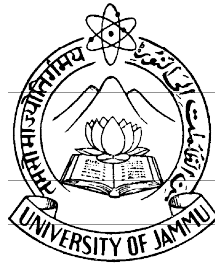# Directorate of Distance Education

UNIVERSITY OF JAMMU
JAMMU

REFERENCE/ STUDY MATERIAL

For

M.A. SOCIOLOGY

SEMESTER - IVth

Title : **SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA**

Course No. : SOC-C-402   **Lesson : 1 - 23**

Course Co-ordinator   **Teacher Incharge**

Prof. ABHA CHAUHAN   **Dr. NEHA VIJ**
HOD, Deptt. of Sociology   *P.G. Sociology*
University of Jammu   *DDE, University of Jammu*

Experts involved in Script Writing

Course Contributors

- **Prof. Abha Chauhan**
- **Prof. Vishav Raksha**
- **Dr. Hema Gandotra**
- **Dr. Neha Vij**

Content Editing

Dr. Neha Vij

(2)

Syllabus of Sociology M.A. 4th Semester for the Examination to be held in the year May 2020,2021, 2022 (Non-CBCS)

Course No. : SOC-C-402   Title : Social Development in India

Credits : 6   Maximum Marks : 100

Duration of Examination : 2½ Hrs.   a) Semester Examination : 80 (External)

                                      b) Internal Assessment   : 20 (Internal)

Objectives :   The objective of the course is to introduce the changes that have taken place in the social structure, cultural values and institutions in India due to the British impact and the planned development during the post-independence period. The focus of the course is on issue of social development in modern India, social development of disadvantages groups and current debates in modern India.

Unit-I   **Social Development and Emergency of Modern India :**

Issues of Equity during 19th century – Brahmo & Prarthana Samaj, Satya Shodhak of J.B. Phule; Arya Samaj

Social Development – M.K. Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkar.

Unit-II   **Social Development in Post Independent India ;**

The Nehruvion vision of State, Planning and Development;

Hindutva – V.D. Savarkar; Muslim League

The Socialist Discourse – Jayprakash Narayan & Ram Manohar Lohia;

Unit-III   **Social Development, Social Exclusion and Inclusive Policy;**

Concept of Social Development; Social Exclusion; Inclusive policy;.

Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes & Other Backward Classes;

Gender and disadvantages groups.

Unit-IV   Current Debates in India :

Identity formation and Ethnic assertion; Dalit-Bahujan Discourse; Movement for Tribal autonomy or their integration; Reservation Policy and the Backward Classes. Reservation for Muslims-Christians Dalits.

NOTE FOR THE PAPER SETTING :

The question paper will consist of three section A, B, and C.

Section A will consist of eight long answer type questions, two from each unit with internal choice. Each question carries 12 marks. The candidates is required to answer any four questions selecting one from each unit. Total weightage will be of 12 x 4 = 48 marks.

Section B will consist of eight short answer type questions two from each unit with internal choice. Each question carries 6 marks. The candidate is required to answer any four questions selecting one from each unit. Total weightage will be of 6 x 4 = 24 marks.

Section C will consist of eight objective type questions of one mark each. The candidate is required answer the entire eight questions. Total weightage will be of 1 x 8 = 8 marks.

Prescribed Readings:

1. Ambedkar, B.R. 1984. *The Untouchables: Who were they and why they became untouchables.* New Delhi: Amrit Book Company.
2. Basu, A.R. 1985. *Tribal Development Programmes and Administration in India,* New Delhi: National Book Organization (Chapters 2 & 15].
3. Basu, D. K. and R. Sisson (eds.). 1986. *Social and Economic Development in India,* New Delhi: Sage Publications.
4. Beteille, Andre. 1992. *The Backward Classes in Contemporary India,* Delhi: Oxford University Press.
5. Beteille, Andre. 2000. *Antimonies of Society: Essays on Ideologies and Institutions, New Delhi:* Oxford University Press.
6. Bhatt Chetan, 2001. *Hindu Nationalism: Origins, Ideologies and Modern Myths,* Berg Publishers.
7. Chandra, Bipin, 1984. *Communalism in Modern India,* New Delhi: Vikas Publishing
8. Chandra, Bipin. 1999. *Essay on Colonialism,* Hyderabad: Orient Longman (Chapter-1-3)
9. Corbridge, Stuart. 2000. 'Competing Inequalities: The Scheduled Tribes and the Reservation System in India's Jharkhand', *The Journal of Asian Studies.* Vol.59 [1]: 62-85.
10. Desai, A.R. 1966. *Social Background of Indian Nationalism,* Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
11. Desai, A.R. 1985. *India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach,* Bombay: Popular Prakashan (Chapter 2).
12. Dube, S.C. 1973. *Modernization and Development: In Search of Humane Alternatives,* New Delhi: Vistar Publication.
13. Galanter, Marc. 1984. *Competing Equalities, Law and the Backward Classes in India,* Berkeley: University of California Press .
14. Gore, M.S. 1993. *The Social Context of an Ideology: The Social and Political Thoughts of BabasahebAmbedkar.* New Delhi: Sage Publication.
15. Gupta, Dipankar. (ed.). 2004. *Caste in Question: Identity or hierarchy?,* New Delhi: Sage Publications House, Chapter-Chapter-1-4 and 6
16. Ilaiah, Kancha 1996. *Why I am not a Hindu,* Calcutta: Samya (Bhatkal & Sen).
17. *India: Social Development Report.* 2006, 2008, New Delhi: Council for Social Development.
18. Jaffrelot, Christophe. 1996. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics,* New Delhi: Penguin.
19. Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2000. 'The Rise of the Other Backward Classes in the Hindi Belt' *The Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol.59(1): 86-108.
20. Jaffrelot, Christophe. 2003. *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India,* Columbia: Columbia University Press.

CONTENTS

BRAHMO SAMAJ

C.No. : SOC-C-402	Lesson 1
Social Development in India	Unit-I

Structure

1.1   **Objectives**

1.2   **Introduction**

1.3   **Issues of Equity during 19th Century**

1.4   **Socio-political causes of Renaissance**

1.5   **Brahmo Samaj**

1.6   **Sum up**

1.7   **Check your Progres**

1.1   **Objectives**

After going through this chapter you will be able to understand :

–   Issues of Equity in 19th Century

–   Indepth of Brahmo Samaj

1.2   **Introduction**

The Indian society, being part of an ancient civilisation, has passed through different stages. The seeds of civilization were sown during vedic period in India. Indian civilisations was characterised by emergencies of sophisticated philosophy, religion, astrology, science and medicine. The highly acclaimed Indian society had many inherent social issue which were hindrances to social development. In the 19th century with developing of modern Indian socio-political ideas these issues were raised and efforts were made to rectify social inequities. Such efforts were done by social reformers individually, collectively through social reform movements.

1.3 Issues of Equity during 19th Century

The social movement against various social inequities were a result of modern western culture, reformation and renaissance movements in India. The pioneering efforts in this direction were undertakes by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandan Sen, Ishwas Chander Vidyasagar, M.G. Ranade, Jyotibha Phule, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, Dadabhai Naoroji etc.

The major issues of social inequalities were as follows :

1. Issue of Caste

Casteism has been hurdle in unity of Hindu society since ages. The transformation of traditional mobile varna system into rigid social hierarchy led to the oppression of deprived castes. Indian society has been witness to upper caste rivalries and conflicts and caste violence. So, inequality in terns of caste was major issue in nineteenth century.

2. Sati System sati (Self immolation by widows) denied the women right live after husbands death. Raja Ram Mohan launched crusade against this practice and fought for womens' right. It was abolished in 1829.

3. Widow remarriage : It was denial gender equality in Indian society. It was counsidered sin for widow to remarriage as marriage considered scared as per Hindu traditions. Ishwar Chander Vidyasagar fought relentlessly for widow-remarriage. His efforts led to Act of widow Remarriage (1856).

4. Illiteracy : Denial of education to the depressed classes or lower castes, women was a major issue of social inequality. It has led to exploitation of weaker sections since centuries. So, social reformer like Raja Ram Mohan Roy pressed for modern scientific education for all.

5. Child marriage, infanticide : These practices was highly prevelant in Indian society. Such practices denied children to choose life partner as were married at very early age. While infanticide denied right to live and it had major bearing in female child.

6. Economic exploitation of weaker section: Agriculture has been main profession in Indian. However, feudal structure in form of landlordism denied

imparity of people right to earn livelihood. The landlord enhanced land rates at their own will. It led to inconvenience of parents, tenants and reduced them to bonded labour agriculture and people starved of hunger.

7. Untouchability : The concept of pollution and purity was prevalent in India since centuries it denied so called lower caste right to a dignified life. It was practice

(a) denial of access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, and places of public entertainment.

(b) Denial of use well, tanks, bathing ghats, roads, and places public record.

(c) Denial of inter caste intermixing in form of marriage, diving, sharing of public worship place etc.

After independence intouchability was prohibited under article17 of Indian constitution.

The present upheaval in Indian social and political thought may be traced to the eighth decade of 17th Century when Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in 1772. Almost for a whole century there was no other illustrious social or political thinker in India besides Ram Mohan. Ram Mohan was the first awakening of the Indian consciousness from the slumbers of last several centuries due to long slaven·, in the form of a critical revaluation of the contemporary down-trodden condition of Indian masses. It was in the consciousness of Ram Mohan that the Indian elite, impressed by the concepts of social liberty and equality in the West, felt that the same liberty and equality should be created in Indian society. Ram Mohan, therefore, raised his voice against the exploitation of the backward classes particularly the women and the untouchables. He worked hard to abolish their disabilities and bring out not only social reforms but also political reforms through the enactment of new social legislations.

After Ram Mohan another wave of social and political reforms in the country was visible in 18th century. Among the notable contributors to this movements were Keshab Chandra Sen, Dayananda, Annie Besant and Ramkrishna Paramhansa. These were active in the second half of the 18th century right upto the beginning of the 19th century.

1.4   SOCIO-POLITICAL CAUSES OF RENAISSANCE

The following were the most important socio-political causes of Indian renaissance movement:

1. Western Education. Almost all the important Renaissance thinkers including Bhandarkar, Ranadey, Chiploonkar, Tilak, Agarkar, Gokhale, to name only a few, had high academic degrees in Western education. Though Macaulav aimed at creating a class of civil servants by introducing English education in India, the same education created revolutionary thinkers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Mahadev Govind Ranadey and Vivekananda. The most important characteristics of Western education were : intellectual bias, rationalism, individualism, critical attitude to scriptures, synthetic approach to religion, secularism, cosmopolitanism and humanism. All these characteristics were imbibed by the intelligentsia through the growth of Western education in India. Thus, the spread of education by the Britishers in India was undoubtedly the most important social factor responsible for the new awakening and reconstruction of Indian thought.

2. Establishment of new associations and societies. Western education and a more intimate contact with the Western society led to an intense urge for social and political reforms in India. This led to the establishment of dozens of associations and societies. Jyotirao Fule established Satya Shodhak Samaj with the purpose of reforms in Maharashtra. Prarthana Samaj was another important institution of social reforms in Maharashtra. In Bengal Brahmo Samaj was established by Raja Ram Mohan Roy mainly for intellectual awakening but also far social and political reform. Another important association was Ramakrishna Mission founded by Vivekananda in the name of his master Ramakrishna. Swami Dayananda established Arya Samaj which rapidly spread throughout the northern India and carried out reforms in almost all the directions. Besides, theosophical society established by Annie Besant was in important societY for religious reforms in India. All these new associations and societies encouraged new thinking and reconstruction of social institutions on the pattern of ancient Indian specimen.

3. Indian approach to the economic problems. An important part of the revivalist tendency of the Renaissance period as an Indian approach to the economic

problems. Eminent economic thinkers pointed out that India cannot solve its economic problems by an uncritical application of the doctrines of Smith, Ricardo and Mill. They, on the other hand, pointed out that solutions can be found in the procedures adopted by ancient Indian village republics.

4. Rise of nationalism. The Renaissance period witnessed a rise of nationalism in almost all the slave countries of the world including India. Illustrious poets and thinkers wrote works expressing intense sentiments of patriotism. Vishnu Krishna Chiploonkar was a powerful writer of Bengal. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee founded the *Fir anga-Darshan* in 1872 and published his famous patriotic novel Ananda Matha. This novel was highly acclaimed by Sri Aurobindo who was another great patriotic writer that India produced. Swami Dayananda also strongly advocated nationalism *in* most of his writings. The most important leader of the rise of nationalism in India, however, was B. G. Tilak, who, through his two famous weeklies, *The kesari* and *The ltahanashtra* took the leading part in spreading patriotic sentiments in the country. Vishnu Chiploonkar was another great patriotic writer of Maharashtra. Other poets and writers praised national heroes in their writings and aroused national sentiments in the nation. Ram Das and Shiva Ji Maharana Pratap and Guru Gobind Singh were praised by these poets and writers. All this created a wave of nationalism and patriotism very much explicit in the writings of contemporary Indian political thinkers including Vivekananda, Tagore and Gandhi.

5. The growth of Hindi literature. An important social factor in the new awakening and reconstruction of Indian thought was the growth of Hindi language and literature. This is so since the rise of a nation is very much dependent on the growth of a national language. Hindi was propagated as the national and patriotic sentiments. Most of the prose and poetry works of his period expressed patriotic and nationalistic sentiments.

6. Establishment of Western political institutions. The most important political factor responsible for new awakening and reconstruction of Indian thought was the introduction in India of Western political institutions such as executive council, the law member, the Law Commission and the Supreme Court etc. These political

institutions aroused nationalism in Indian political thought and Indian nationalists started demanding more and more political rights and equality before law. There was a growing demand for the introduction of British type representative political bodies in the country by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dadabhai Nauroji, Surendranath Banerji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and other Indian political leaders.

