

## Transcript of Zoom Meeting at 5.00 pm on November 26, 2025

Except for my part and Sunil's, this transcript is mostly uncorrected and has machine-made errors. Request all to go through their own parts and send me corrections. The docx file is available in the shared Google Drive sub-folder 2025-11-26 in the shared folder [Lokavidya Debates](#). - Girish

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### Girish Sahasrabudhe:

Okay, I think we can start. Gandhi is expected, but not a join. And, suresh, I don't expect him to join, because it's too early for him. In the morning, he's in U.S. with his daughter. So, we may not expect him. GSRK is already here. Okay, so some time back, I had, sent the transcript of the last meeting. And before that, I had sent the 30-statement note... which was 15 into 2, actually, which was prepared by Sunil in Hindi, and I translated it and sent it quite some time back. So, ... I actually attached it today also. So I thought that that is one of the things which ... I mean, I hope people have seen that, at least either the Hindi one, or the translation... English translation, and maybe we can have everybody's responses on that. And then the second thing to discuss... which can, of course be combined as people speak, so they can take up both of these together... is, that, I think it is time - we have had two discussions about how we are going to go about the future discussions - and, I mean, we can continue further on that, but a better way of continuing in that direction would be for people to sort of suggest whatever short write-ups they can prepare. About their thinking on what to discuss, and in the directions in which... which were suggested in the last two meetings, or in any new directions which they want to suggest afresh. So, these are the two things we would like to...

I can start with my very brief comments on the Note, Hindi note, and I had translated that. There are two main things I wanted to say. One is that that original write-up is, of course, very, very short. The sense that it presents...., like Sunil had suggested earlier, it presents... a pair of... Sentences for each. Pair which one can make out of the six ideas which... were mentioned. which is Lokavidya, Ordinary Life, Bahujan, Swaraj, Panchayat, and the sixth one to be added later was Kala! That is our... morality, a combination of the two. The... If you recall, Chitraji always claims that, Aesthetics is but a form of Morality. It's... that is, aesthetic, statements always have, a moral angle to them, or an ethical angle to them, etc. So, from that point of view, something which is naitik, something which is sundar. So, art... including human feelings, emotions... And, so aesthetics and morality, everything. So this forms the sixth group. So there are 15 statements there, each made from a pair, and they are, at times, extremely short, sentences. So, the first obvious comment is that some of them are quite cryptic. Some of them, of course, Are quite directly related to some of the things which we have been, talking about. Like, for example, that Panchayat... works by consensus ... and it is an ideal way of decision-making in the BahujanSamaj, etc. Some of these are fairly straightforward and everyday kind of statements with, of course, bringing out a certain definite relation between the two things. But some of them, may be quite cryptic. And then, secondly, another aspect of the same thing is that, for example, if you

