the religious world, the political world, even the philosophical world, you will find a Swaraj like phenomenon which is kind of ... which pervades, which is through everything. I think that is spread out into the entire show ... so this idea, which repeatedly appears पुराना आइडिया है शायद हिन्दुस्तान का ... In what ... By ... by what name it may have appeared at different times, I do not know ... is not known but national movement में आ गया... national movement ... they talked about Swaraj. Now you have a Swaraj party, a Swaraj India, a Swaraj, Abhiyan, a Media Swaraj, this, that since 2011, mainly, I think.

since 2,011, the the word Swaraj has entered all kinds of activity, naming of all kinds of activity. Now this is a different kind of phase ... is different from the national movement ,, the way Swaraj had appeared in the national movement. It's a much wider application. We need to have a take on this. And this is a prelude. This is a kind of something that is happening just before on the global scale. The idea of civilizational state appears. That is the two things... These two things apparently always happen together, those who are opposite to each other one an Empire building state, and then another is a Swarajist tendency state तो इसमें we will have to look into how this relates to ... the entire thing is thrown open. How to look at society, how to look at governance, what is the role of philosophy? What is the source of philosophy? Everything is thrown open. which is ... which was closed for a long time ... for 200 years after this institutionalization of science from the early 19th century post-Kant, as if ... There is debate in 18th century Europe. But there is hardly any debate later in 19th century, on the question of ascendancy of science. Science is final. and many things are along... What all had become final with the institutionalization of science in early 19th century has broken down at the turn of this century, 2,000 ... to 2,000... that is 19th century to what is the ... to 21st century. All those received ideas have broken down. whether in science, whether ... or in social science, or in philosophy anywhere. This is the biggest consequence of what you call this change ... ये information की दुनिया के साथ जो चेंज आया ... It is yet to show up, कि कितना और चेंज होनेवाला है I mean 100 years, 200 years, any amount on length of time that it might take. We thought, when semantic web came early this century 2001-02, and so on ... we thought that something ... a great step forward. But every 10 years or less every 5 to 7 years there is a huge step in a direction which was not anticipated... which was not foreseen. So something very different we caught on that ... we caught on basically this change our first ... WSF, 2004 ... understanding is primarily located on this change that something has happened. We don't know whether 500 years of science is going to take a beating or 2000 years of philosophy is going to take a beating. I mean, we wrote in these terms कि 500 साल stake पे है या 2000 साल stake पे है ... something very large is at stake. I think we... the lokavidya understanding must move on to a very high plane of such political, philosophical understanding ... economic to whatever extent it is ... but I don't think the economic gives that picture. It pays ... but the primary picture is seen in the political, philosophical world. This is my feeling. It ... not be ... need not be everybody's, and it is from there, somewhere at this level we will ... we have to ... we have to cut ... we have to strike in the October convention. I think the people of the Bahujan Samaj will understand ... those who come with not so much modern education ... not so much university training ... will be able to understand, provided we are able to articulate. It will be our failure if we are not able to articulate the level of change. If people are not able to see, that will be because we are not able to tell the story properly, that an entirely different narrative, unless that is constructed this Swaraj narrative, or whatever you call it ... from the point of view of Bahujan Samaj. There was one in Bahujan Gyan Samvad ... there was a post today on Naga Vansh ... Maybe it can be circulated. I don't know from where it has come. He has yet to report. This was by Fazalur Rahman Ansari, who is yet to tell from where he has taken it. But that doesn't matter. It is very consistent kind of ... internally consistent kind of reporting ... a different narrative of ... a completely different narrative from the national

movement narrative. The entire national movement narrative, Ambedkar included, is totally different. They are fighting among themselves on certain issues. This comes from outside, that universe, national movement के पूरे नैरेटिव के बाहर से ये आ रहा है ... So let us ... we will circulate that also ... Let us see that, and let us go back to ... go back in the sense of ... go back to our own roots of lokavidya formulation. We are the people who have formulated the idea of lokavidya ... and many who talked about traditional systems and traditional knowledge and all that ... have not ... have not accepted any part of the idea of lokavidya even today. So it is ... it is for us ... 9, 10, 20, whoever we are to be able to take a go on taking those steps in the realm of understanding and communication and construction of narratives thereof ... to be able to, I mean wherever ... converge more towards the political end, and less, or from the philosophical end, and so on. That's all.