7. Establishment of Indian National Congress. The most momentous event in the history of Indian nationalism was the establishment of Indian National Congress by A.O. Hume in 1885. Though Hume established Indian Natioanal Congress with the purpose of creating a class of thinkers who could advise the British to introduce necessary reforms in India, gradually Indian National Congree became a platform for the demand of complete freedom from the British Rule. The most important contribution in this direction was were separated from the main organisation they carried on their activities of political activity in Ranaissance period became the herald of Indian Nationalism under the leadership of M.K. Gandhi who demanded Purna Swarajya. Along with presenting political demands before the Britishers, leaders of Indian National Congress were active in social and political reforms activities. Each one of them intensely thought over the social and political problems of the country and tried to find out solutions on the basis of suggestions from the West and inspirations from the ancient Indian literature.

8. Rise of new economic class. No. country can progress in thought or in practice without the indigenous economic support. The British rule in India gradually encouraged Indian people to carry on trade and commerce on capitalistic basis. This led to the rise of a new economic class which gradually became the economic base of social and nationalistic movements. It was this class which contributed generously to the funds of Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj .

Establishment of new associations and societies. Western education and a more intimate contact with the Western society led to an intense urge for social and political reforms in India. This led to the establishment of dozens of associations and societies.

9. Western political literature. Besides the introduction of Western political institutions, the Britishers introduced Western political literature in India. While some of the literature was imported from the West such as the works of Karl Marx, Lenin,

Mussolini, Hitler, Spencer, Mill, Tolstoy and Ruskin etc., literature was produced by Indian writers also introducing the life and works of the leaders of Western society to the Indian people. The important among these writers were Surendranath Banerji, Lala Lajpatrai and V. D. Savarkar. Among the later writers were Iqbal and Sri Aurobindo and the celebrated Nobel prize-winner Rabindranath Tagore.

10. Social legislation. All the above factors led to an increase in intellectual awakening and a demand for social legislation in different fields. Almost all the Renaissance thinkers were pained at the condition of women and low-caste people in India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshab Chandra Sen, Swami Dayananda. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, M. G. Ranadey and Telang demanded social legislation in every field of social life. They demanded the abolition of Sati custom, the emancipation of women and elimipation of all the drawbacks of the down-trodden elements in the society. Before this demand the Britishers were almost cool to social reform in India. But the demands raised by these eminent leaders gradually resulted in social legislation in different fields leading to social and political emancipation of the backward class.

1.5 Brahmo Samaj

Brahmo Samaj achieved wide popularity among the Bengalis, and after Ram Mohan Roy it was further propagated by such great figures as Rabindranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen. After some time the Samaj broke up into two groups on account of differences on basic principles, resulting in the formation of the Adi Brahmo Samaj led by Tagore and the Brahmo Samaj headed by Keshab Chandra Sen. Later on, the latter became prominent and progressive when such eminent persons as Jagdish Chandra Basu, Bipin Chandra Pal, C.R. Das and Aurobindo Ghosh joined it.

The main teaching of the Brahmo Samaj can be summed up as enunciated by Devendranath Thakur as follows:

1. In the beginning there was nothing. The one Supreme alone existed. He created the whole universe.

2. He alone is the God of Truth, Infinite wisdom, Goodness and Power, Eternal and All-pervading, the one without a second *(Ekamevadvitiyam).*

3. In his worship lies our salvation in this world and in the nest.

4. Loving Him and doing that which He love the constitute his worship.

The philosophy of Brahmo Samaj can be summed up in the following words of Devendranath, "He who desire the good of mankind must look on others as he looks on himself. It behoves thee to love thy neighbour, since it pleases thee to be loved by him; and to avoid giving pain by hatred, since it causes thee pain to be hated by another. Thus, in all things shalt thou deal with others by comparing them with thyself; for as pleasure and pain affect thee, so do they affect all creatures. Such conduct alone is the means of attaining wellbeing. He who adores God and loves man, is a saint. Such a man never rejoices in finding fault with men, for man is beloved of him. He is pained by the sight of a fault in others, and lovingly does he labour for its correction. He loves man as man; and owing to that love, is pleased by the sight of good, and grieved by the sight of evil man. Therefore, he is unable to proclaim the faults of others with rejoicing. The satisfaction of the inner spirit, or, in other words, a good conscience, is the unfailing fruit of the practice of righteousness. In this approval of conscience is felt the approval of God. If the inner spirit is satisfied, all sufferings cease. Without the practice of righteousness, the inner spirit is never satisfied. The mind may find enjoyment in the pleasure of the world, but if the conscience is diseased then even the height of worldly bliss becomes valueless. Therefore, by the practice of rigorousness, we shall preserve a clear conscience, and we shall abandon all things whereby the satisfaction of the spirit may be marred.

The renaissance thinkers advocated a synthetic approach to religion which was followed by our modern Indian social thinkers. This tendency- was most eloquent in the sayings of Ramakrishna. It was circulated by his able disciple Vivekananda. The same tendency was again expressed in Gandhi's evening prayer where he used to recite Koran and Bible along with Gita. Among the Renaissance thinkers Ram Mohan Roy was almost the first to start this synthetic approach to religion. He was equally impressed by Bible, Koran, Upanishads and Gita. He believed in monotheism and monism though he failed to distinguish between the two. He was bitterly against sectarianism, superstition and idolatory but he did not repudiate Vedic religion. Like

Benedict Spinoza he accepted substance as the ultimate reality, but unlike him he considered attributes as much necessary as the substance. Here he was more impressed by Rarrianuj and Vaishnav Saints.

LIBERALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Ram Mohan Roy is known not only by Brahmo Samaj but more bv his untiring efforts for social and political reform in India. Therefore, social and political ideas are even more important than metaphysical concepts in his social thought. The following are the important principles he enunciated:

1. Personal and political freedom. An important characteristic of Renaissance thinkers and then of modern Indian thinkers, was emphasis on personal and political freedom started by Ram Mohaa Roy. Pointing out his insistence in this direction Bipin Chandra Pal wrote, "the Raja was the first to deliver the message of political freedom to India. He so keenly felt the loss of this freedom by his people, that even as a boy yet within his teens lie left his country and travelled to Tibet, because he found it difficult to tolerate the domination of his country - by another nation, though, subsequently, with close acquaintance with the culture and character of the British people, who seemed to him to have been `more intelligent, more steady and moderate in their conduct', the Raja became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants. But he never believed or found it possible to tolerate the idea that India's unending subjection to the British rule was at all necessary for the amelioration of the Indian people."

In spite of his insistence for political freedom Ram Mohan Roy recognised British rule as a blessing to India. This tendency starting from Roy and followed by Keshab Chandra Sen and others can be seen right upto M. K. Gandhi who declared that our struggle is against the foreign rule and not against the British people. Hailing the British rule in India Ram Mohan Roy wrote, "Among other objects, in our solemn devotion, we frequently offer up our humble thanks to God, for the blessings of British rule in India and sincerely pray, that it may continue in its beneficent operation for centuries to come."

2. Freedom of the Press. Along with Dwarkanath Tagore, Harchandra Ghosh,

Gauri Charan Banerjee, Prasanna Kumar Tagore and Chandra Kumar Tagore, Ram Mohan Roy drafted a petition for freedom of the press in India and addressed it to the Supreme Court. When the petition was rejected an appeal was made to the king-in-council. Ram Mohan Roy made a fervent appeal which proved his immense love for freedom of the press.

3. Reform of Judiciary. Summing up Raja's insistence on judicial and administrative reforms in India, J. C. Ghosh wrote, "At the request of the Board of Control he submitted in writing his famous evidence to the Select Committee of the Commons, upon the working of the judicial and revenue systems of India, and the general character and condition of its native inhabitants, and upon various important matters connected with India. He published it in a pamphlet form with the title *An Exposition of the Revenue and Judicial Systems osf India.* It embraces some of the most important questions relating to the administration of India, such as, the reform of courts, the jurisdiction of the courts of the country over Europeans, the jury system, the separation of the executive and judicial offices, the confiscation of laws, the consulting of the people in legislation, the establishment of a native militia, the larger employment of natives, the age and education of civil servants, the amelioration of the condition of the ryots and the making of laws for their protection, and the permanent settlement..."

4. Humanism and universal religion. Another important characteristic of the Renaissance thinkers followed by modern Indian political philosophers was started by Ram Mohan Roy in his emphasis on humanism and universal religion. He vas a great champion of human rights and believed in cooperation, toleration and Fellowship. He was a cosmopolitan and stood for liberty and fraternity. His study in the field of religion was deep and wide which convinced him that God is one though different religions worship Him in different forms. Thus, he carried the spiritual tradition of Kabir, Nanak, Dadu and Tukaram in social and political fields. This tendency started from Roy continued upto M. K. Gandhi.

5. Welcome to English education. However they may have struggled against the British, Indian leaders generally always praised the English education in India. Roy, among others, considered it to be a boon for India. He wrote,"If it had been

intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction, embracing Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy, with other useful sciences."

6. Cultural synthesis. Like other Renaissance thinkers after him and later on like the modern Indian political thinkers, Roy wanted a cultural synthesis of East and West. He was so much impressed by the Western knowledge and Christian religion that he adopted many activities which were rebuked in Orthodox circles. He was a feminist and championed the rights of women. Throughout his life he fought like a hero against the exploitation of backward classes. Thus, it can be said that Roy was the pioneer of almost all the important tendencies witnessed in our time.

CONTEMPORARY DEGENERATION

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was living at a time when there was all-round political, economic and social degeneration.

(1) Political degeneration. After the fall of Mughal Empire, India was disintegrated. There was virtually no sovereign authority to command respect of united India. East India Company was gradually extending its way. It was penetrating deep into Indian soil. Gradually its authority was being established. There was no one in India to check this advancement of East India Company.

(2) Social degeneration. There was a considerable social degeneration. During the Mughal regime there existed a social chasm between Hindus and Muslims. The latter who were the favourite sons of the Mughal Government no longer enjoyed that position. Hindu society was suffering from banes of Hindu religion and society. There were evil customs of idol worship and caste system. Polygamy was another evil of this time. Women were considered as inferior and denied their due status in

society. They were denied education and their due share in the ancestral property. Hindu culture and civilisation was under great strain. Christian missionaries were doing their best to underestimate the significance and importance of Hindu cultural heritage. There was an attempt to expose weakness of Hindu culture. It was a time when the question was practically of survival of India's religious institutions. It was the foremost problem of Indian social life.

(3) **Economic degeneration.** The conditions in India were not very satisfactory economically. Agriculture was the main profession. People had to depend on land which was not yielding much. The landlords usually arbitrarily

enhanced the land rates. This put the peasants to great inconvenience.[J] Sometimes the tenants were not in a position to pay the enhanced rates. Living standard of the Indian people was not very high.

(4) **Other evils**. Indians were considered superstitious multitudes. The image of India with the Britishers was gloomy. There was none to wipe out this impression. An Indian was supposed to study only Hindi, Urdu and Sanskrit. No other language was studied, with the result that Indians could not get what was best in the literature of other languages.

Under these circumstances, the task of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who was Hindu by heart yet influenced by the Western c:vilization, a man who wanted to be a patriot yet liked that the Europeans should settle in India and give us the benefit of their civilization, a man who was through and through a patriot and yet was required to adjust his ideas with the philosophy that stay of Britishers in India was desirable, was stupendous. This was, not only difficult but required great spirit and courage. It goes to his credit that he boldly solved these problems and gave his ideas. His ideas, if properly appreciated, in the background of his times, are bound to leave an impression that he was the pioneer thinker of modern Indian liberalism and renaissance.

CONTRIBUTION OF RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY

Taking into consideration the above mentioned times and conditions no one can deny that the magnitude of India's problems was very grave. It required not only a genius but a bold personality who could solve the problems. Raja Ram Mohm Roy had a mind not only to tackle political but also social and economic problems of his

times. It goes to his credit that he successfully solved all those problems. He has been called the pioneer of liberalism and renaissance in India.

l. Abolition of Sati custom. Ram Mohan Roy was the man who boldly challenged evils like the Sati and caste systems. It goes to his credit that he proposed to the Government of his times to legally abolish Sati which was a curse on the fair name of Hindu society.

2. Religious reforms. Raja Ram Mohan Roy paved the path for liberalism. He pleaded for humanism and liberty. In an age of intolerance he stood for religious toleration. He successfully challenged idol worship which the Brahmins and others of his times were so vigorously pleading. He established a society by the name of Brahmo Samaj which was to preach the worship of one Supreme God above everything else. He was moved with a passionate love for country. He realised that in the present conditions when the Indians are disunited and disintegrated they could not challenge British supremacy. He understood his times very rightly and pleaded that the Britishers should be persuaded to carry out reforms. He earnestly believed in the British sense of justice. He was so much patriotic that for the sake of his country he would even allow the Christian missionaries to come and stay in India thereby giving the masses of India the benefit of their knowledge and wisdom.

3. Freedom of press. Raja Ram Mohan Roy pleaded for the rule of law which was practically denied to the people of India since ages. It was a very bold demand and yet he made it very forcefully. He raised a voice against every step which denied freedom of press and stressed on the rules that their policy of denial of freedom of press might lead to revolution. At the same time he knew well that it was only through the freedom of press that the people of India could express their feelings and grievances to their rulers. He want to the extent of suggesting that freedom of press was in the interest of rulers themselves and for the stability of their empire in India.

4. Synthetic approach. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a man who loved Western culture and very thoroughly studied Western literature . He was loved by British liberals. Even his Majesty the King gave him audience. However, he upheld the great flag of Indian culture and civilization which he felt was the noblest.'He did not

borrow his ideas blindly from Western political philosophers. Nor did he try to establish the supremacy of Western over Indian culture. He simply and clearly drew his inspiration from Indian religious books thereby establishing the values and worth of Indian spiritualism.

5. Regeneration of women. Raja Ram Mohan Roy felt that the treatment which was being given to the women in India was unjustified. Not only did he plead for women's share in the ancestral property but he wholly supported many of their other causes. He stood for female education and also widow remarriage. In order to give the women their rightful place in the society he stood against polygamy and also for inter-caste marriages. He was a symbol of Indian spirituality and had deep faith in that. He studied Indian religion in proper sense of the term. He believed that the ancient Indian religion in its true sense stood for religious toleration, universal brotherhood, humanism and liberalism. He very boldly said that untouchability or caste system or idol worship were only such institutions which were subsequently introduced in religion by the selfish people and thus not part of original and pure Hindu religion.

