

Transcript of Zoom Meeting at 5.00 pm on August 7, 2025

This transcript still has some machine-made mistakes. But a large part is mostly corrected. Except the parts where Naresh, or Avinash are speak. Partly, also Gandhi. The parts which I have corrected carry some words in **bold and red**. These I could not work out. - Girish

Girish Sahasrabudhe

So ... am I audible? Problem of echo?? Okay.

Gandhi is here. Suresh will most probably... not come today because... I think there's something... programs at home. And, uh... Vijay Jawandhia, is not likely to join. I think he's in Delhi. On this... Naresh is there, Gandhi is also there, so fine. Okay, so I think we can start. I had sent a whole... combined document with, the earlier piece, which GSRK had written some time back, I think. And then another one which he wrote, and then an addendum to that ... which was sent some two days after that. So all that is now combined into a single document. The Chengalpettu one too... detailed one forming the last part of it, called the Appendix. And the earlier two pieces, one long, one short coming before that. Well, we... uh... need to discuss that. In general, ... and also from... a specific, uh... point of view of ... how it can be used in the October convention to strengthen the Swaraj argument, as well as discuss what kind of arrangements, where they are ,, in general. And maybe put them to the... audience... for reaction, I mean, not put them as such, but uh... get responses from them, not just directly there, but also before that. And some of them may speak on that also. So that was the idea ... so we should discuss it from that point of view. It is being translated into Hindi ... as Sunil had already said last time ... which only to be put in the final form. The last part, anyway, has been translated. The one sent later ... the two pieces sent later by GSRK, that is also translated, but yet to be put in the final form. So, that will be in Hindi for circulation here among people, and to get their responses. Uh, the idea is to, uh... basically... get to know the kind of thoughts that it gives rise to within the Bahujan Samaj if these arrangements are sort of, uh... brought out in front of them. And maybe they look at them from the current perspective, and react to that. I mean, what kind of reactions come, that is important to see in this whole exercise. We can discuss that today from both these points of view.

I also wanted to ask GSRK ... there was also some data, I don't know if it was part of Chengalpettu data ... which, uh, talked of rotation of ... agricultural lands, that is, the good agricultural lands coming ... going to ... various, I mean, different cultivators in turn. And so, basically, the good lands being shared ... from season to season, sort of. I don't find any mention of that here. Is it ... was it a part of Chengalpettu, or is it, uh... from some other information elsewhere. That is just a side question. I just wanted...

Sivaramakrishnan G

No, no, that is... that is not a part of Chengalpettu data, but then... It is, uh, it was observed, uh ... across South India, ... at least in South India. And it seemed to have provided even up to 19 ... late 1950s. Uh, because a Soviet historian came to meet Prof MN Srinivas in Delhi sometime in 1955-56. and asked him if he can send someone to a certain village in Andhra to study the rotation of

land that is going to take place. He told Srinivas that he will give the name of the village only if he promises to send someone to study this rotation that was about to take place. Srinivas said he would send his research assistant Parthasarathi to study the same. The Soviet historian told him that this rotation takes place once every 12 years and it time a rotation to take place in the village. Parthasarathi was also distantly related to Srinivas apart from being a longtime research assistant. He helped Srinivas when he lost his data in a fire accident at Stanford, which Srinivas later published as Remembered Village. The Soviet historian's interest was because of the Marxist idea of primitive communism for which evidence was being gathered from societies like ours. Parthasarathi went to the village and studied how the rotation of land was decided and implemented in the village. Parthasarathi used to narrate the entire exercise as a fascinating story to us in the seventies. One night it seems Parthasarathi came out of the house where he was staying to have a walk as it was very a hot summer night. As he walked some distance, he saw a large gathering of people under a tree engaged in animated discussion. Curious to know what was going on, he went near the tree and saw people discussing the ensuing rotation of land. He says he got curious as to what is going on there, almost the middle of the ... So he went all the way up to that place. And he could see a whole lot of elders sitting around that village tree. And then, uh, discussing this arrangement of how do they... rotate the land. This is a practice, it seems, once in 12 years that they have to do. And therefore, they were discussing it, who will occupy which plot, etc, etc. And then he gathered, after some time, you know, the details from people. They were not easy to... you know, they were not easy to... willing to part with it. But then he could persuade them and get to the details. He says, for instance, that entire process, uh, would be defeated if somebody were to challenge it in a court of law, because by then, we had our land, uh ... you know, whatever legislation, etcetera, etcetera, that each one is given a kata, or whatever, etc, document. So you are the owner of this absolute **aller, and somebody else's**. So these boundaries are very well defined, and so on. So it is impossible to imagine somebody shifting from that plot to some other plot. And therefore, he said, any one of them, if they were to challenge it to the court, and then they can bring down their entire system. But it was still continuing. I mean, I don't know how long it continued after that. But he said it is very fascinating that these people. Stick to their own system of rotation. Despite being, uh... also, part of the larger system of whatever land, you know, legislation, etc, etc. So, he narrated how it is done.

And that is the story that, uh. Dharampal also has heard, you know, earlier, in some other context, not in this particular village, etc. Because there are documents to show in South India, especially the Madras presidency. The British Collector is saying that there is some rotation of land. And this rotation takes place once in 10 years, 12 years, whatever. And this is based on the theory that, uh... some parts of the village land are very fertile. Some are not so fertile. And those who move, I mean, the fertile landowners also have to move to the non-fertile ones. And so on, and so forth. This is... So this is supposed to be some kind of a collective arrangement, which they all agree, once in ... whatever ... so many years. And so this is one another indication of what Dharampal used to call as Samudayam villages, because there are... written accounts of how... There were so many Samudayam villages in Thanjavur area, or some other area, etc. Samudayam villages are those which pay tax collectively to the ruler. I mean, they don't individually pay anything, they say, well, the village as a whole will pay this much. And this, this is called a Samudayam village. Where they share their revenue, or whatever they have to pay, etc, and also share the produce according

to it. Uh, and so on and so forth. Dharampal used to say that, well, this could be a real collective, uh, kind of ownership of land. Or it could also be a rich man's club ... where the owners of the land of that area ... they form a kind of a... club-like arrangement, where they will protect their interests, etc, etc. Doesn't mean that everyone was involved in the village or something. So, ... but we have no great ... uh ... details about it, other than ... they have mentioned about so many Samudayam villages in Thanjavur area ... which is about 30% of the millages and so on. villages, and this is the word exactly. And so on, I mean, there are such data, I mean, uh... in... there **are pulse, uh... collection, all sorts of this character.** Bits and pieces of information are available. And putting them all together one can get some large picture of what happened. Chengalpettu articles are fascinating. Very detailed account, but then there are other accounts about various other collectors. All over South India, all over, perhaps. India, which, uh, but Dharampal's concentration was more on South India, because he... that was the one that was easily available in the archives. What was available in Bengal, etc. It's not very clear, you see? There is some data, but not much, you know... other parts of India, but then South India, there is very rich data. The whole of South India.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Because this is a very different aspect of the... whole thing. I mean, uh... This is not directly fiscal, but it has to do with, uh ... the kind of cooperation and organization within the ... some of the villagers, so I think... Some of that also ...