जैसे ये जो लिखेंगे GSRK ... I mean when he articulates that fiscal ... that would be a fiscal policy that India gives to the world a fiscal policy which has not been talked about for last 200 years or more ... not in the global level, not anywhere, maybe maybe at some places in Latin America or some places somewhere else, maybe among the people who ... whose greater part has been eliminated from the face of the Earth by the ... by the Anglo-saxons, and so on. But they are still there, and their debates may still have this. I mean going back to in concrete terms, to a political understanding which which fits the response of that original or whoever ... that Indian from America ... When he was asked to sell his land, he said that he can't sell the land because the air, the water, whatever ... There is a longish kind of answer he has given that all these constitute a package package is not his word ... that they are mixed with one another. We can't sell one of that and have the other. That's a ... that's an interesting, very interesting, very well quoted everywhere ... reply by the ... by the Indian leader Indian ... I mean the American Indian leader. So somewhere the the roots have been struck. They have entangled themselves, that is, the West has entangled itself in ... trying to emerge of it ... emerge from its own economic crisis. It has entangled itself and given strength to many other ways of thinking that may undo the world created by the West itself, the whole world. They're in a fight like the Yadavas killed each other and that was the end of the Yadavas. That is how the story goes. the West may also do the same this time. Apparently it is doing the same, and it is for others to step in ... people like us ... and various other civilizations to step in and build a different world. I think it is going on. And let us let us approach from ... all of us come in from angles that we have mastered to ... to think about the world. It would be very good. It would be extraordinary. It will be very interesting ... and we can, if we can do that, and it can ... It is done always in a month or two for such focused thought, or ... or in which we have been there for so long. So if we can try to rise ... raise ourselves to that level in the context of the meeting that we have planned on 7, 8, 9 October, I think we would have taken the first step that ... it will go on just as we took a step in 2004, and then Vidya Ashram came into existence, and then Lokavidya Jan Andolan came into existence. The 2004 departure in the WSF is the first departure of that kind collectively ... just as 1995 was a major departure collectively in the Sarva Seva Sangh meeting that the Mazdur Kisan Niti held to formulate the idea of lokavidya. We can do it again. We are slightly older, but I think we can still do it. It is the ... age is not a calling. It can ... It can be done. I think that's on your dream.

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Maybe we will need to actually prepare a slightly more detailed statement ... the proposal of the ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhe:

For example, if this comes to a mind ... when Gandhi writes that Swaraj is the law of nature moment, you say Swaraj is the law of nature ... almost all the theories of Genesis ... chemical ... evolution included ... go overboard! All ... all theories of Genesis ... all religions have a theory of Genesis. All modern science has a genesis. All ... every ... every thought seems kind of ... takes the responsibility of ... unto itself ... to have a theory of Genesis. How was the man born? How was the world born? How did the universe come into existence? And so on. All that at least at one stroke at one level will go overboard ... moment you say that Swaraj is the law of nature. Just think about it. It's a ... it's a ... it's a very, very basic one. It turned the whole thing upside down. Man, God, and the elementary particles ... will debate with each other ... who came first there. I don't think it is an imaginary exercise. I think it's a real political exercise of the day.

विजय जी ... आपका क्या रिएक्शन है इसपर? आप बोलें ...

Vijay jawandhia:

मुझे ... अभी जो सुनील ने कहा न ... उसको फिरसे अगर वो एक राइट-अप में आ जाय न ... तो मुझे पढ़ने में बहुत अच्छा लगेगा ... बहुत अच्छी बात कही है उसने ... पर मुझे ऐसा कहना है कि स्वराज ये लॉ ऑफ नेचर है ... मुझे लगता है कि किसीने तो भी कहा है कि आदमी कभी गरीब पैदा नहीं होता है सिस्टम उसको गरीब बनाती है और जो सुनील बार बार फिस्कल व्यवस्था की बात कर रहा है मुझे लगता है कि ये फिस्कल पालिसी ही उसको गरीब बनाती है ... या स्वराज को हम किस फॉर्म में देखना चाहते हैं उसके विरोधी मार्ग पर ले जाती है. आज मुझे इतना ही स्पष्ट हुआ है ... देखते हैं अब इसको कैसे develope कर सकते हैं ...