6. Assessment of Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Raja Ram Mohan Roy has been assessed very highly by different people. Those who came in his contact were greatly influenced by him. As a liberal he paved way for Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji and many others who followed him. Ranadey also very much borrowed from him. V. N. Naik writes about him that the Raja, "himself a devout worshipper at the shrine of liberty, realised even so for as 1820 that liberty to be properly enjoyed must be regulated liberty, that freedom has its own restraints as much as order. In the field of social and religious reform no less than in journalism and in politics his one endeavour was to awaken his countymen not only to their rights as free men, but also to their obligation to society." Dr. Brajendranath Seal writes, "He went on to link them up with representative Government, trial by jury and freedom of press and he corrected and pleaded the Hindu personal law of marriage inheritance, religious worship, woman's status; Stri Dhana and Varnashrama Dharma by introducing the most liberal principles of justice and equity for which he found sanction also in the Law Codes, thus working out a synthesis between Eastern and Western social values and postulates

against the common background of Universal Humanity." The great British liberal Bentham wrote about him, "Your works are well-known to me by a book in which I read a style which but for the name of a Hindu, I should certainly have ascribed to the pen of superiorly educated and instructed English man."

7. Modernity. The teachings and ideas of Raja Ram Mohan Roy hold good even in a modern society. Sati today stands condemned. Exploitation of man by man has been condemned both at national as well as international levels. If we account for his liberal ideas through which he justified foreign rule in India, there is perhaps nothing ancient in him but everything modern and upto-date even today. One cannot deny that his basic principles of liberalism and toleration were adopted subsequently for quite a long time by Indian National Congress in its formative stages and upto the end in its national struggle. He was the man who rightly kept his hand on the nerves of the Indian masses of his times and his approach to the problem was the approach of a genius and a well brought up and developed man.

1.6   Sum up

The emergence of reform movements in the 19th century marks the beginning of new era in India Society. Brahmo Samaj is the societal component of the Brahmo religion which is mainly practical today as Adi Dharm. It was one of the most influential religious movements responsible for the making of Modern India. The Brahmo Samaj literally denotes communities of Men who worship Brahmin. In practice, a Brahmo Samaj is an assembly of all sorts and description of people without distinction, meeting publicly for the sober, orderly, religious and devote adoration of "The Unsearchable Eternal Immortable being who is author and preserver of the Universe".

Brahmo Samaj is the social order of the Brahmo religion. It has played a significant role in the renaissance of India and the roots of much of the modern thinking in India can be traced back to the Brahmo Samaj movement.

In 1815, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who is regarded as the Father of Indian Renaissance, established the Atmiya Sabha for holding theosophical discussions and meditation. The prayer freetings of this organisation finally led to the formationof Brahmo Samaj, which commenced. Functioning on 20th August, 1828. Tarachand

Chakravarti was its secretary. In January 1830, the Brahmo Samaj began to work in the new building in the Jarasanko area of Calcutta.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born on 22nd May 1772 in Radhanagore, Bengal into Rarhi Brahmin Caste. His father Ramkanto Roy was a Vaishnavite while his mother Tarinidevi was from a Shaivite family. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was an Indian religious, social and educational reformer who challenged traditional Hindu Culture and indicated the lines of progress for Indian society under British rule. He is known for his efforts to abolish the practice of sati. He also compaigned for social reform and women's education, right to widow to remarry and the right for women to held property. A part from knowing several languages he was a Sanskrit and an Arabic Scholar and studied several religion.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy's impact on Modern Indian history conerned a renewal of the ethics principles of the vedanta school of philosophy as found in the upanishads. He preached about the unity of God, made early translations of vedic scripturers into English, Co-founded the Calcutta unitarian society, founded the Brahmo Samaj and compaigned against Sati. He sought to Integrate western culture with features of his own country's traditions. He established schools to moderings a system of education in India.

In 1792, the British Baptist Shoemaker 'William Carey" published his missionary tract 'An Enquiry of the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of Heatness'. Williams carey landed in India to settle. His objective was to translate, publish and distribute the Bible in Indian languages and propagate Christanity to the Indian peoples. From 1803 till 1815, Ram Mohan served the East Indian Company's. 'Writing Service' Commencing as Private Clerk 'Munshi' to Thomas wood forde, Registrar of Appellate court at Murshidabad.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was influenced by Christianity. He was one of the 1st Hindu to visit Europe where he was much admired by the Intellectuals. He died in Bristol 17th September 1833.

The following features of Brahma Samaj are as :

* Brahmo Samajists have no faith in any scripture as an authority.

*   Brahmo Samajists have faith in Avatore.

*   Brahmo Samajists dinounce polytheism and idol worhsip.

*   Brahmo Samajists are against caste restrictions.

*   Brahmo Samajists make faith in the doctrines of Karma and rebirth optional.

For execution of Trust seed to run the Brahmo Samaj land was brought and a house of prayer was constructed in 1830. A trust deed was executed to create a trust to run the Bhramo Samaj and its church. Ram Mohan Roy include the following ideas in the trust deed :

–   The "Church" was for the worship of one God.

–   No images were kept and rituals were not allowed.

–   Anyone belonging to any religion could participate in the worhsip of God.

–   All religions were to be respected.

–   World brotherhood was given due emphasis by the members of Brahmo Samaj.

Brahmo Samaj

As British rule consolidated in India during 18th century, two factors contributed to the formation of the Brahmo Samaj; Firstly the Hindu social system had begin to stagnate and placed too much of an emphasis on traditional rituals. Secondly an english educated class of India's began to emerge to fulfill the administrative and economic needs of British rule.

On 20th August 1828 the first assembly of Brahmo Sabha was held at the North Calcutta house of Feringhee Kamal Bose. This day is celebrated by Brahmos as Bhadrotsas. These meetings were open to all Brahmins and there was no formal organisation or theology. On 8th Jan. 1830 influential progressive members of the closely related mutually executed the trust deed of Brahma Sabha for the first Adi Brahmo Samaj on chit pore Road, Kolkata, India with Ram Chandra Vidyabagish.

Debendranath Tagore (1817-1890) was the most important leader among the second generation of the Brahmas. In Nov, 1830 Raja Ram Mohan Roy left for England and before his departure to England, he asked Dwarkanath Tagore's son, Debendranath

Tagore, to continue his work in his absence. Debendranath Tagore took an active interest in the Brahmo Samaj and began to transform the Brahmo Samaj into spiritual fraternity. He formulated the "Brahmo Upadess" which were a set of readings from the ancient Hindu book, the "Upnishad".

Debandranath Tagore prepared a covenant for the Brahmo Chruch. Every devote had to accept it and promise to follow a religious life as prescribed by the Vedanta and worship of God daily reciting the Gayatri Mantra. The Vedas became the basis of the Brahmo Samaj. Debendranath signed the covenant and formally became a member of Brahmo Samaj in 1843. He did not believe in external form of worship such as idol worhsip, pilgrimages and costly rituals.

The church of Brahmo Samaj under Debendranath Tagore became an active institution was Tallwabodhini Sabha acting as its missionary wing. On 8th Oct. 1839, Debendranath Tagore established Tattwabodhini Sabha which was shortly thereafter renamed as the Tallwabodhini (Truth Seekers) Sabha. Tattvabodhini patrika, a monthly journal with Shri A.K. Datta as its editor was published. In 1840, Debendranath published a Bangla Translation of Katha upanishad. A modern researcher describes the Sabha's philosophy as Modern Middle Class Vedanta. Among its first members were the two giants of Hindu reformation and Bengal Renaissance, Akshay Kumar Datta and Ishwer Chandra Vidyasagar.

In Nov., 1855, the Revolutioner Charles Dall arrived in Calcutta to start his mission and immediately established contact with Debendranath and other Bhramos. The presence of Dall's protege Keshub Chandra Sen into the Calcutta Brahmo Sabha in 1857 while Debendranath was away in Simla caused considerable stress in the movement, with many long time Tattvabodhini Brahmin members publicly leaving the Brahmo Sabha and institutions due to his high handed ways. In Sept. 1858, Debendranath returned to Calcutta to resolve the simmering disputes and in1859, the Vulnerable and beloved Secretary of Tattwabodhini Sabha Ishwar Chandra Vidya Sagar, resigned from Brahmo Sabha in the face of Debendranath's Vicillation.

Disgusted by politics with in the Tagore family and the support to Keshab Chandra Sen's faction by his own brother Satyendranath Tagore, Hemendranath took the bold decisions to expand his sabha out from Calcutta. His close associate Pt.

Nabin Chandra Roy who had joined the new institution of Railways in 1860 as its Paymaster for upper India was tasked to spread Brahmoism there and after the publication of Hemedranath Tagore's Brahmo. There and after the publication of Hemendranath Tagore's Brahmo Arusthan (code of Practice) in 1860 which formally divorced Brahmois from Hindusim, the first Bhramo Samaj was founded in 1861 at Lahore by Pt. Nabin Chander Roy. It included many Bengalis from the Lahore Bar Association. Many branches were opened in the Punjab at Quetla, Rawalpindi, Amritsar, etc.

In 1866 a split occured in the ranks for Brahmo Samaj Debendronath supported by the old Brahmos developed difference of opinion and could not agree with Kishab and his young associates Thus, Brahmo Samaj was split into two organisations :

– Brahmo Samaj of India led by Keshab

– The Adi-Brahmo Samaj led the Debandranath

After this split Debandranath retired as the active member of Adi-Brahmo Samaj and Raj Narayan Bose assumed the status of presidentship of this organisation.

Keshab was an ardent supporter of women's emancipation. He worked for the end of exploitation of the workers. He started a weekly newspaper known as the **Sulabh Samachar** and also founded an association for publishing books and journals. After returning from England in 1870, he founded the Indian Reforms Association consisting of five departments such as :

* Female improvement department

* Education of working classes

* Procurement of cheap literature

* Prohibition

* Charity

Each department was headed by a Secretary.

Another split was taken place in the ranks of the Brahmo Samaj. Those who differed with Keshab Chander seceded and on May 15, 1878, they organised a new

Samaj, popularly Known as **Universal Brahmo Samaj.** Its membership was open only to those persons who would strictly adhere to the principles of Brahmo Samaj and reject idol worship and the caste system. Keshab Chander passed away in 1884 at the age of 46 years and after his death, the Brahmo Samaj began to decline because of the lack of cohesion in its ranks and introduction of rigid rituals and practices which were originally condemned by its celebrated supporters. Brahmo Samaj played a significant role in the renaissance movement in Bengal in particular and Maharashtra in general.

In all fields of social reform, including obolition of the caste system and of the dowry, emancipation of women and improving the educational system, the Brahmo Samaj reflected the ideologies of the Bengal Renaissanace. Brahmoism, as a means of discussing the dowry system, was a central theme of Sarot Chandra Chattopadhyay's noted 1914 Bengali language novels, Parineeta.

Thus, Brahmo Samaj was an influential Indian Socio-religious reform movement during the Bengal Renaissance. The members of Brahmo Samaj belonged to the upper classes and castes. The main contribution of the Brahmo Samaj to the society of India was that it evoked issues that were common to people all around the Indian sub continent. The notions of this organization were the inspiration for other organizations and various secular political parties, like the Indian National Congress, which were later on created in India.

1.7   Check your Progress

Q1.   Dicuss in detail the Socio-political causes of Renaissance?

_____
_____
_____

Q2.   Describe the concept of Brahmo Samaj?

_____
_____
_____

****

PRARTHANA SAMAJ

C.No. : SOC-C-402	Lesson No. 2
Social Development in India	**Unit-I**

Structure

2.1 **Objectives**

2.2 **Introduction**

2.3 **Prarthana Samaj**

2.4 **Sum up**

2.5 **Check your Progress**

2.1 **Objectives**

After going through this chapter you will be able to understand :

– Socio - religious movement

– About Prarthana Samaj

2.2 **Introduction**

The emergence of reform movements in the 19th century marks the beginning of new era in India Society. The impact of modern western culture brought a few movements which contributed much to the making of modern India. Some of the important social and religious movementsin India due :

* Brahmo Samaj (Raja Ram Mohan Roy)

* Arya Samaj (Swami Dayanand Saraswati)

* Prarthana Samaj

2.3 **Prarthana Samaj**

"Prarthana Samaj" or "Prayer Society" in Sanskrit was a movement for

religious and social reform in Maharashtra and was based on earlier reform movements and traditions of Maharashtra. The Prarthana Samaj was very much inspired by the Brahmo Samaj but is milder and less radical in its principles.

There are two secret societies that precided the prarthana Samaj were

– Gupta Sabha

– Paramahansa Sabha

Little is known about Gupta Sabha. Gupta Sabha was then followed by Paramahamsa Sabha that was then followed by Paramahamsa Sabha that was established by Ram Balkrishna Jaykar and others in 1849. After the breakdown of the Paramahamsa Sabha which was socially a revolutionary institution, it was reborn on March 31, 1867 in a more mild and evolutionary form as Prarthana Samaj. Under the influence of Keshab Chandra Sen who had visit Bombay in 1864.

The Paramahamsa Sabha, a theistic society laid emphasis on equality in social relations whereas the Prarthama Samaj believing in social equality, was more inclined to spiritual ideals. It was the difference between Paramahamsa Sabha and that of Dr. Atmaram Pandurang Tarkhdkar, Waman Abaji, Modak, M.G. Ranande and Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar. In their preliminary meetings some of them thought of laying empahsis on social matters like abolition of the caste system, encouragement of widow remarriage, promotion of female education and abolition of child marriage but in the end it was decided to learn more towards spiritual than towards social ideals.

Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang was a personal friend of Dr. Wilson, founder of wilson college in 1835. The Brahmo Samaj made an important inpression of these men. In 1864, Keshab Chandra Sen who was one of the missionary of Brahmo Samaj visited Bombay in 1864 and again in 1868. Dr. Atma Ram Pandurang was influenced by Keshab Chandra Sen, then he established Prarthana Samaj.