look at Bahujan Samaj, Ordinary Life, and Lokvidya... when there... on the face of it, appears to be a kind of, I mean ... the statements don't bring out the fact that the sum of all these is not... the same as these taken separately and added... simply added. So, for example, लोकविद्या बहुजन समाज में बसती है... सामान्य जीवन लोकविद्या का घर है... बहुजन का जीवन सामान्य जीवन है. ... taken together looks like a kind of repetition... Of course, not exact repetition, but the somewhat circuitous ... What I'm trying to say is that the sentences by themselves don't bring out the depth hinted there. So, the obvious thing to say is that they will all need to be expanded, I mean, which is, of course, understood. I mean, it's not that... it is not being thought about also. So that is the first obvious statement. The second thing I would like to say about them is that I think we should make some express efforts in the direction of relating these kind of ... statements meant to actually throw light on Bahujan philosophy as is stated right in the beginning ... I think we should make some very directed efforts to bring out these in more concrete forms in Bhujan Swaraj Panchayat programs. What I mean is that Bahujan Swaraj Panchayat programs have already started ... and, we have already declared that they will be actually held in as many places in, with as many, or few people, with as many different types of people, etc, etc. So it can... it's something which can be held everywhere. So maybe it'll be a good idea to prepare a kind of short background write-up... which forms a background, which provides something which can be read out actually, in the beginning of all these Panchayats. Otherwise, there is always a chance that they will simply reduce to the groups meeting there bringing out various things which they experience in a more or less detached form. So, it may not be apparent to everybody why they are all being called Bahujan Swaraj Panchayats. So maybe this is needed. It's something which, explicitly binds these Panchayats, and ... what I'm saying is that that background thing should actually relate to these statements, which are presented here, which talk of all these 5-6 ideas together. In Bhujan Swaraj Panchayats, we have said that we will have an art-related session. This may not be possible everywhere. There's an effort, that... it is suggested that there should be an explicit effort in that direction. So, I think such a background paper will make sense, and... Will serve some very definite purpose, and... Keeping these panchayes ... or sort of knitting them together, whatever way one wants to understand it. So that is the second thing I wanted to say about those statements. Then, just one comment on the translation. The translation I had sent some time back ... and it appears to be not quite right to me when I went through it again a couple of days back, and after that also. What seems to be missing there is something which has come in because of the translation. So this, sum ... not being equal to sum of parts is something which is not at all implemented in that translation. So, I mean, see, they are supposed to be sort of statements which form pairs, and some kind of natural pairs in the sense that in one of them, something is said about a second thing out of all those six, and the second part reverses the relation from the point of view of primacy... that is, where the point of departure is ... Now, that does not at all come out in the translation. I had actually not paid specific attention to it. I'll try to make it better, I don't know whether it has been felt at all, but only those who have seen both the original Hindi and the English translation will, sort of, I mean, get some idea of what I'm trying to say. So, ... and the translation has another problem that many things have to be converted into passive voice if they are to sound natural in English. Now that brings in its own problems. So, there are ways in which this translation can be improved, and I think many people should... I mean, maybe this is happening because it's a literal

translation, but then I thought that... When the statements are so cryptic, it is best to have absolutely literal translation, and then try to sort of tune it to the sense of the language. I have also done a Marathi translation, and that appears much better than this English translation, as far as this point which I'm making just now is concerned. So that is about this.

Then, about what I... was saying last time, I would still... I'm still thinking that, I would like to explore this program as a constructive program. I mean, because nothing I said last time makes this clearer. Even today, I don't know, I don't think I can do, except one thing, that when the constructive program was understood or brought forward by Gandhi, he quite explicitly understood it as... understood it as something ... as a program, which takes one to Sampurn Swaraj, in a truthful and non-violent manner. Now, one would like to, therefore, see this program also in some similar manner as ... and the nature of this program, it seems to me, has become quite essential in the contemporary conditions, because, the politics of today, and the economics of today, and in fact, all arrangements of today make the idea of Swaraj look so distant. If you do not have the Bahujan perspective in mind, if one is, looking at these developments, as they are described and understood by the dominant forces, then the idea of Swaraj becomes extremely remote. So, to the extent that the Bahujan Samaj is affected by these ideas, I think this program makes a very definite sense, which was probably not needed at the time when Gandhiji was talking about that ... this is a constructive program to clarify the idea of Swaraj itself, or rather, build the idea of Swaraj itself, one of the constructive programs, understood as a set of programs which takes you to... towards Swaraj. So, that is the sense in which I meant it, but I don't have anything really more to say about it just now, but I'll try to make a write-up, maybe. The first which I would like to write will be something like this. So, okay, so that is all from my side. It is... I will stop here. It is open now. And I'll request everyone to sort of respond to that note, and And also, say something about the second point on the agenda. Thank you. Okay, we can maybe start with ... Krish?