Avinash Jha:

Yeah, now, when I was trying to write this ... there's a variation of what Gandhi has been saying about this ... Swaraj is a law of nature we're which also seems to me quite interesting is that Swaraj is the natural state of society. समाज की मूल प्रकृति स्वराज है. So it's like the idea is in opposition to in the modern framework especially, it comes from Hobbs that it's only when the state arises that proper society comes into existence. He says it's very famous word that the life of humanity is nasty, brutish, and short before the State comes into existence. So that is the natural state of society. which now we we call Arajak, meaning it's before coming of state. So this is another variation which seemed to me very apt. To this thing the other related thing is, I was wondering whether, when we are talking of Bahujan whether it's connected to state ... rise of state that this division between Bahujan and any message to John that comes into existence, basically, with the rise of State people ... the people associated with the State in some certain way they are who are not Bahujan. So this is another point which was there. And the third point is that when we talk of

civilization the rise of civilization, I think the essential part in the making of civilizations ... People say no. The civilization was came around 600 BC. And so on. Mesopotamia, this, that Indian civilization and other Greek civilization, and so on. Normally it's associated with the invention of writing. That is the prevalent theory that. When writing was invented. But that is a bit problematic, because Vedic civilization was largely oral. So unless we say it was not a civilization ... and if we say civilization, then it can't be based on writing, because predominantly, it was a oral thing. The whole Vedic development in India writing became important later around 200 BC. Or so on. Alright, good one. So it seems to me that this what we talk of when we talk of civilized ... this civilization in this sense ... it's basically ... it's it's a result of organization of knowledge when the knowledge starts getting organized. That is well in the civilization. So writing may have some connection with it. But the fundamental thing is not writing, it is the emergence of organized knowledge. That is what characterizes civilization. So these are just some 2, 3 points which I want even for our discussion on political imagination ... I wanted to ...

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Yes. I think ... see, we have been ... last time when we were talking about this Swaraj is a law of nature ... we were also worried about what term to use in place of law, I mean, particularly when you're talking about retaining in Hindi or in other languages. The term which occurs to me nearest to that is स्वभाव ... that is, maybe one should say that स्वराज समाज का स्वभाव है ... Swaraj is Samaj's Swabhav. And in fact, Swaraj ... स्वराज स्वायत्त समाज का स्वभाव है. So that will also connect this notion of autonomy and the notion of what is natural and what is a law, as it is understood in, you know, very broad terms, not in terms of ... not in scientific terms, but in very broad terms, as something which describes a natural flow of things including human societies and etc. So I thought that that was a better term. In fact, I wrote something a small ... Maybe one will need to expand on that a bit, because that is kind of terse. It will ... Maybe I'll try to do that for October as well ... but this seems ... did seem to me, and what you said about the State ... and that seems quite actually accurate. Gandhiji associated violence with any State ... organized violence with any state. So what you said about those who are not Bahujan being linked to the State in some manner or another, that is, that seems actually quite appropriate, because the people who are associated with the State are people who are engaged in knowingly to them, unknowingly to them, consciously, unconsciously, whatever it is to activities which in some way harm the autonomy of people, autonomy of society, and are destructive ... actually of these things. And that ... that's what constitutes the violence, actually ... that you are interfering with the natural flow of life at some very deep level, disturbing it at at the root, so to say. But I think it is also important to expand on this idea of organization of knowledge in Swaraj. That is the type of organization of knowledge, which is consistent, or which ... which is so to say, which is the knowledge of Swaraj, which is the ... which is in consonance with, or whatever you, the idea of synergetic ... whatever is the idea ... that Swaraj is thinkable only with this kind of organization of knowledge. Yeah. which we have talked about as a part of Lokavidya. But it needs to be expanded in different directions. If we want

to talk about the knowledge base of Swaraj, let us say, like we have been talking about the modern knowledge as the basis of the modern state. As a partner of the modern state, and as a conspirator with the modern state, and all these things so, and all these senses in different you know. roles so to play with, say, with respect to Swaraj. one should be able to talk about luck with Ya and Rojan Samaj. Also, as the carrier of yeah. The transformation to this. I mean, we. We have identified the Burj which look with their most of our. But I don't know whether, because if we want to use the term Burjon so much to in a political, you know, in a transformative political sense. then it we cannot just talk about the look, Vidya Samaj as being the Bhajan Samaj. It is, of course, physically, but that doesn't make much sense. I mean, we are not just changing the term. So it's not that you are just talking about something which is more acceptable. So it needs something much more, and and which which is, precisely something to do with Swaraj. Okay, So that's all I have to say.