In 1872 another great Brahmo, Pratap Chandra, stayed for six months in Bombay at the invitation of the Prarthana Samaj. During his visit there was a plan to make Prarthana Samaj a branch of Brahmo Samaj. But this was prevented by Mahadev Goving Ranade. Simiarly, when Dayananda came to Bombay in 1874, there was great interest Samaj in Bombay. However, his ideas on the vedas stopped Samaj continued as an independent relform movement. In Bombay this was the most important and well

organised movement of the time being sponsored by leaders of society.

The Prarthana Samaj had also contacts with Bengal. P.C. Mazoondar came form Calcutta in 1872 for six months and increased the congregation, started night schools for workers and also the journal of the Samaj, the 'Subodh Patrika' was formed. Their own building or headquarter was erected in 1874 at Girgam, Bombay.

The Prarthana Samaj organisation engaged itself in many activities like :

* It aimed at spreading education and ran night schools to cater to the needs of the working class.

* It established a founding Asylum and orphanage at and harpur. It also established a social service league.

* It also darted a depressed classes mission for improving the lot of depressed people.

* It worked for improving the lot of women and tried to introduce reforms such as inter-caste marriages, widow marriages, encouragment of women's education and the eradication of evils like the Purdah system and child marriage.

The Prarthana Samajists were the followers of the great religious tradition of the Maratha Sant Mat like Namdev, Tirkaram and Ramdas (the guru of Shivaji). The Samaj defines its faith as :

– God is the crator of this Universe. He is the only true God; there is no other God beside him. He is eternal, spiritual, infinite, the store of all good, all joy, without parts, without form, one without a second the ruler of all, all pervading, Omniscient, almighty, merciful, all holy and the saviour of simers.

– He is worship alone leads to happiness in this world and the next.

– Love and reverence for him, an exclusive faith in him, praying and singing to him spiritually with these feelings and doing the things pleasing to him constitute, his, true worshop.

– To worship and pray to images and other created objects is not a true mode of divine adoration.

–　　　God does not incarnate himself and there is no one book which has been directly revealed by God or is whorty infallible.

–　　　All men are his children, therefore they should behave towards each other as between without distinction.

The doctrine of prarthana Samaj was very similar to the Brahmo Samaj but with one significant difference. The Prarthana Samaj bases its worship on the devotional poems of the Vitthalas, especially those of Tukaram. Prarthana Samajists drew their nourishment from the Hindu Scriptures and used the hymns of the old Marathi "Poet Saints" in their prayers. Their ideas trace back to the devotional poems of the Vithalas as part of the Vaishnava Bhakti devotional movements of the thirteenth century in 'Southern Maharashtra'.

According to Prarthana Samaj Report (1911-1912) "This is pleasing to God and Constitute man's duty"

M.G. Ranade was one of the illustrated luminaries of the Prarthana Samaj. The main credit of bringing the Prarthana Samaj to lime light goes to him; who devoted his entire life on rendering the Samajs success. He had attained the stative of being a great reformer, educationist, nationalist, economist and historian. He worked for the emancipation of women.

He found the Widow Marriage Association in 1861. He also helped in the establishment of the "Sarvajanik Sabha" at Poona in 1870. When a Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1871 to enquire into the economic position of India, the Sarvajanik Sabha prepared a useful report on the economic situation in Maharashtra with the help of Ranade. Ranade tried his best to enlist Government's support for the eradication of the social evils.

Pandita Ramabhai also worked for women's emancipation. She enlisted the support of Prarthana Samajists like Ranade, Bhandarkar and Chandravarkar. With her help the supporters of Prarthana Samaj were able to establish "Arya Mahila Samaj'.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of the founders of the organisation known as

"The Servants of India Society". He was also a member of the 'Deccan Education Society'. There voluntary organisations upheld the principles for which Prarthana Samaj stood.

2.4   Sum up

Thus Prarthana Samaj is relatively more acceptable to the larger society, was that it attempted modernisation gradually without signaling a sharp break. Broaches were opened in Poona, Surat, Ahmedabad, Karachi, Kirkee, Kolhapur and Satara. The Prarthana Samaj entered into the field of social reform through its most effective depressed classes Mission of India, founded in 1906 which came to run 30 educational institutions by 1913.

The activities of Prarthana Samaj were also spread to South India where the movement was led by the Tebugu reformer Veerasalingam Pantule. By the beginning of the 20th century, there were eighteen of its branches in the Madras Presidency.

A great galaxy of reformers of Prarthana Samaj such as Agarkar, Gopal Hari Deshmukh, B.M. Malabari, V.R. Shinde, S.V. Kamble and social evils and thereby ushered in an era of reformation and renaissance in the tradition bound Indian Society.

Ranade has emphasized that 'the reformer must attempt to dial with the whole man and not to carry out reform in one side only. "The social organism in India" according to Ranade, "shows a growth which should not be ignored and cannot be forcibly suppressed".

Maharshi Vitthal Ramji Shinde championed the complete eradication of caste and untouchability. He founded the first depressed classes mission.

There is the similiarity between Prarthana Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and the Satya Shodak Samaj. According to these three institutions, 'al men were the children of one God'. They discurded all kinds of intermediaries such as a priest or a preceptor to enable the devotee to offer his or prayers to God or to help him in the performance of any religious ceremonies. The Brahma and Prauthana Samajists prayed for spiritual welfare and believed in the efficiency of prayers.

2.5   Check your Progress

Q1.   Discuss in brief the concept of Prarthana Samaj?

_____

_____

_____

*****

SATYA SHODHAK SAMAJ

J.B. PHULE

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 3**
Social Development in India	**Unit - 1**

Structure

3.1   Objectives

3.2   Life Sketch J.B. Phule

3.3   His Works

3.4   Phule's Movement

3.5   Objectives

3.6   Phule's Role

3.7   Sum up

3.8   References

3.9   Check your Progress

3.1   Objectives

After going through this lesson you will be able to understood :

–   about a reformist J.B. Phule

–   His works for downtrodden

–   the making of Satya Shodhak Samaj

3.2   Life Sketch

Jyotiba Phule, the harbinger of the liberation of the depressed classes of the Indian society the first leader among the down-trodden people. His services were

remarkable, inspiring and daring in his period of life. Jotirao Phule's name is a Marathi form of the Sanskrit word Jyoti (light or flame, also a star). The classical or Brahminical name would be Jotirao. Rao is an honofiric in Marathi. He is also often referred to as Jotiba, with the 'ba' bring an affectionate suffix. His father was called as Govindrao.

The original name of the family, however was not phule but Gorhe. This family was from a small, insignificant village, lalgun in Satara District. The family were the victims of oppression by the Brahman revenue officials of the area. When the oppression crossed all limits, it appears that Jotirao's ancustor murdered the official and the family ran for its life. They settled down near Pune and took to horticulture. They belonged tothe mali (gardener) caste, taken to be one of the shudra castes in Maharashtra. They became florists by appointment to the Brahman ruler of Pune, the Peshwa, who gave them some land just outside the city of Pune. This florist family then acquired the name Phule (after Phul, flower). He also aclaimed as Mahatma Jotirao, Phuli.

Jotirao's date of birth is uncertain. The editorsof Phule's collected works, as well as his biographer Keer, accept 1827 as the year of his birth and claim that this is traditionally accepted.

The year 1848 became a turning point in the life career of Phule. It made him a revolutionary reformer. His zeal for reform became insatiable and made him a dauntless hero of the down trodden. Phule established the first science and where in India for Shudra atishudra inn 1948. Jotirao and Saintribai, whom he had married 1940 and who taught in this school had to leave Govidrao's House. In 1851he established another school, this time for the girls of all castes. This can followed by an envening school for working people in 1855. Thus, Phule contrinued the open separate schools for the children of Mahar, mangee and Samar castes. Phule's activities extended beyond the field of education. The drinking water tank in is house was thrown open to untouchables. This would be considered as a brave act even today. In 1868, it was revolutionary. No high caste or bhadrolok reformer had everdone such a thing.

He started orphanages and centres for rehabilitation of the widows. He also advocated the social reform of widow remarriage. In 1873, he adopted the son of a Brahmin Widow who had deserted him. He named him 'Yaswantan'. He made a deep analysis of the class structure of the Indian society and was able to find out the trickery of the Brahmin supremacy. He wanted to expose their malicious malignity and their intention to perpetuate their superiority in the society through their "Purohit Myths" in 1869. Atishudra Would be a "Dalit" in contemporary language HIS MAJOR

3.3 Works

– Slavery, 1873

– Cultivator's whip cord for the defence of Shudra Community 1883

– On Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood, 4 Dec., 1884

– Satsar The Essence of Truth, 1885

– The Book of the truth Faith, 1st April, 1889.

Phule wrote his last work Sarvajanik Satya Dharma Pustak (The Book of the Truth Faith) in earlhy 1889. He had suffered a stroke in the meanwhile, while rendered the right side of his body practically useless, but he laboured with his life hand to finish the book on 1st April, 1889. He died the following year on 28 November, 1890. The book was not published in his life time. It was published by his adopted son in 1891.

3.4 PHULE'S MOVEMENT

He established an association of rationalists called "Satya Shodak Samaj (Society for the Truth Seekers) on 23rd September, 1873. He advocated the practice of self thingking among the people through this association and thereby dispelled the kind beliefs of the people. Jotirao was elected first resident and treasurer of the Satya Shodhak Samaj and Narayanroo Govindrao Kadalak was elected its first Secretary.

3.5 Objectives

* To redeem the shudras and Atishudras from the influence of Brahmanical scriptures under which the Brahman priests fleeced them.

* To make them conscious of their human rights.

* To liberate them from mental and religious slavery.

* They prescribed their own sites and regulations.

* Everything should be highly simplified.

* Education and literacy among the downtrodden people particularly women of all castes.

The goals were summarised as follows :-

* All men are the children of one God, who is thus their parent.

* As there is no necessity of an intermediary to approach the mother or to please the father, there is no need of an intermediary such as a priest or a preceptor to enable the devotee to offer his prayers to God.

* Anyone accepting that principle is qualified to be a member of the Satya Shodak Samaj.

He himself conducted the first ever "Self Honour Marriage" on 25th December, 1873. Phule also condemned the People's belief in astrology, sorcery, witchcraft and demons. He also severely criticized the people's belief on destiny. There is nothing as predestination in the life of human beings. Everything could be achieved through perseverance.

Membership of the Samaj was extended to all castes including Brahmins and Mahars and Mangs and even Jews and Muslims were its members in its early stage. The weekly meetings were held on Sundays at the place where branchesof the Satya Shodak Samaj were established. The main attack was upon the caste system and idol - worship. Emphasis was also on the principle of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man.

The Satya - Shodak Samaj lacked the support of major intellects. Their philosopher was a simple and honest pleasant. The Satya - Shodhakites were moved to social action by their hearts. Their language was the language of the people, their places of propaganda and the corn-gathering places. The dress of the preacher of of the Satya-Shodak Samaj consisted of a blanket, a turban and a dhoti and he had a

drum in his hand. The Satya-Shodak Samaj was thus the first institution to launch a social movement in modern India. It raised its voice against social slavery and demanded social justice. It wa the shrill voice of a long-suppressed people in India.

The sincerity and drive of the Satya Shodak Samaj evoked a tribute to its workers from a journal which such that the widow remarriage institution in Bombay should take a leaf out of the Samaj's book. The Samaj also thanked the Satya Dipika, Subodh Patrika and Dhyan Prakash for their cooperation and for giving accurate reports in their journals of the work of the Samaj. The annual report of the Samaj for the year 1876 made a fervent appeal to the lower castes for funds and to educated persons to assist the Samaj in promoting education among the lower castes.

3.6   Phule's role through Satya Shodak Samaj

Similar to the early nationalists, the principal message that he conveyed was concerned with his model of a society free form Brahamnic exploitation for him, the British rule was a boon in disguise for having struck at the foundation of the caste hegemony of the Brahmans, Presumably because of this dimension of the foreign rule, Phule appeared to have underplayed the exploitative nature of colonialism. It was also possible that Phule accorded top priority to his mission of securing a respect full place for the shudratishudia (untouchables) in the society in which Brahmans held the hegemony. Phule was not so much against the Hindu scriptures per se as he was against the values and ideas sustaining the prevalent Hindu system. In other words, by deliberately articulating his opposition to Brahmanical discourse and not Hinduism as such, Phule was perhaps trying to distance from the bandwagon against Hinduism. in his view, Hinduism is rooted in shrutis (vedas) and the smrities, and Brahmans distorted them to rationalize their hegemony. Similarly the interpretation that the varna system (the division of society in four different clusters) was god given and, hence, unassailable was derived from the selfish desire of the Brahmans to perpetuate their domination on the rest of the society. So, not only did he reject the Hindu system and its theoretical literature altogether, he also argued, rather persuasively, against the dichotomous nature of the Hindu society nurturing Brahmanic hegemony over the shudras. This was an arrangement in which, he argued further, members of the privileged segment

of the society, namely, the Brahman, tended to justify their hegemony by reference to the religious tracts, and distorted practices. On the basis of the criticism of Hindu theology, he challenged the nation of avtara as an agency of change when the society was completely demoralised. In the Hindu conceptualization of avtara, Phule found another design, coated in religiously justified distorted version of "good" and "bad" to avoid friction in Hindu society. Drawn on his mission to create an equitable order striking at the roads of the dichotomous Hindu society, he never reconciled himself to the Brahmanical goal and beliefs sustaining them.

For Phule, literacy and especially English education, was most useful in substantially eradicating the Brahmaincal hegemony. Not only was literacy a powerful device in radically altering the existing social order, it would also bring gender equality. Phule was perhaps the first nationalist to have seriously pursued women's literacy and an exclusive girls school was established in 1842 at his behest,

The other distinctive dimession in Phule's response in that he stands out among the early national leaders for having implemented his ideas into practice. His the Satya shodhak samaj was not only involved in girls education, widow remarriage and campaign against prohibition, it also led to vigorous debates in the nature of Hindu society and the scriptures.

Mahadev Govind Ranade and Prarthana Samaj

M. G. Rande was a Indian judge, author and a social reformer. He was born in a Brahmin Family at Nasik in 1842. He later because a freelance journalist and in 1874 was appointed as subordinate judge at Poona. He was law member of the Bombay Government for three times, succeeding K.T. Telang in 1890 on Bombay High Court Bench and continued on that post till his death in 1901. He founded Prathana Samaj in 1867, Widow Remarriage Association in 1891 and in fondly reconciled as the "Father of Renaissance in western India.