Sivaramakrishnan G

Yeah, for instance, for instance, the way in which that Andhra Village, it was, uh, I mean Parthasarathi used to describe it ... Your ownership of the land is not in terms of acres, or whatever, you know, in terms of, uh ... the measurement in terms of acres and so on. He says each one will say that I have a land which receives this much of water ... is entitled to receive this much of water. ... I mean, so many hours of water supply will be given to this land. That is the extent of land that I have. I have 3 hours of water supply every day or two ... every alternative day, or whatever, you see. So there is an arrangement where, you know, the land itself is... measured or described not in terms of the extent of land that you own ... is always described in terms of the water that you receive, you know, in terms of the quantity of water that you receive over a period of a week, or ten days, or whatever it is. So, my land is entitled to receive this much of water, which means. I have, therefore, potential to cultivate this much, etc. And the most crucial man, according to Parthasarathi in this entire exercise is that, uh, the... the person who controls the distribution there is some... I mean, he is called in... this was there in most of South Indian villages. He was the most important man who supervised the release of water from the tank. To various, uh, pieces of land. And then controlled it, etc, etc. And he was considered the most important man. And there will be disputes, etcetera, etcetera, but then it would all be settled in. So he says this was being discussed in that village. That day, when he went in the middle of the night. They were discussing how much water will be available, and who will get what, etc, etc. Therefore, it was not in terms of how much land that we have, the modern measurement, etc. It was mostly in terms of ... There are really such details, you know, bits and pieces of information.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Hmm... If some of that becomes available for reading, to many of us, then I think. It goes to enrich the whole... I mean, helps the imagination, sort of which one is talking about, and... It will be a good thing, I think, to... if you happen to have any... uh ... of the sources, I mean ... know about them, maybe these can be shared.

Sivaramakrishnan G

I mean, all that is available in the archival data that is now compiled and made available.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Okay.

Sivaramakrishnan G

With, I think, this MD Srinivas, Bajaj, they have done... major part of the work of bringing all this material together and then editing them, and putting them in some kind of way. It is also... it was also available in some form in... **Varda** for a long time. Maybe Gita Dharampal has a lot of, uh, this... I mean, she may have one set up with, uh, maybe as a copy, or... everything, etc. I had some material, but all that I parted with ... uh ... I mean, to enable all this to be centralized sometimes. So, I gave it to Gita Dharampal, I gave it to **Varda**. So whatever Dharampal had left with me, some ... uh... I mean, these are not separate ones. I think they were duplicates of whatever. He had copied a whole lot of things, and made multiple copies, you know, he used this ... old, uh, what they call this? ... There used to be manifold paper or something, very thin paper. On which you type, uh, you can get some 8 copies or 10 copies at a time. So he had typed them on... this manifold papers, and sometimes the last copies. Not very easy to read, but he had made separate files for them. So he had left some of them with me. I still may have one or two of such documents. So it is about various periods, 1715, 1730 onwards. He had collected a whole lot of material about. What happened in South India, South Indian history about this, uh, period, that period, various other regions. Collector's accounts, reports. Official reports and... Uh, you see, whatever the... each British observer had left as diaries or notes. So it is such a huge amount of data. I don't know what they have done in CPS in Madras. Whether they have been able to classify them, put them together, **radiate** them, etc.

Dharampal was very keen that... some... one of us should write a large story of India, I mean, according to him ... he used to say ... one of you should attempt a story of India from 1700 onwards. I mean, on the basis of all this data, you should just... not narrate them, and not reproduce them, etc. He said you should simply internalize the whole thing, read them, understand everything, and then narrate it as a story. I mean, a kind of a very fascinating story for students, and... I mean, schools, colleges, etc. It should be presented as a... maybe one volume, three volumes, kind of Story of India, what happened in India, like ... bringing all these things together and read them, too. Who was capable of doing that, you know? He had that kind of a design. He would keep on mentioning this every time. The last that I met him before his death about a month before his death. Or maybe even... much later, I think, about... I think after I met he hardly lived for another 3-4... hardly 3-4 months. So, at that time also, he went on ... insane. Why don't you people do something about this material? Write Story of India? Story... I mean, he always

called it the Story of India. But it never happened, you know. I mean... maybe that material is still available in some form. Somebody should make an attempt. He was asking Claude to do it for some time. And then he was hoping that a group of youngsters who came together in Wardha (?). Some Timbuktu or something, some group, you know, on an oceanic circle or something. He thought that they would be able to do that, some young... with enthusiastic people who are around **Grandpa** at that time. It was called Oceanic Circle, or something. They were very brilliant young boys and girls. He thought they would be able to do it. But nothing happened, you know. I mean, that is a very sad part of intelligence. He could never get, uh... anything done, ultimately. So, it was unfulfilled kind of a... wish of Dharampal ...

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Yes, uh... Please come up with thoughts on that write-up. Any kind of, uh... Naresh?

Naresh Kumar Sharma

Uh, on... Yes, I read that.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Yeah, uh, the full... file that had sent with all the... Maybe you... yeah.

Naresh Kumar Sharma

Uh, I... I read later. See, this thing's, uh... what ESI summarized. I think this has been there. These are lessons, you have buses. So, uh... I will focus on the last phase. That GSRS of the world. That was... Newt says, I mean, things that I said previously. It's more closely, because... Their questions are raised, basically. The questions are raised. By GSR, on the... what he said on the first three pages.

Oh. Yeah. And some things, uh, uh, fit. Are very difficult to fill. Who, uh... playing, uh, credible. For example, when he's talking about orange yesterday. About 1 crore being revenue. Uh, from whatever else one has heard. It will appear that one for revenue. It is impossible they could have run. Menu. Whether one is talking about, uh. What his central... rule, race or not. Accepting all that, that this was largely. This was... you really accept that. Even OnePro is... Two small a thing even two. Run your... campaigns that they always had, the kind of wealth they, uh. Certainly, they, they lived in whatever is the found they have. Kind of, uh, pump and show that was there. Of the Mughal Empire. So... There is a need to.