**Krishnarajulu:**

Yeah, no, I have, nothing specific to add... to... the contents of the note, or any comments about the note, that's fine. It's covering... All the aspects that we've been talking about. for the past few months. So... That way, that, the notice fairly comprehensive. Then, about the points that have been, I mean, highlighted in the note, I think, Once again, we have been discussing These aspects, not... Specifically like that, but definitely, what we've been discussing over the past few months, and then... The publication that we prepared for the Swaraj Gian Panchayit. of October. Actually... I think all the contributions or whatever it covers these points. In a very general way. So... I would, think that... I think we... I mean, I would like to hear about, If, the... these Gianpanchites have been, I mean, I know that they've begun in Varna Si Sharnat. In the local panchaj that we decided to Organize and conduct. And, you see, the... If one wants to conduct it, then one... in the local areas, for example, outside of the Hindi-speaking knowing belt, then one requires this kind of, opening note, or whatever you referred to. in, whatever local languages necessary for, conducting these local punctites. And maybe the people who have an intention of conducting these local Gyanpanchayids, Can prepare these notes, and then share these notes with all of us, in the sense

that they will share it. I mean, it's in that language, but, you know, translation of the main points can be put out in Hindi and English or something like that, so that, okay, we get an idea of How to formulate this note, and how to get the thing going. Of course, more importantly, In the other regions outside Varnasi, Sarnath, etc, It's a matter of... Getting these people into a panchayat. I mean, you have to have a panchayat in the local area with the members of the local Bahujan Samarj. And, put these ideas across. So, you see, I don't know, I'm now here in Maiso, Karnataka, but I don't even know Cold! This thing can be. really going. We did, some kind of a thing of going around different places in 2017 that is, suresh, Krishnan, and I. In and around Bangalore, Myso, this area. We went and tried to talk to different groups of people. they weren't really members of Baojan so much, but they were people like us, you know, people who were thinking about some similar questions, and we tried to initiate a dialogue. At that time, it was the Lok with the other lock. But... I really don't know, because... Hmm. I even suggested such a thing. After your October meeting and the... The discussion that took place to start local dialogues. then I immediately... message Suresh and says, can we start something... think of starting a similar kind of thing in Kannada. With the local people. Of course, he said that he was going up abroad for about 2 months or so, come back in January. And then... He would, think about that, so... As far as, anything local here, I don't know, but some preparation can be made if we have in hand. these, you know, the opening sort of note, or notes. Which covers these points that have been put out. And which, will be the starting point of the dialogues. This is what I... Would like to say yes.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Okay. Mmm. GSRK? Yes, sir?

**Sivaramakrishnan G:**

Yeah. After going through these roads, My first, impression was it looks like, almost like a thesis on firebock by Marx, you know. Each one of them. So cryptic and requiring a whole lot of elaboration, etc. I'm quite impressed by... I mean, I don't know, the difference between the Hindi and the English thing, but the English itself looks very comprehensive, very well done. Logically, leading one from the other to the other, etc. So it, it makes... I mean, a very impressive, kind of a... You know, advancing thesis one after another. So that's my first, reaction. And I think this needs to be, of course, Circulated widely, apart from our own discussion inside our group. To a larger number of, people, I mean, maybe friends and groups, etc, with whom we have some contact, or who we think can respond to this kind of a thing. I really feel that this needs to be circulated, maybe in the same form in which it is written, maybe with some polishing, etc. If it can be elaborated in great detail, that would be a thesis in itself. That can also be done, but that might require a lot of time, etc. But even this very cryptic, very simple statements that are made. They can be written down and then circulated in... to a larger audience, I would think. Whereas, for instance, in Karnataka, a number of groups who are also similarly interested, may not be interested in, Bahujan Swaraj kind of thing, etc, but then who have engaged in things like Grams, now this, Gram Sevasanga or something else, who are all interested in this kind of work. They can all be... Given a copy of this, and asked to comment on this, or respond to this. we might get, I think, very interesting reactions and responses from various groups. And people, I mean,