Prarthna Samaj

To Prarthana Samaj goes the credit of taking the spirit of the Brahma Samaj Movement outside Bengal. It did for the western India what the Brahma

Samaj had done for Bengal. Emerging in the second half of the nineteenth century, as a great redeeming force, it sought to reconstruct the contemporary Hindu religion and society on rational and liberal times by exporting its digametic perversion and cu bersome forms. Hence, like Brahamo Samaj, it protested against lifeless rites and ceremonies, signalling the nation to pure forms of worship. Besides, it also undertook such social reforms as were in consonance with the liberal ideology of the modern times.

Founded in 1867 at Bombay by Atma Ram Pandurang, Jagannath Shanker Sethi, Balshastri Jambhekar, Vishnu Shartri Bapat, and Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar. The guiding spirits of the samaj were Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarker and Mahadev Govind Ranade. Prathana Samaj often efferred to a protestant Hindusim, emerged as a sister church of the Brahma Samja. Yet it, succeeded in maintaining its distinct identity of a Hindu organization. The Prathane Samajists concentrated more upon social reform as their 'actual work' rather than the faith they emphasized the belief that God can be realized only by serving man.

The Prathana Samajists believed in :

    *Single, all powerful and all loving, God;

    *Salvation through worship of God.

    *Denial of the ideas of karma and transmigration

    *Opposing the authority of priests and idol worship .

    *Acceptance of the authority of the vedas and the upanishads.

The Prathana Samajists didn't believe in merely institutional form of religion i.e.. worship deities, offerings, rituals, etc. For them religion was meant for practising civic virtues like honesty, affective towards the young and old as well as the poor, honesty in dealing with business matters as well as personal relationships and equal justice of all.

3.7   Sum up

Phule is the first shudra thinker. His approach was liberal, progressive and historically necessary. Phule did not think of women's problem in terms of Brahmins

or Shudraati Shudra. He pleaded for equal and common human rights for women and men. By his emphasis on Truth, Equality and Humanism, Mahatma Phooley occupies a place in the pantheon of great thinkers and sages of India. Therefore, owe socieety will attain the goal of social and economic equality an everyman will hphold every right of every other man which he himself enjoys Jotiroo's aim will be fulfilled.

3.8   References

–   Weekly magazine : Dheena Bandhu

–   Deshpande : Mahatma Jotirao Phule

–   N. Jayapalaw : Indian Society and Social Institutions

3.9   Check your Progress

Q1.   What are the Phule' main objectives for creating Satya Shodak Samaj?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   Briefly explain Phule's work?

_____

_____

_____

******

ARYA SAMAJ

CONTENTS

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

"   Understand the history of Arya Samaj

"   Describe various versions of Muslim league.

"   Understand about the growth of communalism.

"   Explain its impacts on the future courses of subcontinent like Pakistan, India and Bangladesh etc.

4.1   History

The date of foundation of Arya Samaj is disputed. Some sources say it was established in Bombay on 7 April 1875 by Dayanand Saraswati but others note that he was in Ludhiana in April 1877 and say that the formal founding took place at Lahore on 24 June 1877 when it became more than just a regional movement based in Punjab.

4.1.1   Vedic Schools

Between 1869 and 1873, Saraswati, a native of Gujarat from the Kathiawar region, made his first attempt at reform in India towards orthodox Hinduism. This attempt took the form of the establishment of "Vedic Schools" or "Gurukuls" which put an emphasis on Vedic values, culture, and religion or satya sanatan Dharma to its students including boys and girls separately as on ancient Vedic pattern. The first was established at Farrukhabad in 1869 with 50 students enrolled in its first year. This initial success led to the founding of four additional gurukuls in rapid succession at Mirzapur (1870), Kasganj (1870), Chhalesar (Aligarh) (1870) and Varanasi (1873) - all now in Uttar Pradesh.

The Vedic Schools represented the first practical application of Dayanand's vision of religious and social reform which was based on Vedic tradition. They enjoyed a mixed reception. On the one hand, students were not allowed to perform traditional idol worship of stone sculpture (murti puja in Hindi) at the Gurukul, and were instead expected to perform sandhya (a form of meditative prayer using vedic mantras with divine sound and pronunciation from the Vedas) and participate in agnihotra twice daily in morning. Disciplinary action was swift and not infrequently severe. On the other hand, all meals, lodging, clothing and books were given to the students free of charge, and the study of Sanskrit Holy books like Vedas, Upanishads, Aranyakas, Kashika, Nirukta, Mahabhashya, Ashtadhyayi, Darshanas were opened to non-Brahmins and also for women. The most

noteworthy feature of the Gurukuls was that only those texts which accepted the authority of the Vedas were to be taught. This was critical for the spiritual and social regeneration of Vedic culture in India.

The Vedic Schools soon ran into difficulties. Dayanand had trouble finding qualified teachers who agreed with his views on religious reform, and there existed a paucity of textbooks which he considered suitable for instruction in Vedic culture. Funding was sporadic, attendance fluctuated considerably, and tangible results in the way of noteworthy student achievement were not forthcoming. Consequentially, some of the schools were forced to close shortly after opening. As early as 1874, it had become clear to Dayanand that, without a wide and solid base of support among the public, setting up schools with the goal of imparting a Vedic education would prove to be an impossible task. He therefore decided to invest the greater part of his resources in the formulation and propagation of his ideology of reform. Deprived of the full attention of Dayanand, the Gurukul/Vedic School system collapsed and the last of the schools (Farrukhabad) was closed down in 1876.

After the spread of Arya Samaj in the twentieth century, more than 200 Vedic schools are currently run by DAV organisation.

4.2   Adi Brahmo Samaj

While traveling (1872-1873), Dayananda came to know of several of the pro-Western Indian intellectuals of the age, including Navin Chandra Roy, Rajnarayan Basu, Debendranath Tagore and Hemendranath Tagore all of whom were actively involved in the Brahmo Samaj. This reform organization, founded in 1828, held many views similar to those of Dayanand in matters both religious (e.g., a belief in monotheism and the eternality of the soul) and social (e.g., the need to abolish the hereditary caste or varna systemand uplift the masses through education). Debendranath Tagore had written a book entitled Brahmo Dharma, which serves as a manual of religion and ethics to the members of that society, and Dayanand had read it while in Calcutta.

Although Dayanand was persuaded on more than one occasion to join the

Brahmo Samaj, there existed points of contention which he could not overlook, the most important being the position of the Vedas. Dayanand held the Vedas to be divine revelation, and refused to accept any suggestions to the contrary. Despite this difference of opinion, however, it seems that the members of the Brahmo Samaj parted with Dayanand on good terms, the former having publicly praised the latter's visit to Calcutta in several journals.

4.2.1 The Light of Truth Lecture Series

Dayanand made several changes in his approach to the work of reforming Hindu society after having visited Calcutta. The most significant of these changes was that he began lecturing in Hindi. Prior to his tour of Bengal, he had always held his discourses and debates in Sanskrit. While this gained him a certain degree of respect among both the learned and the common people, it prevented him from spreading his message to the broader masses. The change to Hindi allowed him to attract increasingly larger following, and as a result his ideas of reform began to circulate among the lower classes of society as well.

After hearing some of Dayanand's speeches delivered in Hindi at Varanasi, Raj Jaikishen Das, a native government official there, suggested that Dayanand publish his ideas in a book so that they might be distributed among the public. Witnessing the slow collapse of the gurukuls/Vedic Schools due to a lack of a clear statement of purpose and the resultant flagging public support, Dayanand recognized the potential contained in Das's suggestion and took immediate action.

From June to September 1874, Dayanand dictated a comprehensive series of lectures to his scribe, Pundit Bhimsen Sharma, which dealt with his views and beliefs regarding a wide range of subjects including God, the Vedas, Dharma, the soul, science, philosophy, child rearing, education, government and the possible future of both India and the world. The resulting manuscript was published under the title Satyarth Prakash or The Light of Meaning of Truth in 1875 at Varanasi. This voluminous work would prove to play a central role in the establishment and later growth of the organization which would come to be known as the Arya Samaj

4.2.2 New Samaj

While the manuscript of the "Satyarth Prakash" was being edited at Varanasi, Dayanand received an invitation to travel to Bombay in order to conduct a debate with some representatives of the Vallabhacharya sect. Dayanand arrived in Bombay on 20 October 1874. The debate, though greatly publicized, never materialized. Nonetheless, two members of the Prarthana Samaj approached Dayanand and invited him to deliver a few lectures at one of their gatherings, which were received with appreciation by all those present. The members of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay recognized in Dayanand, an individual in possession of the knowledge and skills necessary for promoting their aims, the greatest and most comprehensive of which being the general uplift of Hindu society at large and its protection from what they perceived to be the advancing threat of Christian and Muslim efforts to convert Hindus.

After his having spent over a month at Bombay, 60 new-found students of Dayanand - among them, prominent members of the Prarthana Samaj - proposed the notion of founding a "New Samaj" with Dayanand's ideas serving as its spiritual and intellectual basis.

4.2.3 Rajkot Arya Samaj

On an invitation from Hargovind Das Dvarkadas, the secretary of the local Prarthana Samaj, Dayanand traveled to Rajkot, Gujarat, arriving on 31 December 1874. Instead of delivering his standard program of lectures, he allowed members of the audience to choose the topics they would like to have him discourse upon. A total of eight topics were chosen, and Dayanand delivered impromptu lectures on all of them to the satisfaction of all present. Gifts were bestowed upon him as tokens of gratitude for his masterly orations, and it was announced that the Rajkot Prarthana Samaj was henceforth dissolved and was ready to be reorganized as a new Samaj under the auspices of Dayanand. After much deliberation he chose the name 'Arya Samaj' or 'Society of Nobles'. Dayanand drafted a list of 28 rules and regulations for the Rajkot Arya Samaj, which he later had printed for distribution.

On his way back to Bombay, Dayanand stopped off in Ahmedabad and related

the news of Rajkot, Gujarat, distributing copies of the rules and regulations to those present. A meeting was held on 27 January 1875 to discuss the proposal of forming an Arya Samaj there, yet no conclusive decision was reached. Unwilling to wait for the deliberations to come to an end, Dayanand continued on his way to Bombay.

While travelling, he received word that the still fragile Rajkot Arya Samaj had involved itself in some political dispute that resulted in a government warning issued against it and its members. Thus, the collapse of the just established society was already looming large.

4.2.4 Bombay Arya Samaj

Dayanand Saraswati came to Bombay and immediately the appeal to establish an Arya Samaj there was renewed. However, he did not want a protracted debate to ensue as had occurred at Ahmedabad, bringing with it the possibility of endless deliberations. Thus, a membership drive was initiated which would circumvent the need for discussions. Within a short time, 100 individuals enrolled themselves as prospective members.

On 7 April 1875, the Bombay Arya Samaj was officially established. The membership amounted to 100 persons, including Dayanand. The members appealed to him that he should serve as either the President or the Guru of the Samaj, but he refused, requesting instead that he be listed as a regular member. From there onwards Arya Samaj Sect steadily grew in numbers.

After Dayanand Saraswati

Dayanand died in 1883. Arya Samaj grew after his death, mainly in Punjab. Early leaders of the Samaj were Pandit Lekh Ram and Lala Munshi Ram (better known as Swami Shraddhanand after his Sanyas). The activities and the opposition Arya Samaj encountered in Punjab were credited with the formation of the rival Sikh dominated Singh Sabha, the forerunner of the Akali Dal. Some authors also claim that the activities of Samaj led to increased antagonism between Muslims and Hindus. Shraddhanand led the Shuddhi movement that worked towards bringing Converted Hindus back into the fold.

Arya Samaj split into two in Punjab after 1893 on the question of eating meat. The group that refrained from meat was called the Mahatma group and the one favoring consumption of meat as the "Cultured Party".

During the early part of the 20th century, the Samaj or organizations inspired by it such as Jat Pat Todak Mandal were active in campaigning against caste discrimination. Other activities the samaj engaged in were that of widow remarriage and women's education.

During the early parts of the 20th century, the Samaj established chapters in British colonies where there was a sizeable Indian diaspora such as South Africa, Surinam and Guyana. Prominent Indian Nationalists such as Lala Lajpat Rai belonged to Arya Samaj and were active in propagating the message of Samaj.

Pandit Lekh Ram and Arya Samaj in Punjab

Arya Samaj was and is an important sect amongst Punjabi Hindus.

Pandit Lekh Ram (1858 - 6 March 1897) was an important Arya Samaj Hindu leader. He is famous for his encounters with the founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim CommunityMirza Ghulam Ahmad. He also wrote a book in falsification of Ahmad's Barahin-e-Ahmadiyya and named it Takzeeb e Barahin Ahmadiyya (A falsification of the Barahin e Ahmadiyya). He was assassinated on March 6, 1897. Members of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community claim that this was in accordance with the prophecies of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

Language Issue

Arya Samaj promoted the use of Hindi and discouraged the use of Punjabi language in Punjab. This was a serious point of difference between the Sikhs represented by the Akalisand the Arya samaj during the period immediately following Indian independence and the demand for a Punjabi speaking state.

Humanitarian efforts

Arya Samaj was notable for its donation. After the 1905 Kangra earthquake, large amount of donations had been made by Arya Samaj in relatively small period, which was largely appreciated by the afflicted population. Other humanitarian missions of the organization included the support for women's right to vote, and protection for widows.

Contemporary Arya Samaj

Today, temples set up by Arya Samaj are found all over India. The organization

also has played an important role in spread of education through its network of schools known by name of Dayanand Anglo Vedic (DAV) schools in India. There are many arya samaj mandir in Delhi. More than 200 Vedic Schools or Gurukuls are running on that method. Arya Samaj Helpline is working for the Gurukuls reforms.

4.3   Arya Samaj around the world

The Samaj is also present in countries such as Guyana, Surinam, Australia, South Africa, Kenya, Mauritius and other countries where a significant Hindu diaspora is present. Immigrants to Canada from East Africa and the Caribbean countries respectively form separate Arya Samaj communities in many Canadian cities including Toronto. Most major metropolitan areas of United States have chapters of Arya Samaj.