They need to take many of these things with a big pinch of salt. Other thing is that... One part that he has referred to that has been studied in some detail by, uh, CPS. Right, that you use the online bundle. That, uh, uh... studies that they did on... on, uh... those, uh, tarpatras. Those things there. That is what they call leaves from Thunder Mandalam. Right. That... is it very detailed what they have? Presented. So, uh... It, again, says more about how distributed the revenue system out there. Between the state. And the many other institutions. Which are not necessarily state. Tempots are not straight. Anyway, so it was distributed among them, and certain functions. So, uh... So that is, uh, definitely quite interesting. Yeah, that's hard. Oh, it was. No. In the meantime infrastructure, they were announced that it could be idle not to study there. Which also look at

how, uh, things actually function from other sources. Many other sources of... If they also tell how those things function. Uh, they will tell us a little more about. The system. Today, the way we perceive welfare state. Uh, there must have an element where it doesn't come out from those studies. The state that you live in the hands of people. That is a different... Uh, the value system. Different fiscal system, which is not... Let's just the system also tells that in what way. Institutionalize. Looking after certain, uh, aspects of the. The people. People in general. Yeah. So, uh, some... Childhood, something that we have heard that, for example. Uh, in, uh... this great, uh. Rules, like Grand Runk Road that you have to do not year. That good things, they put trees, they put wells, and all that. These are certainly welfare members. Some stories that we hear that very poor people, what do you provide for them? Those kind of things. So, uh... It's a system where you have a... Diversified claims. As you see in it, there's money system. Does money system has been studied? Just as, uh, what land. Yes, I was, uh, giving this one illustration. Uh, in Andhra Pradesh, just that I talked about. He described to... then maybe when they were students. So, uh, there's one system has been studied in 21st century as well. However, the history. So it is describing various, uh, shares that different. Service people will have on the produce. As a socialist, he must be very well versed about those studies, but they are also. Uh, but it certainly was... a wiser rifle. Wiser's book, which was a very important book in the money system. So, uh, uh, that does describe institution in great detail. And it's functioning has aspects of rigidity, and it has aspect of security. That certain things have been provided. And how imbalanced are addressed? Uh, one has to talk about Dattos. For example, certain service communities. If they grow disproportionately. Then the same producer should not be able to support them. So, whether the baby system of reallocating them to different villages, Prozieri and all that. So all those things also come into the picture. Uh, maybe it would look like sustaining those. Institution, which are, uh... not formalized in the legal sense, but in the social sense, they are pretty much formulas for these things. Some aspects of that, I think those of us, like, I have lived in Malaysia, we have seen also some aspects, some remnants of it. That what happens to the barber community. To those who play. Uh, there was no cleaning in houses because everybody went out. Or their, uh, daily needs. There's nothing to clean the house. But street cleaning and all that remains. And similarly for Potter, what kind of arrangements would you have? So, in some form, we have seen those miscalculation arrangements. They are... not all of them are not. Yeah, the alternative economic excel systems. And in that, you provide, for example, service that you provide. Whether we call them, uh, reverse system, or we call them alternate economic system. Institutions there. That one can talk about. But there have been those incidents from there. The, uh... component where state supports certain kind of. People who are not able to see us for densers. Uh, certainly, and also those people who are in a different kind of situations. All these things you do, find, uh, describe, uh. In some of the documents and all that. So, uh, IT is definitely, uh, interesting. Uh, his larger point, that if it was so well, uh. And friends, so it was so well, uh, defined and accepted by society. Uh, how quickly could it, uh, disintegrate? And one is not able to go back when he... Even when the, uh... Are you able to hear me? Hello? Yeah, okay.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Yeah, just about. It is breaking. And, uh, not very clear

Naresh Kumar Sharma

Okay, uh, I will try to raise my voice a little bit more, but uh... I don't know what is the problem here. So, uh... Uh, it was definitely... The case that a large bullet sale happened. And a couple of aspects very quickly I'll talk about. That the land review being an important source of revenue for the rooters at that time. Today, it hardly fits us anywhere. So there was a lot of focus on that. And, uh, it appears to me, what I have studied at a little bit about. 25, 30 years ago. That till, uh, the early part of 19th century. Uh, could maybe be 18, uh... 20 or so. There was a focus in the British institutions. How to stabilize the learning system. Secure. Certain amount of revenue from everywhere. And have a well-defined rules of moment. And this was through... start in the 1793, what is called, uh. Per one and settlement. That is, that means that a system, okay? After that, uh, Rayatwari, Maharwari, and... all the kids buy each other system, all those things that. The formula is. One thing that I found is common is that in one form the other. The ownership, private ownership was slowly and surely being enhanced. In all the systems, whatever the system. Either large owners with certain rights or others. But, uh, unlike in the past, where ownership was not variable. Layers were defined, but ownership was not auditory will define. Uh, and after having set up. Those things. From 19... 18, uh... day 20 is 30 onwards. The one registrations, they were focusing more on security. Rights for the tenants. Uh, so they had themselves seen that, uh. Creating ownership rights is almost absolute ownership thing. Absolute means that. They could do pretty much what they want you to do with the... land to themselves. So, after having period that kind of ownership, this... It appears it did not exist in India at any appreciable speed. The dealer claims to use of land. But ownership that you could sell, you could mortgage, you could do whatever it is, right? Those who are either weak. Awesome area, they did not exist at all. To tell your system there was a very big change, and they realized that they have unsettled that. System. So you see from 1830s onwards. There are tenancy laws. This talks about the rights of the tenants. The years, or various times. So, uh, there is quite a bit of debt research, and not only what we see from the studies that are quoted here. Uh, one of the... at that time, one of the authoritative. What's the way, what you have called modern COVID? Uh, because in three volumes, their studies came out. On the LAN systems of India. He was also... British, uh... this administrator, one of those. Uh, versus who came there, and they... So, uh... That is a few, uh, I think, additional comments that I thought I'd add. That it did create a lot of disruption in the system. Uh, over time. And as he referred to about this village that they were concerned about people going to force. Uh, that was another thing that the... whatever was the judicial system that. What things will be settled at the local level? And we'll go no further. And then opening it up that anybody could go to. Course, uh, as established by the. Uh, at this station, British at this station. This kind of thing you also find when, uh. Uh, there was a book on the water system. Uh, which was by, uh, Umash and Pari and Kundan and others. It's very... ICS has that. Icsi study is there.

The gas is third demand. And also, they raised the... Same issue, that the water system, that water system worked. When there was no interference of what Samuel said. So, how they could distribute, would that fail, and what are... workable. Uh, that system broke down, how it would be repaired. Those tank systems, the external 10 systems. The service who comes there, that. Uh, through the overall jurisdiction of the... say, British courts, let us say. Uh, that system was terribly weakened. One thing, uh... that I felt when I was looking at these incense. That, uh, whatever would be affected about the old system, they may have felt very, uh. Are happy that they are being