including our old friends in PPSD, or elsewhere, whomever we know, if we can... if it is one or two pages, or even just one page, I suppose, if it is all written down in the form of one statement after another. It will just take one full page, and that would, can be circulated and saying that this is some kind of a thing which we have in mind, and what is your comment, or what is your response? I think this needs to be done. Before we even think of placing it in whatever panchaid that we are able to organize anywhere this evening. Because that, I think this is second stage, but this, I think, the responses would be very interesting. I, myself, would like to respond to it maybe more critically and all that, but it would require time, because each statement needs to be, contested, or countered, or understood, or, responded to. And therefore, in that sense, it's very fascinating. I mean, this... That all this can be put together in such a logically cogent form itself is, to me, very impressive. So I would only say that, if... I have to respond to it, I will take quite some time, and I can come with something which is, for each one of them, or together, all of them together, you see, I can give my own response. But it will take some time. And in the meanwhile, I think we should try and circulate it to a larger audience and get some responses, because I think the way it is put... I mean, it's very interesting, as I said. It looks as though we have arrived at some kind of a large thesis on the whole thing. Whether it will work, in how much, you know, operational, what do we have to do, how do we translate it into action? All these are larger questions to which I have no answers. But in itself, this exercise, an intellectual exercise, even if it is only an intellectual exercise, it's very impressive, and I think it should get a larger audience, and get a larger response from various people. I would stop exactly. Yes, God.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Thank you. Gandhi?

**Krishna Gandhi:**

Hello, am I audible?

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Oh, oh yes, yes, yes.

**Krishna Gandhi:**

Hello? Huh. Actually, there are many things that can be said, but for the time being, I would like to say that the ideas that are presented in that short, cryptic note. they need to be expanded and explained, or discussed in more detail, and I think that They should be... explained, or... Related to contemporary events as much as possible. So... Then only, I think, people will see the... Meaning, or understand the importance of those ideas. So, merely a theoretical Framework. for... Looking at life, or... Understanding what is happening, human history or human existence. That is, it's a framework, but... In that framework, we will have to... In my opinion, establish or show that many of the events which are taking place today, they can be related Or they can be understood. as, the... Lack or, or the, cause... Caused by the ideas. That we have... presented in this note. So, I think it... in the beginning, we will have to expand and discuss and, elaborate all those things in...

in the context of contemporary events. If we are able to do that, I think then the discussions will be more meaningful, and more people will be attracted to it. And then only, I think, the idea of having Swaraj Panchayats in different places It will be more meaningful, because we will have a lot of things to discuss based on the contemporary developments and our... Ideas, how they are related to those ideas. So, I think we should be making small write-ups. In which... We discuss the different points, or the 15. Relationships. And, try to... Sort of, explain it. In the light of contemporary developments. So if we start writing those write-ups, I think they'll be quite meaningful for taking this discourse To a wider audience. That's what I suggest. Thank you.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Thank you. Abhijit, are you available? A legit? Okay, Madame Adka.

**Abhijit Mitra:**

I am, I am in the car, I am in the car, I just wanted to say that... What I thought is that the cryptic things are there to establish the different fairs. And the elaboration needs to be done with all the things that Gandhi is talking about. And how to go about doing it, and what can be the roles of the... that can be played in the Pankyat form or other forms. So this is what our task is at hand, and that is where we should get the ideas from. That is all that I have to say.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Okay, thank you. Vijaya Abola?

**Vijay jawandhia:**

of all, But, I have not read what you have written. I'm not following day to day. But, I think how can we use this recent statement of our Prime Minister about the Michelle and the colonial mindset? to use for our advantage in the Swaraj. I think we... if somebody will... if Sunil and somebody will give some light on this, I think that will be good. That is what I want to say.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Yes. Thank you. Hi, Sunil? I was near muted, huh?

**Sunil Sahasrabudhey:**

take... I agree that, Some elaboration is needed.

Girish Sahasrabudhe:

I think...

Sunil Sahasrabudhey:

we could target... one thing is... You see, when I sent this, the Hindi note to Greece. I... in... in a... in a mail I wrote. That, although they look like some kind of... premises. They are not a defined set in the sense that one can go on adding to that one's ideas. It's not trying to build a system of any kind. That we need to be very self-conscious about. That's what I would say. I mean, people can