The Principal Core Belief of the Samaj is as follows:

" The belief in only One Supreme Almighty or creator

" Infallible Authority of Vedas

" Rejection of other Hindu religious books in the sense that they are stories to reinforce Vedic knowledge and may not be revealed by a Supreme Being. Most of these books like the Ramayana and Mahabharata are legends of historical figures, which the other and now mainstream branch of Hinduism, the Sanatana Dharma, has made into gods and avatars.

" Rejection of scriptures of other religions like the Bible, Quran, etc.

" Rejection of idol worship

" Equality of all human beings in creating opportunity for all

" Empowerment of Women as described in the Vedas

Arya Samaj in regions outside of India (i.e. Caribbean) with immigration during the 1800s and the 1900s has sustained religious beliefs that more closely follows the teachings of Dayanand Sarastwati. Dayananda emphasised the ideals of brahmacharya (chastity) for priests.

4.4   Practices

The main religious practices of the Arya Samaj include a havan (fire altar) where the Gayatri Mantra is recited. Arya Samaj promotes personal worship of God, where havans can be performed without the need of a priest. Main holidays include Holi, celebration of the start of spring and Diwali, a celebration of harvest and the victory of good over evil.

Some Arya samajis are lacto-vegetarian. Eating of beef is avoided. This is different from the Sanatan Dharma, which worships the cow as a mother goddess. In the Arya Samaj, the cow is seen as an animal that provided livelihood to Indian farmers and they were respected, just as the horse was a significant animal for other cultures in Europe. Beef eating is not prohibited per se, but is avoided given its significance in giving rise to the Indian civilization.

4.5   Sum up

Arya Samaji's revere nature elements as a manifestation of god and or universe and is the closest existing religion to the proto Indo-European religion. Many Vedic gods (God as in Devata's, that aspect of God that give life or create etc., not as God in Abrahamic Religion) are similar to that of the Greek and Norse pantheon of gods, however Vedic religion predates these cultures.

4.6   Check your Progress

Q1.   Explain Arya Samaj?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   Defince Rajkot Arya amaj and Bombay Arya Samaj?

_____

_____

_____

******

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson 5**
Social Development in India	**Unit-I**

Structure

5.1   Objectives

5.2   Introduction

5.3   Religion and Politics

5.4   Ethics & Politics

5.5   Social Philosophy

5.6   Philosophy of History

5.1   Objectives

After going through this chapter you will be acquaint with :

–   Life History of Gandhi Ji

–   His role in Social Development

5.2   Introduction

Gandhiji was born at Porebunder in Kathiawar on October 2, 1869. His father was very honest and his mother a devoted religious lady. He was married at the age of twelve. He joined school at the early age of seven. After completing his school education he went to Bhavnagar where he could not adjust himself. After some time he was allowed to go to England with a pledge that he would not touch wine and woman there. In England he lived as a simple Indian.

On his return from England Gandhiji went to South Africa and established himself as a lawyer. There he experienced shocking discrimination against Indians, which tempted him to struggle for their legitimate rights.

Gandhiji aroused Indians frustrated South African Government's attempt to disfranchise Indians. In 1896 he left South Africa for India and tried to arouse the sympathies of Indian National Congress leaders in favour of Indian settlers. Hardly had he stayed in India when he had to go back to South Africa. In 1889 he organised an Indian Ambulance Corps to help the wounded of Boer War. In 1901 Gandhiji again came back to India but was called back in 1902. On his return Gandhiji found that Transvaal Government had set up an Asiatic Department where all Asiatics were to register themselves and always carry a certificate with them. As a protest Gandhiji decided to launch Satyagraha. The Indians refused to get themselves registered and hundreds of Indian settlers including Gandhiji were arrested. Government of General Smuts compromised with Gandhiji and the Asiatics were to voluntarily register themselves. The advice was not accepted by a Pathan Indian settler who threatened to take Gandhiji's life and actually attacked him. The culprit was arrested but was released on Gandhiji's suggestion.

As General Smuts refused to withdraw the Act Gandhiji started struggle again. Though Government took rigorous steps to suppress the agitation yet thousands of certificates were burnt. To the surprise of all Indian settlers women also started participating in satyagraha. The labourers in the coal mines went on strike and there were incidents of firing there. The Indians, under the guidance of Gandhiji decided to cross the borders of Transvaal and enter there without any permit. The response to Gandhiji's call was so effective that on Junuary 21, 1914 an interim agreement was signed between Gandhi and Government of General Smuts, under which the main demands of Indian settlers in South Africa were accepted.

After his 20 years stay in South Africa Gandhiji came back to India. He found the conditions of Indians equally miserable. In the initial stages he believed in the British sense of justice, though subsequently his faith was lost.

In 1915 he founded Satyagraha Ashram where the disciples were required to follow Gandhian ideals of non-violence and Ahimsa. They were also required to wear Khaddar. In 1917 he went to Bihar where he successfully negotiated for the

rights of workers with the Indigo-owners. In 1918 Gandhiji successfully settled a dispute between the owners and the workers of Textile Mills of Ahmedabad. He also underwent three days' fast before the owners agreed to his point.

In 1920 his faith in British sense of justice was rudely shaken due to the passing of the Rowlatt Act, ghastly tragedy at Jallianwala Bagh and allowing General Dwer to go free. In 1920 at a special meeting of the Congress workers a policy of non-cooperation was accepted and subsequently launched. The movement had to be withdrawn due to Chauri Chaura incident. In 1930 Gandhiji started his fanious Dandi March to violate the unwanted Salt Law. In 1I31 was cxecuted the Cavdlu-lnvin Pact. In 1932 Gandhiji was again arrested along with other Congress leaders. He very successfully foiled Government attempts to separate the Harijans from Caste Hindus.

In 1931 Gandhiji also went to England as the sole representative of Congress to negotiate with the British Government for solving the question of our constitutional advancement. In 1942 Gandhiji started his famous Quit India Movement. Subsequently he was associated with the talks which the Congress had with the British Government.

In 1947 India became free but there was hatred between the two major communities namely Hindus and Muslims. There was also mass migration. Facing all odds Gandhiji pledged for payment of Rs. 55 crores to Pakistan due to that countnv. This brought ill-will among orthodox Hindus and on 30th January, 1948 he was shot dead. On his death glowing tributes were paid to him and even U.N.O. lowered its flags.

5.3   Religion and Politics

Fundamental Unity of Life

"If seem to take part in politics, it is only became politics today encircles us like the coils of a snake from which one cannot get out no matter how one tries. I wish to wrestle with the snake," said Gandhiji, "I am trying to introduce religion into politics." To Gandhi even the struggle of Indians in South Africa was "a struggle for religious liberty". "By religion I do not mean formal religion, or customary religion," he explained, addressing a meeting of Indians, "but that religion which underlies all religions, which brings us face to face with our Maker."

Years later, Gandhi said to an audience in South India : "The whole of my life is saturated with the religious spirit. I could not live for a single second without

religion. Many of my political friends despair of me, because they say politics, and all other activities of a mine, are derived from my religion. I go further and say that every activity of a man of religion must be derived from his religion, because religion means being bound to God, that is to say, God rules your every breath. If you recognize that truth, naturally God regulates every activity of yours." An Englishman wrote of him : "When I first saw Mahatma Gandhi at the Round Table Conference in 193i, I asked how far he was saint and how far an astute politician, I later rea lized that the question was unanswerable : the two aspects were inextricably blended in a singularly complex character. In India saints can be politicians as they could in Medieval Europe."[1]

Gandhi firmly believed in the "fundamental unity of life", to quote his own words. He wrote to Mr. Horace Alexander in 1926 : "In my own humble opinion, we ncedlessly divide life into watertight compartments, religious and other; whereas if a man has true religion in him, it must show itself in the smallest details of life. To me sanitation in a community like ours is based upon common spiritual effort. The slightest irregularity in sanitary, social and political life is a sign of spiritual poverty."[2]

While some critics, in Indian Natioanl Congress and outside, took Gandhiji to task for introducing religion into the Congress politics which they wished to be confined to real politic (as the German put it), some others rated him, a man of religion, for having strayed into politics and consequently degraded himself. To them Gandhiji explained. "There has been no really religious movement in the world, without its social, economic and political consequences."[3]

Gandhiji's life and thought had been shaped under the impact of special circumstances which could not but influence his outlook and determine his line of action. His public life began in South Africa with events which challenged his spirit of manhood, his fellow-feeling for his contrymen, and his sense of justice, as also his religious susceptibilities. If polities are unclean, it is partly because religious men - i. e. God-fearing, truthful, selfless men - have general ly kept away from politics; and it is this very consideration that demands of them that they should participate in political affairs and purify these from inside. It today encircles was the aim of Gandhiji's political guru, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. As far back exalted spirit has never moved on this earth...He is a man who may be well described as a

man among men, a hero among heroes, a patriot among patriots, and we may well say that in him Indian humanity at the present time has reached its high water mark."[4]

"What did this religious spirit of his lead to, in action? world and its opinion nothing," observed Henry Polak, one of his earliest co-workers in South Africa. "He does not know how to distinguish Hindu from Muslim, Christian from infidel. To him all alike are brothers, fragments of the Divine, fellow-spirits struggling for expression. All he has, he gives. With him selfsurrender and absolute sacrifice are demands of his very nature. His deep spirituality influences all round so that no man dares to commit evil in his presence. "[5]

George Slocombe, an English journalist, wrote of him years later, "I have never met any man more utterly honest, more transparently sincere, less given to egotism, self-conscious of pride, opportunism, and ambition which are found in greater or lesser degree in all the other great political figures of the world, "I Thus, no arguments from any quarters could possibly move Gandhiji to eschew politics. To his mind it was a God-given mission to work for the liberation of subject India and for the propagation of non-violence in the world through India.

Results of Chasm between Religion and Politics

"Religion," in the opinion of Radhakrishnan, "has weakened man's social conscience and moral sensitivity by separating the things of God from those of Caesar."[7] As a result, the State has been declared to be above all moral obligations. Believing as he did in the supremacy of the moral law Gandhi declared, "loyalty to the country" to be "always subordinate to loyalty to God. "[8]

Explaining to his own attitude to politics Gandhi wrote: "I have no secret methods. I know no diplomacy save that of truth. I have no weapon but nonviolence."[9]

Implication of Gandhian Religion in Politics

The following are some of the main implications, according to Gandhiji, of the introduction of religion into politics: (i) Cling to truth at all costs; (ii) 'Do or die,' but never `do or kill,' invite suffering on yourselves, but never impose it on the opponent; (iii) Give the opponent due notice in advance of   your intention to adopt a certain course of action against him; (iv) Criticise the opponent's thoughts and policies but not the opponent himself; under no circumstances revile him; (v) Don't take unfair advantage

of his difficulties; (vi) Hanker after a chance to make peace with him at the earliest moment possible, so that you can again cooperate with him on honourable terms; (vii) Try to appeal to and awaken the better part of his nature, and never wish his intransigence to be prolonged so that you may win the glory of martyrdom at his hands and he may be condemned in the public eye; rather pray to God constantly to grant him the capacity to see the Right; (viii) Own up your errors and evil deeds - big and small; (ix) Don't assume an air of self-righteousness; (x) Adopt none but the cleanest methods in elections, and don't scramble for the loaves and fishes of office: (xi) Walk in the fear of God and be afraid of no man; (xii) Have the unshakable faith that, in the end, the Right alone will triumph and never the Wrong; (xiii) In the midst of an encircling gloom, pray to the Kindly Light to lead you on; (xiv) Let "one step be enough" for you; don't long to see into the distant future; (xv) Let you and your country have the moral courage to stand for the Right against the whole world, if necessary; (xvi) Let your effort be mainly directed to the increase of your own internal cleanliness and strength.

5.4 Social development in India

Social development involves process of change in societies. It can be similarity described as the process of organizing human energies and activities of higher levels to achieve greater result. The process of economic development with welfarism leads to the social development. The inclusion of all the human energies, sharing of the benefits of development and their participation in decision making will lead to social development. Social development can be understand as the effort to end exclusion of many people from development because of their genders, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, disability or poverty. It aims to participation, non-discrimination and deaccountabilty.

During the course of India's freedom struggle, various leaders such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, M.G. Ranade, Dayanand Saraswati, B.G. Tilak, G.K. Gokhala, M.K. Gandhi, B.R. Ambedkhar made efforts to ensure for removal of several social problem prevalent at that time. In contemporary India, following are some of the social problem proving hindrances at social development.

1. Socio-cultural problems: Communalism, untouchability, population explosion, child abuse problem of scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, the backward classes, women, alcoholism and drink addiction.

2. Economic problem poverty, unemployment, back mon

3. Legal problem : crime, delinquency, violence, terrarium. Most of these problems are historic. While at the sometime most of them are interrelated and given birth to newer ones. There has been organized social movements against these social issues in Indian society.

GANDHI AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Gandhi as the leader of the National movement after, 1919 devoted part of his action programme for the uplight of harijans, Advises, women and ending social communalism, untouchability and alcoholism. He tried to reorganize education village industries.

Gandhi wanted a India a society where these in equal distribution and consumption of wealth, where there exists neither rich nor poor, no conflict between capital and labour and a self sufficient economy devoid of any competition, exploitation and violence.

Gandhi worked for a India in which the poorest shall fell that it is their country in whose making they have an effective voice. A India in which these shall be no high and law class of people; an India in which all communities shall be in perfect harmony. For bringing about such a society, Gandhi introduced concepts like "Swaraj", "Nationalism", "Socialism" and "industrialism". The problem of economic inequality and minister petition of the term "Independence" led Gandhi to bring a new concept i.e. a Swaraj. Swaraj meant sey rule and self - restraint.

Gandhi stressed in following methods to arrive at the solutions of various social problem and have a ll embracing social development.

i.   Means and Ends

Gandhian approach to social problems regards means and ends as parts of a whole which has transcendental reference, unlike many who places emphasis on ends. Gandhi stood steadfastly for a non -expenditure social order for he understand well that violence in built into an exploitative system. Gandhi's major goal in life was to achieve Swaraj for India. He socio- political philosophy was based on truth, non - violence and the unity of means and ends.