failed. What was there changed? Going back to that system. Even if that's a subpoena system. Is almost impossible. Once you get private estate. Going beyond that becomes... extremely, extremely difficult, so... That is that once... Any states are created. Going back, uh, is... Very, very difficult. This has to be very, very large force. If one has been king of more, uh. Uh, humane and better sharing systems. Which, uh, influence anybody's, uh, private influence. So, uh, I think I'll, uh, just add these two. Immersed to what you said? Second thing I will also say is that. See, uh, uh... The rampage work. Uh, his large part is that he was in the. British records, he saw. Okay, great. Now, uh... Somewhere we feel that it is credible because it is not that they were friendly to India, so that's why they are saying something is fine, or... Valuable. Uh, some of them are extensive studies, but not all of them are expensive studies. Many of them are also anecdotal accounts. So we still have, even if they were not the benign power here. Uh, if one wants to take them very seriously. When you'll have to look for collaborative evidence for that also. Yeah. So, uh, any very generalized statements, uh, I think they need to be. Collaborated. Uh, generalized statements are... are likely to be as cool as possible. Last point I will, uh... mentioning that this doesn't come out in this write-up. It is referred to, uh, uh. Very, very briefly, so it is there, but... doesn't come out in big releases, that if you look at the. Uh, later, uh, April. Uh, towards the end of the 19th century and beginning of 20th century. The studies by people like, uh. Or see the... yeah. Or even Dadabinology. I think they have picked up one very, very important thing compared to the previous systems is. That one is about how large the revenue was collected, that is one part only. Other parties that this revenue was going out of the system. This is what we call trade. Sometimes we even lost, sometimes we're even not so large. Even the last part they are collected. It remained in the circulation of the economy. Okay, so what will they do? They will have to use it somewhere, maybe... Maybe with your own thing. So, they will create a market, whatever market of that type. So, it will not initiate the economy, it will not create misery for the people that last. The... that was the biggest... issue about the British system. That not only very large revenue selected. But a very, very large component of that was simply going out of the... circulation, because going back to the parent country. We're going to London as... Now, that component is coming very, very, very thoroughly in the... own that you have mentioned. But this is perhaps the most important in the. Uh, the corporation of the people at Lars. If it is not available, then, uh... Uh, they are not able to make all their living because. Uh, that wealth has simply gone out of the sun. So, keeping circulation, uh. Healthy. Even if it is unequal. Still use a better value condition for. People at large. Then, uh... in, uh, circular flow economy models. We call that, uh, there are certain kind of... In these cases, there's a certain rate of injections. Inductions, they, uh, add to the economy's. Health and leakages, they... And this year, dear? Weaken the economy. So there was a leakage not in the sense of corruption. If you're a systematic leakage that is simply being taken out of their sufficiency. So, uh, I think when we... look at the British fiscal. System. The leakiest part will be always... the most important component, really. Apart from others. So, uh, I'll just add these comments in.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Okay. Gandhi? Then the... Hello? Hello? Gandhi, are you there? Okay, I think just ... yes, Avinash? Yeah.

Avinash Jha

Um... slightly tangential to... what we're talking about, the fiscal system. When, uh, I was... In a study group. Studying, uh, Kabir Raidas. **Dulce?** 3-week-long... study sessions. Muslim scholars and all had come from abroad and from India, and... Several hours... 4 days, 5 days a week, sometime back last year ...

So anyway, the... what struck me was that, uh, in their, uh ,, poetry, whatever they speak about. Kabir and Raidas, and especially these two. There is a lot of talk about this, uh... domination about Brahmins, and about... I hope to see about religious elites and... about, uh... So-called lower caste... people, and... Various things out there. But there is no... You don't get a sense of any great destitution and distress. In their accounts, whatever they write. Either about their own life, or... it's not like... It's, of course, they are not rich people. But they are themselves, uh, with us is doing the leatherwork and so on. And Kabir is a weaver, and... So on. But, uh... in any, uh... in any of their poetry, you don't get a sense of any great distress. See, compared to if we read the Dalit autobiographies from 20th century. Which is, uh, quite a large body of writings which are there. They're, like, the distress and destitution is very stark. But compared to that. In there, so... what is the difference between, uh, what... Difference between this thing. Even in Kabir's time. There were these, uh... people who are, uh... who have a little less power, and they're at the lower rungs of society, and so on. Uh, but they are, uh, not, uh... They are, uh... uh... data... important... They perform important roles in society. Because of which they are not, uh... They don't find the... in that kind of... Uh, this... detection of poverty, which is... the time when you have this Dalit autobiographies and all, these are being written. These people have become redundant. They're... the... roles they played in society that has been lost in the new arrangement of things. And that has left them completely redundant and destitute. I think, uh... That is one pointer to, uh... Uh, the arrangement... which is there, uh... the kind of effect it might have had. And, uh. What is the effect which was there after these arrangements? Broken down. And how... differentially... King known of these traditions affected people differentially. You know, everybody was not affected, uh. In the same way, or to the same extent. And with the same negative consequences. Another thing, and that is just as a pointer, too. One, uh, interesting thing to read about this land. Thing. There is this novel by Fanishwar Nath Reinu called Perthi Perkata. That, uh, covers... parking lot... I think around... in the 60s or something, when this land records were... uh, consolidated. And it... it was... a lot of, uh... It was a major exercise, it seems, and uh... And various villages, it became quite a big point and a matter of controversy. And, uh, fights, and so on. So that gives... I've now forgotten the details of that time. But I would also... like to read it again. But that's a good, uh, very real that happened. So I have only these two points right now.

Your voice is not coming. Girish, you're... you're muted.

Krishna Gandhi

Your voice is not coming. Yoder.You're muted.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Gandhi! Hello. I am muted?. Sorry. Gandhi?

Krishna Gandhi

So, actually, um... Uh, in between for some time I had to leave, but uh... I want to... say something

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Okay, that's fine ...

Krishna Gandhi

So, one thing is that, uh... see the... We can, uh... talk about... there is, um, this thing, interesting thing about GDP and... Uh, fiscal... uh, systems. Uh, do fiscal systems of the past. Really represented as a GDP, or... Uh, something like that. Or... Second thing that came... to my mind was, uh... when this, uh, older systems were there. When Brazil's land was... More or less not a private property, it was, uh... They are managed by the village. And people were... that rotation, et cetera, used to take place. Uh, if that is the case, and private property was a... some concept that, uh, was introduced by the British. So, uh... how does that affect... Uh, any... This thing, autonomy of the village, or the... Suraj, or the village. Uh, has it a relation to private ownership of property? Uh, that, uh, is something we can... Uh, inquire, I think. Then the question is also about, uh... Uh, the relative shares of the... Suppose, uh, either Chengalpettu data is... actually accessed or analyzed to get. The kind of, uh... shares that different... people of different occupations, or even cast. Cost, uh, used to get... There shall customize a share of the... uh, local production. Uh, how much different cars got it? If we can be analyzed from that kind of, uh. From a point. And because, uh... this, uh, like, uh, mentioned by GSRK, that, uh. Endangered labor from India was sent by British. To different lands outside. Uh, because they were easily available. And why they were available. Perhaps, uh, the whole system... had broken up by that time, and there were so many... unemployed and poor, destitute people. In India. So, they easily opted to go out. Uh, that may be one of the reasons. And, uh. Whatever you want to say is that there is the related question that... Uh, some people are said to be... uh, some, uh, intelligent tasks. This sees, for example. They were attached to the land, it is said. And, uh, when the land is sold or transferred. Those attached to the land also were... sort of, uh, headed over the new one. So, while this is really taking place? Because there is a lot of controversy on whether. Slavery was there in India. Uh, in the form in a... sort of, uh... in any form. Whether it was disguised as a caste. Discrimination, or... We are not whether slavery was there. And people were sort of, uh... the SCs were, without the landlords. This is, they were part of the... property of the landowner. And they got returned. Along with the land. Uh, some of these things, I think, we will have to... find out. Because, uh, the... idea that caste, uh... discrimination caused exploitation. Was it there? And if it was there, what was that form of that exploitation? And whether it was really... They're taking place at the fiscal redistribution at the local level ... uh... etc. are some other questions. So, we should be, uh, trying to find out

So, these are the... some of the ideas that came to my mind, whether we should be uh ... looking at these things, and we should be making effort to study, uh... more about what happened ... uh ... before the British and after the British, during the British. So, this is all I have to say. Thank you.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Some data is there regarding the different communities in that final part. Vellala ... etc. About how much land they cultivated, etc, etc. Different communities. Of course, not... nothing is there about how much share who got. Only the system of sharing is... Then. So, uh... I don't know, but uh... whether that means castes or whatever. If there's some kind of different samaj's, I suppose. Different communities, but uh... names like that.