have their views. That this is not an attempt to build a system, that as if these are the canons, these are the first 15 statements from which the rest would follow, or some such thing. they... because there is this idea in most of the Learning that we have done. in the Western, intellectual context. This is a persisting idea that you reduce the entire thinking to a small set of principles. From which the rest more or less follow, not necessarily deductively, but more or less, derivable in some sense. From a... from a given minimal set. Of 10, 15, whatever. A given finite set, let us say. Not just finite, but... but a given... Well, a given set, which is... which is some... in some sense, sacrosanct, in the sense that You know, you don't add to that. Not because... Not because it's completeness, not because it is complete, but it is imagined to be complete in some sense. That it says all that one needs to say about a certain area or certain type of world. And that these statements would account for that kind of, will constitute the basis, as if, of Of a world to be imagined according to such understanding. So, that... may not be the case. That better... It's... it's... it will be good if it is not the case, that is. That is, these are used in their variant forms. Not reducible to this. That is, various ideas that relate, for example, ideas relating to Baojan and Panchayat need not be related to an idea of consensus. There could be many other ways of relating the Baldjan with the Panchayat process, or the Panchayat process to be seen as rooted in the Baldan Samaj. or, for that matter, Swaraj in Bahujan, or Bahujanthrough Swaraj, and so on. There is a single statement given here. I think when the elaboration is done. It will not be an elaborated of the original statement. It will not be merely an elaboration of the original statement, original meaning the given statement. It will be... a kind of... discursive write-up, for example, there must... there is a statement here which relates Panchayat with Bahujan, or look with Jay with ordinary life. Each pair is related with the... each one is related with the other, and something in a converse fashion. That is... Well, it can be starting point of some kind, but starting point of a kind which Which may not remain there at all after a while. That is, you go on to build a world which doesn't look back into that sentence at all, and looks back somewhere else. It gives a starting point. It's a... it's a kind of... The words we have been using, it's a kind of... it's a point of departure. So, when we attempt the elaboration. It should be... it should be, like, seeing only the... The conceptual points in mind, and not the stated relation here. That is, how Lokvidya is related with Panchayat. So, one may not remember what is written in these statements, and go on to elaborate the relation between Lokvitya and Panchayat. I think we will end up with a much richer... like, if every one of us does that. Take these 5-6 ideas and their interrelationships, something... Something like 15 pairs. and talk about them. About how they relate with one another, etc. Historically, culturally, philosophically, politically, and so on. One can discuss each pair, In a... in a large way. And each one of us would discuss that in a somewhat different way. And we would end up with a much richer material. If the... if this statement which is sent is not kept... it's a point of departure, you start from there, and you don't have to remember where you started. You start from there only to kind of... No, I mean, it only tells you the space in which you want to wander. Look with their in ordinary life, or look with there in morality, or look with their in art, or some such thing, or any, any, any pair, for that matter. And, wade across, move in that world, in our own way. That would produce, and then maybe a couple of us who will have an editing point of view. Look at all those statements together. It would be very interesting if we are some how many of us? We are here, 7, 8 of us. You join to this another 2, 3, 5, 7 members, some 15 people write about these