2. The new economic system.

Gandhi said, yo cannot build a non - violent society in factory civilization but it can be built on self contained village. The productive system should be based on the idea of progressive and regulated minimization of needs and not on that of multiplication of wants. The economy should be life. centered and not one that is oriented to commodity production. The social and economic system should be non competitive and non-acquisitive, based on the principal of trusteeship.

3. Equality of all

Gandhian approach envisages that the goal of economic equality in equality of wages, for a honest day's work, be it that of a lawyer, a doctor, a teacher or a scavenges. It requires much advanced training to reach that state of equality.

He wanted the rich to hold their wealth intrust for the poor to give it up for them. A state of economic equality cannot be brought about by dispossessing the wealthy of their possessions through resort to violence. Violence action doesn't benefit society for it stands to lose the gifts of a man who find how a produce can add to the wealth.

5. Abolition of Untouchability

In his early courting, Gandhi appeared to favour varnasbran which implied to him self-restraint, conservation and economy of energy. Arrogation of superior states by any of the varna over another is the denial of the human dignity and particularly so in the case of the section of society which and particularly so in the case of the section of society which was considered untouchables in an unjust manner.

6. Constructive programme;

Gandhi coined a new term known as "Hariyan" for the so called untouchable. He resigned from ordinary membership of Indian National congress in 1934 to work for eradication of untouchability.

Beside removal of untouchability & the development Khadi, Gandhian constructive programme consisted of Community unity, Prohibition, village sanitation health and hygienic, basic education, spread of Hindustani, work for economic equality service of the aboriginal's and organization of students, peasants and labourers.

7. Sarvodaya

Sarvodaya was Gandhi's most original contribution to political thought. It aimed at the social development of entire Indian society. Sarvodaya" literally means "therefore

of all and for Gandhi was mthenced by John Rushkins book" unto Hinslast". Sarvodaya rejected the existing social economic and political order and has sought for new. It has different aspects ;

Ethical Aspect :

The concept of Sarvodaya has originated from 'positive' concept of human nature. Because any system can thrive or decay depending upon the human nature. Like any other anarchist, it discards the assumption of the 'wicked man' or the 'selfish man'. Rather according to this concept man is essentially good. But due to external evil forces, his goodness may get "distracted'. But that goodness continues to remain the some whatever be its outwards manifestation. It stoughly believe that there is an innat ability even in an apparently ignoble man. Sarvodaya believe that human character can improve either by tapasya (self effort) or by appeals made to him by others through such non-violent techniques as Satyagraha, non-cooperation and fasting.

Political aspect

Through Sarvodaya Gandhi condemned the existing political order and suggested the establishment of a truly democratic order. "Sarvodaya believes in the principle of decentralization in its fullness. The idea of the welfare of all logically implies the idea of "welfare through all. If the welfare programme is activated by one or a few, it will lead to the culture of domination. Similarly, if production or wealth in concentrated in the hands of a few, in a limited area, that will never bring Sarvodaya.

His ideas of "non-possession, village democracy, Khadi and cottage industry" all are nothing but the application the principle of decentralization.

Economic aspect :

Gandhiji's Sarvodaya economy which aims at welfare of all, is founded on the philosophy of limited wants. Gandhiji was critical of west, where welfare has been understood with reference to availability of material goods and 'bodily welfare. It is based on craze for more and more well being. On the other hands, Gandhi ji believed. "Civilization in the real sense of the term consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants. This alone promotes real happiness and contentment and increase capacity for service.

Gandhiji wanted economic benefit to proliferate in every section of society so, Sarvodaya economy is based on the principal of equality and ti prescribes equal

wages to a physical laboures and professionals like lawyers, doctors and teachers for they principle of to each according to his used and from each according to his capacity. So, Gandhiji fought for an economy free from exploitation and corruption limitation of human wants, equality and basic needs for all.

Gandhiji approach to social development is integral and integrated. It is inclusive in the sense his vision of development in not making material wealth but harmony with nature in the interactive process between humanity and nature. His develop crosses the boundary regions of nations and the territories. He wanted action from below with the active participation of people and not from the above, he strongly believed the people and treated people not an individual but as a community for socio economic analysis.

Gandhi had identified the methodology of clarifying the human force and he successful mobilized the masses an the transformed the people into a transformative force to achieve freedom. Thus, with the concept of Sarvodaya Gandhiji wanted a social development which would ensure a society development which would a social development which would ensure a society free from expatiation. Such a society would affared the opportunity to each and every one to prosper and work for the well being of all.

Such a society would ensure a participatory democracy the constitutive say graaha can emancipate downtrodden people directly and create a strong people's power in society without harming the others.

Criticism

Gandhi ji concept of social development through Sarvodaya has been the forget of criticism. It has been branded as "Utopia" and looked upon with suspicion. Gandhian concept of simple living and high thinking has been consisted on the ground that some times people with simplest of food and practice of austerities nurture all types of evil and wicked desires. In some quarters, in facts, wealth in believed to be an indespessionble prerequisites of culture and higher values.

However, Sarvodaya may be utopian but its attack on execsive state control, centralization, brute majority and consumerism can teach all generations to guard against blatant materialism and excessive contralised coercive authority. In today

global world where democratic governments have failed to solve some of the basic issue, people have come to conclusion that existing order could not solve and address the present crisis an economy, polity, administration and society. It needs an alternative which in nothing but Gandhian model of development.

5.5   Social Philosophy

If anyone were asked to give the essence of the social philosophy of M.K. Gandhi in one word, he should call it Non-Violence. Gandhi so much emphasized this principle that this almost sums up his approach in social, political and economic fields, Everywhere his ideal was non-violence, so much so that we can call his ideal cult of non-violence. Explaining this importance of nonviolence Gandhi said, "Without Ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth, Ahimsa and Truth are so inter-twined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say which is the reverse?" In the tradition of ancient Indian thinkers Gandhi believed in non-dualism. Reality according to him is one. He, however, laid emphasis on the manifestation of the reality even more than the reality itself. Thus, his metaphysics was pluralist. In epistemology he was a relativist having firm faith in Syadwad or relativism. The basic condition for the reconstruction of the society, according to him, is the realisation of God upon earth. He believed in Indian doctrine of rebirth and his social thought aimed at ultimate ideals for which immediate ideals were mere means. He delved into politics in spite of being. a religious person simply because man's world, according to him, is a continuous whole. In his own words, "The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole, you cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments." He was an internationalist like Vivekananda and Tagore and yet he was a great patriot and a nationalist. He said, "He who does not know what patriotism of feeling for one's country is, does not know his true duty or religion.

Gandhian cult of non-violence was based upon his interpretation of human nature. Declaring the importance of non-violence in his social philosophy he said, "Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed. "[24] Hence, "Its (non-violence) spread is my life-mission. I have no interest except for the prosecution of that mission."[25] Violence, according to him, is the law of brutes while

non-violence is the rule of human beings. Here he absolutely differs with Darwinian principles of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. Non-violence, according to him, is not merely an ideal, it is a fact. Replying to his critics who called his philosophy utopian and visionary, he said, "I am not a visionary, I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant for the Risis and Saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species, as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute, and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law of the strength of the spirit. "

Advancing argument in support of his cult of non-violence Gandhi said, "The fact that there are so many men still alive in the world shows that it is based not on the force of arms but on the force of truth and love. Therefore, the greatest and most unimpeachable evidence of the success of this force is to be found in the fact that in spite of wars of the world, it lives on,"

The Ideals of Satyagraha

Due to his emphasis on truth and the aim of life as truth realisation, Gandhi called his techniques of social reconstruction by the name *Satyagraha* and urged everyone to be a *Satyagrahi*. He prescribed seven vows for a *Satyagrahi* viz. truth, non-violence, *brahraacharya,* control of palate, fearlessness, nonstealing (or non-possession). All these ideals he explained in great details. In each case his insistence was on perfection so much so that his critics have criticised him as an extremist and as ascetic. Most of the vows have been accepted by ancient Indian scriptures. Gandhi knew that every one cannot practise these ideals in the absolute sense and he agreed, "The taking of vow does not mean that we are able to observe it completely from the very beginning, it does mean constant and honest effort in thought, word and deed with a view to fulfil it."[28] A detailed description of these vows will clarify further Gandhian social philosophy.

1. Truth. As we have already said, truth is the highest ideal in Gandhian social philosophy. He has, however, taken it in the most comprehensive sense, He said, "There should be truth in thought, truth in speech and truth in action." Thus, truth shculd be practised in all watks of life- social, economic, political etc.

2. Non-Violence. As has been already pointed out. Gandhian social thought

was the cult of non-violence. He said, "Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of brutes." Explaining his principle of non-violence, Gandhi said elsewhere, "The basic principle of non-violence rests on that what holds good in respect of oneself equally applies to the whole universe." This is in agreement with the famous Kantian principle that act upon the principle which you want to make a universal law and exceptions are always wrong. Anyone who objected to non-violence as the creed of the coward was reproached by Gandhi. He clarified, "Ahimsa is not the way of the timid and cowardly. It is the way of brave ready to face death. He who perishes with sword in hand is no doubt brave but he who faces death without raising his little finger and without flinching is braver." Western thinkers, including Prof. Arnoid Toynbee, have hailed Gandhian application of non-violence to human society. Gandhi firmly believed that no real democracy can be established by violent means. Unlike Marx who prescribed violent means for the realisation of Classless society, Gandhi insisted on non-violence as the only means for the achievement of the same ideal. Gandhi did not accept any chasm between ends and means. For him no high ends can be achieved without equally high means. He said, "True democracy or the Swaraj of the masses can never come through untruthful and violent means, for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suspension or extermination of the antagonists. That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated Ahimsa."

3. Brahmacharaya. Literally speaking, Brahmacharya means conduct adapted to the search of Brahma i.e. Truth. In the practical sense however, it means primarily chastity and ultimately control of all the senses. Gandhi's emphasis on Brahmacharya has always been a subject of controversy, as it clearly condemns marriage as a necessary evil. He said, "Hence, one who would obey the law of ahimsa cannot marry, not to speak of gratification outside the marital bond." Naturally, this principle cannot be acceptable to contemporary thinkers. Gandhi however, permitted marriage to those who cannot live without it. He said, "Marriage is the most natural and desirable state when one finds oneself, even against his will, living the married life in his daily thought." India has cherished the ideal of Brahmacharya since ancient times and some of the famous Indian great men and

women never married. Sonic examples are Shankara, Vivekananda and Ramkrishna etc. They have undoubtedly made a significant contribution to our society. Then there was an ideal of Brahmacharya in married state. According to this ideal a person performing sexual intercourse only for getting progeny is a Brahmachari though married. This ideal has always been held in high esteem in India. Gandhi being perfectly in tradition with ancient Indian thought naturally hailed the ideal of Brahmacharya, and his insistence is not without its merit though something can be said about its being an impractical ideal. Medical testintony has been both in favour and against absolute continence and yet no conclusive evidence has been available either in favour or against this ideal. On the other hand, it must be accepted that for a pure religious life, as Gandhi cherished, Brahmacharya is a must.

4. Control of Palate. According to Gandhi, "Control of the palate is very closely connected with the observance of Brahmacharya. I have found from experience that the observance of celibacy becomes comparatively easy. ". Also, "For the seeker who would live in fear of Cod, and would see him face to face, restraint in diet both as to quantity and quality is as essential as restraint in thought and speech."

5. Non-Stealing and Non-Possession. Both these ideals have been cherished in India since ancient times. Non-possession has been considered a virtue by every great religion including Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Jain and Buddhism. Gandhi has, however, taken both these in absolute sense. Explaining his ideal of non-stealing he said, "I suggest that we are thieves in a way. If I take anyhing that I do not need for my own immediate use and keep it, I thieve it from somebody else. I venture to suggest that it is the fundamental law of nature, without exception that nature produces enough for our wants from day to day, and if only everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, there would be no pauperism in this world."

6. Bread-Labour. Bread Labour is the principle that in order to live mail must work and this work should be not mental but physical. Gandhi, like Adam Smith, called it productive labour. Explaining his ideal of Bread Labour, Gandhi said, "This labour (bread labour) can truly be related to agriculture alone. But at present at any rate, everybody is not in a position to take it. A person call therefore, spin or weave or take up carpentry or smithy instead of tilling the soil, always

regarding agriculture however to be ideal,"

7. Fearlessness. Ever since Indian masses waged a war against British domination of this country, Indian leaders preached fearlessness, as it was very necessary to face the atrocities of a foreign rule. Besides, tile spiritual leaders have always advocated fearlessness as a necessary condition for spiritual progress. Explaining the ideal of fearlessness Gandhi said, "Fearlessness connote, freedom from all external fear - fear of disease, bodily injun and dcath, or dispossession of losing ones nearest and dearest, or losing reputation or gking offence, and so on."

8. Swadeshi. While previous moral principles werc juainly developed its jail, Gandhi wrote about the idea of Swadcshi from outside the Jail. Explaining the meaning of Swadeshi he said, "Swadesh he is that spirit within us Much restricts us to use any service of our immediate surroundings, to tile exclusion of the more remote."