Krishna Gandhi

No, the Puleya caste, they were there. The Puleya castes, they were the maximum ... uh, and landless. So, what were they doing? They were doing, uh, agriculture labor. And they were doing the labor in the field. And they were not owning any land. So, what happened to them? Were they getting any... Uh, distinct subsistence... Uh, this thing, amounts of this thing, fiscal... distribution. So, I think we'll have to look at that.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Ok. चित्रा जी ...?

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

I'm not sure, uh, this idea of being landless. Is it, uh... are there references to being landless? In the sense in which we use today. Uh, is the word. Ruled also by anybody other than the Marxist historians. I mean, people have been writing about people. All along. For thousands of years, for that matter. He's there a concept of landless anywhere? Other than in the writings of Marxist historians.

Krishna Gandhi

No, the point is... occupations, like, uh... Craftsmen, artisans So, generally, they... used to get a share of the production. They will not have been... poking land. They did not have own land, because

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

Yeah.

Krishna Gandhi

Maybe they were doing some other production for which they were getting... a bit of, uh, produce So, they were asking, but ... uh, they were getting out of there ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

Yeah, but when you talk Gandhi, when you talk about landless labor on the land you are talking about a set of people who have nothing. This is the connotation of being landless. You don't call artisans landless.

Krishna Gandhi

Yeah, I am talking about... Yes, yes. What do you want? No, no, landless artisans were there, but what I want to say... is that the Puleya castes. and, uh, the... SCA. Kerala, okay. And their status... has been recorded in literature, Dalit literature. And they were, from the time immemorial... they have been exploited. They are all nothing. They were just... slaves, effectively of the landowner.

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

This is a story narrated in last hundred years. Before that, there has been no story like this.

Krishna Gandhi

Maybe...

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

Maybe what? But that means that it is only a Macaulayan teaching which has given the ground to say such things. There is, as if, and the people have been knowledgeable all along human history... people have been concerned about other people all along human history. People have had good intentions all along human history. But we never find a reference of this kind in any of the writings or narratives that have come down to us. It is all a 19th ... late 19th century or 20th century construction, mainly 20th century construction. They don't even know DD Kosambi says that the number of Brahmins increased enormously during the 18th, 19th century. And ... 18th and 19th century the number of Brahmins increased. So does Dharampal maintain that the number of Dalits increase... these scheduled castes today ... who are called scheduled castes ... increased, uh... enormously during the 18th and 19th century. Is there research to show that, no, this is not the case, and that they were always as numerous as 20% or something of the... or whatever, 15% across the length and breadth of India. Is there any research to show that? That they were there, and that they were exploited is to say something very different from the nature of exploitation that is being ... uh ... pointed out. I think if you read... when we read Ravidas or Raidas or Kabir, or many others of the same time ... 100 years ago, or 100 years after that ... these ... uh ... saints who are called Sadhus of India ... when they are talking about caste ... they are not talking about the numerous castes. They are only talking about who are called about... who are called the Anusuchit Jati today ... the asprishyas, the untouchables. They are only talking about **Garnt** touchables mainly. And since they use the word caste, and since the word caste has been used differently in 20th century, their interpretation of their writings has simply taken... has... has been taken along a different path. They typically come from the untouchable communities. The weavers... in large part, South India. The Hindu weavers today called Koris in Kanpur, Kolis in, uh... this thing, or Kohli's... Kohli is typical of being untouchable in a... at a previous time ... **Abil** Maharashtra and **Swan**. These are all untouchables. The weavers, they are called Kolis. Indore, and that entire region. And come to Kanpur, they are Koris. These are Hindu weavers. The Muslim weavers are, uh, julahas. They are also untouchables. Kabir comes from that background, Raidas comes from that background. When they're talking about Jati, what are they talking about? And this needs to be examined. I am not giving any particular interpretation, but I'm saying is that this cannot be taken for granted that when they say jati, they are meaning the various jatis that we see today the backward classes, and I don't... I don't see any of the... uh, this, uh, Yadawas or their

precursors. Being exploited in the same sense in which, uh... The Jati word is used by the saints at different times. They are not untouchables, they have never been untouchables. They have become the OBCs. This is a particular state in which they are thrown after, first the Mughal Empire, and then the... then the British Empire, particularly the British Empire which raises the status of Brahmins and the numbers of Brahmins ... in large numbers ... and depresses certain other castes further down. And that is... that the historian projects back as if it has been happening. It is a common language, it has become **Kisaniose**. For hundreds of years, this has been going on. There is absolutely no evidence of any hundreds ... there is evidence for last hundred years, or 150 years. The rest is all anecdotal. The rest is all stories, a kind of a narrative. There could have been a parallel narrative. There is a narrative with a certain interest. There is no history. And there is no concept of history also.

Even Bhikhu Parikh says that before Gandhi, even Tilak does not have a concept of history. This is Bhiku Parikh's political interpretation of the ideas of Leaders of India at that time ... that Gandhi may be the first man, ... and you can't be too sure that Gandhi also has a very clear sense of history. History in the modern sense. But at Gandhi, there is a turning point. Nehru doesn't have that. Nehru has that idea, maybe. A slightly different idea, but... If you read his Discovery of India, it is a very different kind of history that he's writing. He's not writing the Marxist history at all. Why are we trapped into a... Marxist form of history writing. Where does the word landless come from? The entire discussion for the last 100 years. By the Marxist historians on the land and on agriculture is about the number of landless and the number of agriculture, labor. 30% agricultural labor, 10% out of that landless, this, that, so many things. This is a requirement of modern... modern, uh, university scholarship.