pairs. Some 12 to 15 people write about these pairs. As if a pair defines a sub-world of some kind. that look with their inordinary life, or... Panchayat and Swaraj, give a large subworld, reasonably large subworld, of the universe one is talking about. Or a reasonably large world, Among the worlds which constitu- which compose the universe we are talking about, if we distinguish between a universe and worlds that constitute the universe, the human universe, or whatever. then we would have produced something like what, GSR was saying. I mean, we would expect DSR not just to... I mean, he won't when he writes. Obviously, he'll write about what he thinks about various things. But not keep in mind the statement per se, but the payer, essentially. That would lead us to a much larger A much richer set of ideas. And to put them all together, they can be all placed one after the other, and yet, to put them all... suppose we want to write a book on this, or put a book together on this, not as separate write-ups, but as some kind of Edited volume. Edited through the write-ups that are available from different people on each one of the pairs. That would be a far more interesting A far more interesting exercise to perform. Not reduce it to any previous case at all. Like, while one talks about Bhutan and Panchayat, one need not have the idea of Lukvidya in the mind at all. There would be many people who can talk about, who are not even well-versed with the idea of look with dia. can talk about Bhujan and Panchayat, at length, elaborate on that without using the word flow quidya at all. We may do that too. I mean, I'm not suggesting that we can't do that. We can do that too, but we have kind of started that, historically, We start with Lokvitya and ordinary light, then we talk about Swaraj. then there is an idea of panchayat through the Gyan Panchayats, and so on. Then there is an idea of art. That there is an art path of reconstruction of this world, that you see society not as crystalline. You see, these were two, actually, among our thinking. We always thought in terms of... classes were thought in terms of When masses crystallize into something. They constitute a class. That is, the connecting link becomes when they... when they, as Marx himself says, when they understand the commonality of their interests, and rise against the dominant ruling class, they constitute a class. Not just of common interest, because the rise constitutes the politic of it. So it is not merely the recognition of common interest, but something much more than that, which constitutes a class. And yet, class is a concept which one will talk about the masses crystallized into a class. When you heard Karl Marx would say, he would say the bourgeoisie had not crystallized at the time of the French Revolution, and one could not distinguish so clearly between the masses and the bourgeoisie, and so on. He would say that. He has said that somewhere. So... Crystallization was that. Rather than talking about crystallizing out of a... Relatively amorphous mass, see the whole thing, the human societies, all the time as crystalline, phenomena. But sometimes gone out of... what is that called? That, word that, artists would use, gone, out of, become, Beisurah hojaka. The relationship between various elements, individuals, events, dates of affairs. Classes, whatever way you understand, in a variety of ways, you may imagine how the society is composed. And all those elements that go to compose. You commit a... purposefully commit category mistakes while identifying the composing elements. They are not similar to each other. They are... they don't have the same grammatical and same logical... they don't belong to the same logical type. You talk about classes, you talk about women. you talk about people, and simultaneously, you talk about history. So, you... you talk about variety of different elements which are not of the same logical type, which go into, compose the society, which are... which are the components of

a society, and the relationship between the components of a society having gone RA, having gone RE. That is Be Surah Hogaya. So it was... the understanding of societies would not be only in terms of amorphous and crystalline. I mean, to just... just to use a phrase with which we are... we... almost all of us are. familiar, having a certain kind of background, amorphous and crystalline. But some people from some different background would say, Sur and Beisura for... for some kind of a... to talk about the same ideas relating to society. So what I'm suggesting is that Let us not be... we will... We will be... we will end up constructing a much smaller world. Let us not keep politics in mind as an immediate As a... as something that immediately comes out of it. The moment one thinks of politics as As something that needs to be generated out of all this. Or as some... something that needs to be the upshot of... needs to be the result of all this exercise. You, you narrow your, Angles of approach. And if you have nothing that you imagine already as an upshot of all this exercise, then you are all... then also you are... you end up with nothing, in the sense that you end up with unrelated discussion. So, somewhere... the entire load of discussion is itself dialectical in nature. You think about politics, you think about knowledge, you think about art, you think about... everyday life, you think about ordinary life, you think about Panchayat, all these things, not in opposition with one another, as the term dialectics may sometimes demand. But... In general, as in relation with one another, a relationship which is not fixed, which cannot be fixed, not just that which is not fixed. Not just because we have... we need to look into the future, that it cannot be... the relationship cannot be fixed, but even if you are interpreting your own past, you can't see the relationship as well-defined. Well-defined in a certain sense in which science and modern philosophy uses the term well-defined. So let us... let us carry out an exercise. Unto ourselves. Ayy. not reducible to any previous case. That is the whole point. not reducible to these 15 statements. Not reducible to anything, but But as a help, we start with these 15 pairs. to... to give a start to our thing. They are points of departure. The statements are a point of departure, and not just the statements, even the... even the pairs are a point of departure. The pairs don't exhaust the world we want to talk about. the world is much bigger. The universe we want to dwell in is much bigger than these worlds can... these... these pairs can handle. So, some, something, something like that. Can we attempt an exercise of that kind? It's a serious exercise, a very serious exercise. And would take us to a major contribution to the world of thought. And as GSRK suggests, and let us not make ab initio a... that we talk only to the Bhagen Samark people, and so on. Talk to everybody. at an individual level, we should not distinguish members of one from the other, very strictly speaking, although there is a difference. I would like to maintain that there is a... because the experiences, the life experience is so very different. And the narratives, one may like to... the preferences for the narratives are very different. Like, I've been talking to Ramji Yadaw, one of these persons here in Manaras, who is a literary figure. And I think he's some kind of a Bahujan Prabhakta. I've been talking about him, can he attempt to write a... a kind of Mahabharat? maybe a version of Mahabharat, the essentials of it, or parts of it. Where, Koravas are the winners. We... can he... can he imagine, krishna. He's a yada. Can he imagine a Sri Krishna Krishna. without the Krishna of Mahabharat, How do we do that? How can there be a Krishna without the Atavas? Krishna stood alone in the... in the... in the war, and the Yadvas were on the other side. practically every Indian kingdom listed at that time. in the middle of India, in the east of India, and so on, where on the side of Koravas. Not... they were... they were not all fed by Duryoda. they took his