I remember Dhanagare. Dhanagare, a major... sociologist, who was in Kanpur and IIT, and then went to Pune as the head of the ... professor and head, and later became the member secretary of ICSSR. He writes very clearly in his book on farmers' movement, or some book. On the farmers movement. He writes very clearly in the preface. That, in the interest of comparative. Sociology... We should see six classes in Indian villages. Not because there are six classes that he sees. In the interest of comparative sociology. So blatantly written there, but nobody remembers, he writes that. People remember only the six classes that he's talking about. But they don't remember how the idea of six classes comes into existence about the Indian villages. That... that in the interest of comparative sociology, six classes must be seen. Otherwise, all movements of the peasantry can be seen as movements of the middle peasantry. Almost all What is this? Is there a way to understand that? There has to be a way to understand this? But the sociologist is not interested. Nor is the Marxist historian interested. They are interested in seeing as many classes as are possible. All those people who are not interested in the unity of the village and of the... of those living outside ... the outside ... the urban system ... are strictly against seeing any kind of possible unity among them. And all their theorizing is to show that a unity is not possible. प्रकारांतर से, in a certain way. Their theory builds certain ideas such that you come to the conclusion that a unity is not possible. Because that unity... what is Sharad Joshi saying as late as 1980s, later 80s? He says that Delhi survives because every village is divided into two halves. Two parties. I have ... remember ... I remember him saying that in a meeting. I was present. That every village ... be it on religion, be it on ownership, be it on something else, be it on caste. That every village is divided,

and therefore there is a rule of Delhi. If the village is united, Delhi will collapse in one day. That was Sharad Joshi's idea. An entire... a complete modernizer in the... in the realm of peasant movement. In the field of farmers movement. And he saw this. You stand with the farmers and their interests. It is important. I have, uh... I remember long discussions when we were students. Whether one can understand Lenin's writings. Without having a people's point of view. This was a serious discussion among the activists. Who came from Marxist end, that can you understand what Lenin is writing or saying even if you do not have a people's point of view? The university says that you have nobody's point of view. You have no point of view at all. And you lay bare the structure of society, you lay bare the structure of whatever you study. Without having any point of view at all, and if you have a point of view, you are biased. Therefore, you are not representing it. Giving a true picture of what needs to be had. This is all coming from Newtonian science, and later Newton, Lagrange, Hamilton. Whoever, Helmholtz, whoever were there. This is all a construction coming from these people, and so openly coming with Newton and... this other fellow, who are talking about social science becoming science like other science. Are we trapped into this? I can't understand this. How can we be trapped into a view of this kind? We are not there at all. We are looking at strengths of people. We are not looking at conflicts. We are not looking at... how difficult the life was to be... how difficult was the life they led? These are questions that the university folks have constantly addressed. Asked and addressed. First thing you can go ahead and ...

It doesn't interest us. What interests us is the sources of strength of the people in the countryside. Not their problems. To the extent that the investigation of the sources of strength involves looking at problems, we would. But we can't start with looking at problems that people face. They know their problems better than we do. It is meaningless to discuss problems of the people. Then they... I mean, they know 100 times better their problems than we do at all. So it is pointless and meaningless, and absolutely worthless. Our discussion about their problems. We can discuss about their strengths, because we are interested in a political imagination. An imagination of politics in which they can exercise their strength. That they can exercise and initiate you based on their own strengths. It is that kind of... that kind of political imagination we would want, and therefore, we are interested in their strengths. Because we are interested in change. We are not interested in anything else. Why should we be? We are not... and now some... now people are talking in this group about having more, uh ... that is doing research to have ... uh ... more data. You see, this is not a social science research group. This is not an economics research group. To start new kind of investigation to find out more data. In the sense of... with the kind of evidence that the social science demands. Rightly or wrongly, I'm not against social science in that sense.

But I'm saying that if we want, ... we want to hear more and more speak. We don't want them to answer merely our questions. We want to hear them more and more speak. In various situations that they find themselves. To be able to understand where lies their strength. What constitutes their understanding? We are interested in that because we are interested in a certain kind of ... in a political imagination that promises a change. What is the concept? There is no concept of truth in history. I am... I am 100% against an idea of truth in history. There is no truth in history. There is no truth in science also, that is a different matter ... And it has come to light after... After this information revolution. You see, even the basic reasoning, the basic logic to which they adhere ... proposition and predicate calculus logic ... uh, second order, first order, everything ... has done away with the idea of Truth, it works with the idea of satisfiability. Model theoretic truth. Beyond

that, there is no truth. Not even in science. Not in mathematics, not in any mathematical exercise. Systems are true in the sense of being model theoretic truth. Beyond model theoretic truth, there is no concept of truth. Why are we so eager to apply an idea of concept of truth?

Somewhere, when the idea of post-truth started taking shape it was the responsibility of our group, we discussed post-truth, but we could not go that far ... To, uh, to take a new position. That all talk about history is narratives of different kinds. They are narratives, they are stories, like Dharampal used to ask, as GSRK is saying. That, uh, that, uh, somebody needs to write a story about it. He's interested in the story. Dharampal knows that there is no truth in history. There are only narratives. He has come across one type of narrative which he's telling people. And there are other narratives which are more common. In the academy and. Among the learned. So he finds it difficult to construct his narrative. People don't listen to him. So he wants younger people to write a narrative, a story. Which is more like... more... or which is similar to what kinds of things he is saying. We want to write stories. We want to write stories, we want to write a Bahujan narrative.

What is this... what is the idea of truth? And what is the concept of investigation? There is enough data available for us to reinterpret and reinterpret endlessly. And somewhere, if you need some 5% or 2% extra data, you can always find a way to have that. Maybe it will take a little time. But why are we discussing ... these details... When we... our interest is, when we discuss... when we want to discuss the fiscal system. We want to discuss a possible public arrangement of public finance. Which is not the British arrangement that we are familiar with. Because we want that ... that is important, because most of us ... as meaning the larger group ... the university bread cannot think of any fiscal arrangement, cannot think of any arrangements of public finance which are different from the modern one ... which are different from what British installed here, and what has come to be everywhere in the... everywhere in the world since then. That there were other types of fiscal systems ... that there was other ideas of public finance ... there were different values on which they were based ... different details of economic relationships that it entailed ... and so on, as an example. Not for us to have it again ... that is not the idea at all ... that doesn't give us a political imagination. It gives only an additional input into our political imagination.

I will mention one thing in this context, and complete my... this thing. And this is a general, this thing, understanding. That... that the world, perhaps ... other than... other than... where the scriptural kind of theoretical understanding which is ... modern science also scripture ... Uh... uniformities are not what people are looking for. Modern science has enforced the idea of looking for uniformity ... uniformities. That our friends who want to see traditional mathematics in India are looking for. Uh, whether in 18th century, 8th century, or 9th century India. Whether the mathematicians knew about infinite series and convergence. Whether they knew about differentiation. This is all looking for those things that West found. That we also had that. This is a bogus idea. Absolutely bogus. Leads nowhere other than strengthening the present arrangement of things and men. In the hands of the West. That is all that it does, and nothing else. This is a bogus research exercise. To try to find out. There are much better things to find out, which will lead us to a different. Different... to find out such mathematics in our past. 19th century mathematics in Germany and England, and France and Italy. That we had some... some similar mathematics in 8th or 9th century ... is to strengthen the imperial narrative. Nothing else does it do other than strengthen an imperial narrative. In the political space. And in attitude. Which has robbed us all,

us all, of everything that we had. And made slaves to an extremely distant, uh, this thing ... center, cultural, political, philosophical historical ... all. Everything embedded into one. So we are trained... we are trained to see the idea of equality through Greece, and equality through the Greek system of ... Uh, people coming together in the evening and behaving as equals, and so on, the citizens, not the slaves. And the West derives its concept of equality from there. But we are not able to look into our systems. Back ... systems back somewhere in Janak stories, somewhere at the times of Ashoka, or times of Chandragupt to Vikramaditya, or some other time, Harsh Vardhan, or some other... Is there a concept of equality, then? We... we look for feudalism at that time. We don't look for a concept of equality. You will see what you look for. The concept of required... there would be a concept of equality at the time of Harsha Vardhan... Even in the Chandel period. Even in 9th century, there would be a concept of equality in Samudra Gupta, there would be a concept of equality in Ashok and Janak. All these different times referred to with the names of these lead... these kings. They need not be... I mean. The reality may be much greater than just that King's activity. That all these periods must have had a concept of equality. But we... when we look into that, we are looking for feudalism. Because Ramshur and Sharma, RS Sharma, look for feudalism. Because Kosambi looked for feudalism. Because the entire West looks for feudalism, we also start looking for feudalism. I don't know whether feudalism was there or not. That is not the question, but the question is, if we have an idea of equality, we will have a different kind of political imagination from the West... If we had a different idea of equality in this country ... But if we did not have a different kind of equality, if we look for feudalism. We are not going to have any... at best, we will go to study Machiavelli, and then Russo. And then Marx. It will go on. Nothing outside Machiavelli and Russo and Marx would be there. Insofar as political imagination is concerned. Where are we then? it is useless to talk about all this.

Why can't we talk about simply even ... A contemporary perspective, which has been defeated, at least for the time being through the internet era is the gender perspective which constantly insists on difference, and not on commonality. On both, actually. But insists on difference also. Not look for uniformities. Not look for homogeneity. Not look for instrument of homogenization. Not look for instrument of ... which... which produce uniform... uniformity, and so on. Why does man need uniformity? Nature is not uniform, it's diverse. And what is it called? There are different names, those who study nature come with everything. But we are more interested in Darwin. We are not interested in nature. We are interested in the idea of evolution. Because we want to take it back to an idea of genesis also. And who talks about genesis? Other than... other than the... I got that in modern science, biology, or in certain religious, uh, this thing ... They all have a concept of genesis. But Buddha says you should not ask about the beginning. But why don't we read Buddha when he says that we should not ask about the beginning? Why are we so bothered about Darwin's ideas? We are looking... For ideas to build a political imagination. Which is new, and which... is people's political imagination, in some sense of people's. A lokavidya-based political **repack** in Asia. We are interested in that. We are not interested in other... there's so many things happening in the world, we can't go on talking about everything. How does it interest us to know whether there was landless labor in 15th century or not? This is an endless debate. You can debate with Irfan Habib and his students endlessly for years together. About what was the nature of property relations in Mughal, India. There is no end to that... 500 years ago, what happened can be a subject of endless debate. And you can always ... maybe debating even today. The nature of property

relations in Mughal, India. Or even in the beginning of the 17th or 16th century or so, 17th or 18th century. Before the 1830s, let us say, why should we use the term slavery? It is not... why should we use the term. Whether it was slavery or not ... Slavery has a very definite connotation in the modern western theory. It comes from the nature... what was understood as the slave What has been today understood as the slave integration society in Greece. In 600 BC, or at Plato's times, that is 300 BC or something, or 200 BC... what is our interest is knowing what is that idea of slave. We have no interest. Because we don't think that we had slaves of that kind, we start with the assumption that we had no slaves. At least with the assumption that we have no slaves of the kind that the British could understand. The British history, the Anglo-Saxon history. The Greek history, the other Latin history... none of them have an idea of slave that could be applicable to Indian history. Then why should we... why should we be interested in the idea of slave that is coming from writings in English or French. It doesn't help us. We may know that. I am not against knowing that. I also like to read all that. But it is not going to help in any direct way. In imagining a contemporary social imagination, a political imagination, how does it help... I would like to know those people who are interested, or who talk about this during a discussion? How is it going to help us if there was landless labor in, uh... in 15th century or not? Or in 16th century? How does it help us to build the political imagination today? I want to know that. There's not a question thrown at anybody. This is a question thrown at ourselves. If we can't answer this question seriously enough then there is no point talking about land-based labor in 16th century at the time of Akbar. It doesn't interest us. It addresses Irfan Habib. Because in fact, Habib is building a theory of nascent capitalism at the time of Mughals. I have also read Irfan Habib. The idea of nascent capitalism is very popular. That India was... having a practice, or an arrangement of nascent capitalism was nipped in the bud by the British Empire. What is this nascent capitalism? It is same as... just as you see theory of convergence in infinite series in 9th century India, you see nascent capitalism ... 16th century India, what is the... there's no difference. The Marxist are looking for the same things. Our people who are looking into the traditions of India are also looking for the same things. That the West has already achieved. That we also knew that. That's about all. Nothing more there is to say.

All those people who have done so much study, and I made this point, and uh... this, uh, our, uh... a friend from, uh, Gaya, what is his name? Ravindra Pathak, he took it in a different direction. When I spoke at the... the question is ... When now the AP had such a large number of students and teachers of logic and mathematics in 14th and 15th century, Bengal, **Naudi**. where... where all these, uh... **Navy** and AI theories came into existence. It required a large community of... researchers in logic and mathematics. To be able to come up with such a grand new theory of logic. In logic, **Navian** AI. Uh, why don't we ask the question, who sponsored them? If they were doing 24 hours logic and mathematics, there must have been somebody who sponsored them. Or there may have been a practice that they had land which they cultivated by which they supported themselves, which is a very unlikely event. Do they do... do very high level of logic and mathematics and simultaneously do agriculture to sustain their families and to build their house. I think it is a very difficult proposition. One must look for sponsors. What was the state then? Who were the classes who sponsored these people, and why? Was there a Ganga dynasty? Was there a Pal Dynasty? What are their fragments, then, in Bengal? Why... why... what was their interest in supporting logic and mathematics of this kind, which... which... prospered in, uh, in **Naude**. This

is the question we must be asking. Not whether perihelion of mercury was, uh, understood by the Kerala astronomers in 14th century. That's a... that's a tricky question. That the Kerala historians, the Kerala astronomers understand the ... Think in the... or whatever it is called, the physicists require in the orbit of Mercury. There is some problem that is not easily understood by normal astronomy, they understood that, and modern astronomy, the latest, the 20th century astronomy, understand that ... it's called perihelion of mercury, or some such thing. Why should we be interested with ... it is nice to know that Kerala people could do that. But more interesting would be, from our point of view, who sponsored the Kerala School of Astronomy? Who were the kings? Was it sponsored by the local authorities? Was such mathematics and astronomy ... was it sponsored by village councils, or by a conglomeration, by a federation of village councils? Or by some king ... somewhere sitting... not very far away from the village councils, maybe? Maybe at the head of some thousand village councils.