side. Why did they took... why did they stand with him, rather than be with the Pandavas? What is this story about? And there may be an internal... maybe Hirianna, maybe someone else has already interpreted it in this way. Maybe some... you see, we need some inputs from the experiences of, People who live in the South. For example, I had asked GSRK, and also CN Krishnan when I talked to him. We have been discussing about the concept of Swaraj for long in the extended PPST grow. And there is that in the title of Darampal volume also. swaragin Indian tradition, or some such thing is there. Is there a concept of gravita swarat? We have a concept of, I mean, we are trying to work towards a concept of Bahujan Swaraj. Is there a concept of gravit Farage? Is there a concept from Karnataka, or regions of Karnataka, where the concept of Swaraj has a different historical and cultural context Dan... Then the Gandhi, let's say. Gandhi rebuilt the world, let's say. Not that it wasn't there then. Dharampal studies all go to, all go to Tamil Nadu. He talks about his idea of people taking charge of their own affairs is rooted in his studies in Tamil Nad. What does Tamil Nad has to say about the concept of Farage? Or is there no such concept? Can we build a concept in the name of Darvidian Swaraj? Can we have some people from whoever they are, Nadars, Devars, or whoever else, who have, come into a modern, intellectual dialogue with sufficient depth? Can we discuss with them the possibility of imagining it ravilion for us. all these possibilities open up moment you talk about Bajan Farad. Swaraji is not an idea that needs to be common to the entire length and breadth of this country. Asamis may have a different idea of Sara. substantially different. Where entry points are different, the main lines of arguments are different, I mean, let's not be... And it will be different. We should be respectful to this difference, not... not get... It would become a Brahminic idea if we look for a common thing. it would become a Western idea if we look for an essentially common idea across the length and breadth of this country. It will inevitably become a Brahminic or a Western idea. It is not up to us to be smart enough not to not let it become that. We can't be smart enough to outlive our own histories and cultural and philosophical backgrounds. We are rooted there. So was everybody. Even Gandhi said Varnashram Dharma he liked. Nobody who is talking about Gandhi today likes to go back to the idea of Varnashram as Gandhi did. Nobody, nobody that I know who likes Gandhi today goes back to the idea of Varnashram, other than who will bring in also Savarkar and others in the same... at an equal footing. Only they will go to Gandhi's Varnashram, and nobody else will. So that is that. I mean, I have nothing more to say. That's all.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Okay, any reactions to that? Yeah. In that case, maybe we can stop for Latistics. Do we stop for today?

**Sunil Sahasrabudhey:**

Oh, okay, well, Giara, it's already 6.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

It is 6, yeah. Okay, so let us come back on that next time with some, maybe, some write-up also from somebody. Okay.

**Sunil Sahasrabudhey:**

may not be just one single... may not... may not be all the 15 points. Somebody should write about some 5 pairs.

**Girish Sahasrabudhe:**

Oh. Yeah, yeah.

**Sunil Sahasrabudhey:**

Something should start coming in from many of us. That way, we will make good, good headway by that. Okay.