This is the question that interests us. And this is the question that I will ask GSRK. He's been looking, he had been talking to Dharampala for so long. Dharampala must have said something about who sponsored these activities. Finally, logic and mathematics of that level is not easy. We know that it's not easy to do. It doesn't occur as you don't dream these things and one fine morning, write a book on that. It's not possible. It takes a lifetime. A lifetime of devoted activity. Theoretical mental activity, to be able to do such logic and mathematics. Who sponsored them, they don't ask this question. We ask this question, who sponsored them? Because that would give us an idea of political authority. Which was also interested in getting logic and mathematics done at such high level. Why were they interested? Why did they want a sprinkling of Brahmins to be engaged in logic and mathematics? And not debunk them and their theories as something bogus. They didn't do that. We are interested in this kind of historical narrative. And we should be able to build one. If not for Bengal, maybe for Maharashtra, maybe for Kerala, some places. Who was interested in all this? We are interested in knowing how... uh, how this, uh... Tirupati God came into existence, who has become a Vishnu now. We want to know that history, we should popularize that narrative. About when was it captured to become... become Vishnu? About Glenwood retailer captured to become Krishna. Whether Vitalize Krishna at all. If we want a cultural discourse, we want this discourse, and there must be some... enough writings in Maharashtra. To explain why Vitthala is not Krishna. And what kind of transition took place sometime in history, 13th century, 14th, 15, 16, 17 sometime? I'm not aware of that period of history. When Vitthala got transformed into Krishna. Is Krishna of Mahabharat... dispensable, we should ask that question. It is a very serious thing to ask. Whether Krishna of Mahabharati is dispensable. It is not... not the same Krishna that **is Sun Dasi** is talking about. It is whether that Krishna is real or not is a... I'm not saying whether any of these Krishnas are real or unreal. That is not the question I'm asking. I am only asking a very specific, well-defined question. Is in the Krishna narrative, the entire Krishna narrative the Krishna of Mahabharat, dispensable? Can we do away with it? Because that is typically the Krishna who is not with Yadawas. A very strong basis to think that it's a... it's an injunction. It's a... what is it called... later addition. And there are very serious thinkers who have said that. Gita is a later addition to Mahabharat. It wasn't there in the... 2nd century BC. Whatever the state Mahabharat may have been there.

If we are not doing all this, what are we doing then? What kind of, uh... what kind of... narratives we want as helping us to build a new political imagination. What narrative do we want? Do we want

nascent capitalism in times of Akbar? There may have been nascent capitalism. The issue is not whether it was there or not. But are we interested in knowing more about nascent capitalism? Or are we interested in knowing the nature of village councils and their sources etcetera, in the fiscal arrangements during the time of Akbar? What is our interest? That is the question. Our interests are all directed at this... this moment. And this is not a narrow... kind of interest. This is ... A very large base needs to be excavated exhibited to... to build a new political imagination. For... well, it could be for part of India, this part of India, that part of India, whole of India. Whole of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, sure. I don't know. I mean, nobody does. But we... we need a political imagination. Elements of a political... not even a political imagination... we want elements of a political ... equality ... elements of a political imagination. Let us call it elements of a political imagination, and not a political imagination. That would serve us better. So we want those fragments. We want those ideas. We want those kinds of inputs which will help us build... lay out the elements of political imagination today. Should we work on uniformity principle or the principle of difference? We should have something to say on this. Swaraj means the principle of difference. If what GSRK is saying ... if you read the kind of variety in the collection of taxes and this was worth nature of disbursement and the nature of places where it goes, and the way it is spent, and everything ... Huge variety can only... can never be understood by any kind of principle of uniformity. It has to be understood by a principle of... this thing, a variety. Principle of variety, principle of difference. And therefore, I think this discussion has been unleashed elsewhere also. You see, when we observe various things. For example, fiscal systems. Uh, we will not look at what is common between different fiscal systems. That is, we will not look at the intersection of various systems to kind of point out what is essential. We are not interested in what is essential. We would rather look at the union of all them. That all that is there is important. Not what is common to all of them. This common to all of them is the problem... is a problem thing. Once you... once you have the idea of class, it becomes common to all societies everywhere in the world. This is the problem with modern scientific approach. Once you have the atomic theory, this is the atomic theory of all materials everywhere. Across the world or universe. So, atomic theory is common to everything. The class theory is common to everything. The concept of state should be common to everything. So you must have a Marxist concept of state, which also explains **I got Chateau State**. This is a bogus idea. We can't have that. **A gacha through** state is different. Vikramaditya state is different. The Gupta state is different, the Chandela state is different. Why do we want firstly to use the word state for all of them? And then pin them down under some essential features that all of them had this in common? This is what is modern research. We don't want to do that. We want to see the difference among them. And if we look for the difference among them. We will get ideas about a new political imagination. We will get ideas on the elements of new politically imagination. If we search for what is common. I don't think we will get anything. We will get only things that you'll confirm what is already there in existence as empires. At best, you will go to the extent of what is it called ... Several power centers. What is the new term for this? Yeah. There is this... that you have several power centres. Russia one, China one, India one, Turkey one, America one, England, one... like that

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Multipolar order ...

Sunil Sahasrabudhey

Huh? Multi... multi... multipolar world. Ah, multipolar world. Multipolar world. So, we will go as far as multipolar. Beyond that, we will not go ... I don't think our minds are... acting in the... in the proper direction. We need to look for what we are looking for. Not what people said, all kinds of things. We don't want all of Kabir, we want that part of Kabir which is. Meaningful to us. We don't want all of anything. We are not down the hills. We are maintained it at places. It's not our business to defend Gandhi on everything. We take from Gandhi what is relevant, and what makes sense for us. And that is what we do with everybody. We have a look at the Adarshan. And from that point of view, we take everything. That is positive. From this point of view, and try to build a new political imagination, which is both political, philosophical, social, so on and so forth. That is what the task of this group is ... Not really interested like that. Ah, it's quite late.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Ok. ...This whole thing has not been recorded, yeah, take a... And again, I have forgotten to restart recording, but I will save the transcript. But here, I can... Before we... Okay, let me first save the transcript. ... Okay. Okay, well, let us stop and...

Abhijit Mitra

So, Girish, what... so, Girish, what would they just now spoke... The whole thing has not been recorded.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

No, no, there is no video required, but I have saved the transcript, so...

Abhijit Mitra

Yeah, because... because actually, actually.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

But the problem is that I... every time I corrected the transcript using the record, spending 2-3 hours every time. So that I won't be able to do this time. Whatever is there will have to be corrected from memory or from... for consistency. I will do that, but transcript will anyway be available, so... Oh, okay. Yeah.

Abhijit Mitra

I remember you stopped the recording as, uh, when you had some... chit-chat with, uh... GSRK, yeah, yeah.

Girish Sahasrabudhe

Uh, that is what happens. You see, I shouldn't stop that, but the problem is, if I don't stop the recording then all the earlier silent period comes in and becomes unnecessarily long. Anyway, let's just... Okay, let us stop. I will, uh, get back later.

Abhijit Mitra

Mm-hmm.