9. Swadharm. Thus (i) In the matter of Religion I must restrict myself to ancestral religion i.e. the use of my immediate surrounding in religion If I find my religion defective t should sene it by purging it of its defects. (ii) In the domain of politics I should make use of tile indigenous institutions and serve them by curing them of their proved defects_ (iii) In tile field of economics I should use only those things that are produced by innnediate neighbours and serve those industries by making them efficient and complete where they might be found wanting." The ideal of *.fwadeslai* was derived from the ideal of *Swadharnra* as given in *Bhagwadgita* In spite of being an internationalist Gandhi laid emphasis upon following one's own religion, worshipping one's own God and relishing one's own culture. Explaining his stand in this connection Gandhi said, "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible ...But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any one of them. "

Ideal of Social Reconstruction

In consistency with his principles of truth and non-violence M.K. Gandhi considered decentralization the fundamental principle of social organisation. He was

against the Communist's overcentralisation by the State. Explaining his attitude towards centralisation in, socialism Gandhi said, "I do not share the socialist belief that centralization of the necessaries of life will conduce to the common welfare when the centralized industries are planned and owned by the State. The socialist conception of the West was born in an environment reeking with violence. The motive lying behind the Western type and the Eastern is the same - the hideous welfare of the whole society and the abolition of the hideous inequalities resulting in the existence of millions of have not and a handful of haves. I believe that this end can be achieved only when nonviolence is accepted by the best minds of the world as the basis on which a just social order is to be constructed. I hold that the coming in power of the proletariat through violence is bound to fail in the end. What is gained by violence must be lost before superior violence." Thus, Gandhi was clearly against socialist type of revolution. And yet he was a revolutionary no less than Karl Marx. As against the scientific materialism of Karl Marx Gandhian revolutionary technique can be called scientific non-vlolencism. Like Karl Marx Gandhi was against capitalism and considered it an evil which should be immediately abolished. But against Marx he felt that a violent revolution cannot lead to a non-violent social order ultimately. On the other hand, violence leads to violence, whether it may be violence of the capitalist as it is in the capitalist society or violence of the state as it is in the Communist society. Gandhi, on the other hand, wanted a permanent elimination of violence against any one. Therefore, he clearly said, "I have always held that social justice, even to the least and the lowliest, is impossible of attainment by force." Also, "Violence on the part of the masses will never remove the disease. Any way upto new experience shows that success of violence has been short-lived. What has been tried hitherto has been a variety of violence and artificial checks dependent mainly upon the will of the violent. At the crucial moment these checks have naturally broken down. "

As we have already pointed out, Gandhi was a non-violent revolutionary. His techniques of social revolution, therefore, are based on non-violence. Since the practice of non-violence requires love, goodwill, cooperation and fellow feeling, Gandhian techniques include all these virtues.

5.6   Philosophy of History

Gandhiji was not in agreement with what in Marxian terminology is known as the economic interpretation of history. "I do not believe," said Gandhiji, "that it

is Prakriti which originates and governs the thought-processes of Purusha. " He believed in the power of the spirit of man to shape its environment to some extent and thus affect the course of history. "I do not consider economic factors to be the source of all the evils in the world," he added, "Nor is it correct to trace the origin of all wars to economic causes. What were the causes of the last War? Insignificant ones. When the present war started, Chamberlain, who had till then bent all his energies on averting a war, changed his opinion overnight, because presumably he was afraid of losing the support of his party if at that stage he sought to keep England out of the war. A better statesman in his place, I believe, would have succeeded in averting the war even then. Was not Helen the cause of the Trojan War? But why go so far? The Rajput wars which belong to modern history, had never their origin in economic causes." As S. Radhakrishnan remarks, "History, however, is not a mere record of class struggles. Wars between nations have been more frequent and violent than domestic struggles, and in the earlier history of mankind tribes and towns fought with one another. The feeling of nationality is stronger than consciousness in the present war. All through history the ruler and the ruled, the rich and the poor, fought side by side against the enemies of the country. We ¯hate foreign workers more than we do our own capitalist employers. There are wars for and against the Reformation which went on in Europe for two centuries... Marxists, with a few exceptions, are fighting today for the capitalist states to which they happen to belong... The conflicts between the Hindus and the Muslims in India, or between the Protestants and Catholics in Ireland, are not manifestations of class struggles. There are class struggles and civil wars, but there are wars of religions and nations also. The latter have been more decisive for human evolution. Again, it is not historically correct to agree that war is the inevitable consequence of capitalism... To represent history as a series of internal struggles, to ignore the forces of race, religion and patriotism, is to oversimplify the complex problem of human evolution."

of physical labour and abolishes the difference between rich and poor. It removes class distinctions and establishes dignity of labour. On the question of the antithetical relationship of the poor and the rich as presented by Karl Marx, Gandhi thought in a different way. Explaining his standpoint on this question, lie said, "Exploitation of the poor can be extinguished not by effecting the destruction

of a few millionaires. but by removing the ignorance of the poor and teaching them to non-cooperate with their exploiters. That *NN* ill convert the exploiters also."

Soul-Force

Satyagraha, the chief weapon of Gandhian political action has been defined as soul-force by him. He said, "Its (Satyagraha's) equivalcnt in the vernacular rendered into English, means truth farce. 1 think Tolstoy called it also soulforce or love-force, and so it is." Satyagraha is bound to be non-violent, otherwvise it turns into duragraha. Satyagraha is different from p,lssivc resistance also, it is active resistance, acting on the path of truth. Distinguishing Satyagraha from passive resistance, Gandhi pointed out, "The Sat Nagraha differs from passive resistance as the north pole from the south. The latter has been conceived as a weapon of the weak and does not exclude the use of physical force or violence whereas file former has been conceived as a weapon of the strongest and excludes the use of violence in any shape or form Its root meaning is holding on to truth, hence truth-force, I have also called it soul-force or loveforce. In the application of satyagraha discovered in the earliest stages the pursuit,of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but that must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And paticncc means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on thec opponent, but on one's self "S" The most important characteristic of satyagraha is that it can be used most successfully even by one individual and that too in every sphere of life. It is an ideal weapon of war of righteousness. It is latent in every one of us, we have to make it active. It is a universal course. In essence it is the introduction of truth in political life.

Technique of Satyagraha

Explaining the working of satyagraha as a political weapon Gandhi has insisted that it is based on truth and non-violence. Besides, it includes such techniques as involve mutual dialogue such as arbitration, negotiation etc. Besides, it also includes non-violent pressure tactics such as agitation, demonstration, picketing. dharna, economic boycott, non-payment of taxes, emigration, non-

cooperation, ostracism, civil disobedience and formation of parallel government. These steps vere taken in the national movement under the guidance of M.K Gandhi.

Civil Disobedience

The idea of civil disobedience was taken from Thoreau. It is a protest against unjust law. Explaining the validity of civil disobedience as a political instrument, Gandhi said "When you have failed to bring the error home to the lawgiver by way cf petition and the like, the only remedies open to you if you do not wish to submit to error, are to compel him to yield to you either by physical force or by suffering in your person, by inviting the penalty for the breach of his laws. Hence, satyagraha largely appears to the public as civil disobedience or civil resistance."[55] Gandhi distinguish between forced and wilful disobedience of the laws while the latter is involuntarv and reluctant disobedience of the laws.

Non-Cooperation

Another instrument in the armoury of Satyagraha is non-cooperation. This technique was widely used by Gandhi in India's political struggle agafnst the British. Explaining non-cooperation as a method of political action Gandhi said, "Non-violent non-cooperation is the method whereby we cultivate the fresh public opinion and get it enforced when there is complete freedom of opinion, that of the majority must prevail." When non-cooperation alone does not work, Satyagraha becomes assertive and takes recourse to direct action. This may he sometimes embarrassing to his standpoint. He said, "The Satyagraha movement is not started with the intention of embarrassing a government while ordinary political agitation is often started with that object. And yet, if a satvagrahi finds his activities resulting in embarrassing the government, he will not hesitate to face it."

No Destruction

In spite of gradual application of more and more pressure and even nonviolent direct action, Gandhi was against any violent agitation or destruction of public property. He spoke against the sabotage and destruction of bridges, roads etc., in clear words. He was also against any secret movement or plan of action, since according to him secrecy is violence. In his own words, "Secrecy aims at building a

wall of protection around you. Ahimsa disdains all such protection. It functions in the open and in the face of odds, the heaviest conceivable," He was also against seizure of power by force. He did not accept forced establishment of Jativa Sarkar.

Fast

Another significant and novel instrument of political action developed by Gandhi is fast. This is a weapon which very much depends upon the soul-force of the person wieldingit. Gandhi himself used this weapon in the political field very successfully.

Qualifications of Satyagrahi

Gandhi wanted to organize a whole army of revolutionaries on non-violent ground. He prescribed qualifications for the soldiers of independence movement which he called Satyagrahis.

These qualifications were as follows :

1. Living faith in God.

2. Faith in truth and non-violence as their creed and therefore faith in the inherent goodness of human nature.

3. Chaste life and readiness for sacrifice.

4. Absolute abstinence of intoxicants.

5. Habitual wearing of Khadi.

6. Desire to follow discipline.

7. Following jail rules unless they are against self-respect.

Gandhi himself followed these principles and asked others to follow his example. Though amenable to discussion his method was very much based upon faith and discipline. It was based upon dedication and selfishness. It required a lot of sacrifice on the part of the individual. In order to create a revolution in the country Gandhi demanded seven lakh workers so that each village may get at least one revolutionary as base for the programme of revolution. This, however, could never be achieved and therefore, his great vision could never be realised.

****

B.R. AMBEDKAR

C.No. : SOC-C-402   **Lesson 6**

Social Development in India   **Unit-I**

Structure

6.1   **Objectives**

6.2   **B.R. Ambedkar**

6.3   **Conversion to Buddhism**

6.4   **Ideology**

6.5   **Sum up**

6.6   **References**

6.7   **Check your Progress**

6.1   **Objectives**

After going through this chapter you will be able to understand :

–   Ambedkar's view on social development

–   His Ideology

6.2   **B.R. Ambedkar**

Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar was born on 14th April, 1891 in a small town at Mhow Cantt near Indore in Mahar Caste, which is known as untouchable caste in Maharashtra. He is well known as untouchable caste in Maharashtra. He is well known Scholar, Politician and constitutionalist. His ancestrel village was in Ratna giri district of the erstwhile Bombay province. Ambedkar's father, Ramji Sakpal was the instructor in the local military school. His father, Bhimabhai, belonged

to a Mahar Kabirpanthi household of the fourteen children of Ramji and Bhimabai only five survived, the youngest being Ambedkar.

Ramji shifted to Bombay in 1904 and admitted Ambedkar to "Elphinstone High School". During his school days he was not allowed to go near the blackboard of the class. The teacher would neither touch him nor his copy books. He was not allowed to learn Sanskrit - Deva Vani. He could not drink water from the school pitcher. Still he completed his matriculation in 1907. Ambedkar married Ramabhai, who was just nine years old in 1908. He completed his B.A. from "Elphinstone College" in 1912 with english and Persion as his subjects.

After completed his B.A., he secured one of the two scholarships which the Maharaja of Baroda had instituted for backward caste students to study abroad. With the financial contribution of Gaikward of Baroda, Ambedkar completed an M.A. with a dissertation in 1913. "Administration and Finance of East India Company" and his Ph.D on 'National Dividend A Historical and Analytical Study".

In 1924, Ambedkar founded the "Bahishkat Hitkari Sabha". The organisation started a hostel in sholapur for depressed classes. In 1927, the 'Manusmriti' was publically burnt by Ambedkar and his followers as a protest against traditional caste restrictions. On 3rd April 1927, Ambedkar had begun publishing a fortnightly journal, "Bahishkrit Bharat". It was an attempt to wrest the initiative for the depressed classes in their struggles. He also formed the 'Samaj Samata Sangh' in September, 1927 the 'Samata Sainik Dal' in December 1927, pursue the agenda of social equality.

Ambedkar was also appointd as a member of the Legislative Assembly of Bombay Province in 1927 for five years. As a member, he submitted a statement before the Indian Statutory Commission, popularly known as the 'Simon Commission' on 29 May 1928. He also submitted a statement on behalf of the "Bahishkrit Hit Kari Sabha" on the state of education of the depressed classes.

In June 1928 he took the initiative for the establishment of the Depressed classes Education Society which established hostels in Panvel, Thane, Nasik and Pune for high school students belonging to these sections. Ambedkar also played a prominent part in the "Kalaram Temple Movement" in 1930, for the entry of the

Depressed classes to this temple, in Nasik. He also became the President of the "All India Derpessed Classes Congress" in Nagpur in August 1930.

Ambedkar attended the first Round Talbe Conference (RTC) in London, in 1930 as a representatives of the Depressed Classes. He argued for the separate elactorates for the Depressed Classes during a Ten-year period. In 1931, at the Second Round Table, Ambedkar confronted Gandhi, who not only refused to consider separate electorates for the Depressed classes but also opposed only form of special representation involving reserved seats. Ambedkar then negotiated with the representatives of the minorities and signed a pact called the "Minorities Pact".

The communal award of 1932, that granted a separate electorate to the 'untouchables'. After the third Round Table Conference, during which Gandhi Ji was in 'Yerwarda Jail', the British Governments announces a dicision regarding representation which is was hoped would effect compromise between congress and Ambedkar.

Ambedkar used to negotiate on behalf of the Depressed Classes, resulting in the Poona Pact. Following the Poona Pact, an Anti-untouchability league, later named the Hariyan Sevak Sangh was set up. In May 1936, he called a conference of Mahars and discussed that people who belong to these classes, should give up Hindusim. In this year Ambedkar wrote a long speech called "Ambedkar of Caste" to address the Jat Pat Todak Mandal. He introduced a Bill for the abolition of the Koti system of land tenure in the Bombay legislative Assembly in 1936. On 15th August 1936, he founded the 'Independent Labour Party'.

In 1942, he was appointed to the "Exectuvie Council of the Governor General of India" as a labor member. In 1946, he was elected to the constituent Assembly from Bengal. At the same time he published his took, "who were Shudras".

After Independence, he joined the Nehru Cabinent as 'Law Minister'. On 19 August 1947, he was made the chairman of the drafting committee of the Indian Constitution. As law Minister, Ambedkar resigned on 1951 over 'Hindu Code Bill' on Hindu Orthodox.

6.3   Ambedkar Conversion to Buddhism

Before his conversion to Buddhism in 1948, he remarried Dr. Sharada Kabir,

a doctor by Profession and a Saraswat Brahmin by Caste. In the 1950s, he turned to Buddhism as personal faith and as an ideology that offered an alternative to Hinduism. In this he addressed the world Buddhist Conference in Kathmandu on 'Marxism Versus Buddhism'.

In 1956 'Ditrsha Ceremony' of mass conversion to Buddhism Ambedkar addressing a large meeting where he pointed that Buddhism is based on equality and justice. 'I would like to see all India become Buddhist'.

Before his death on 6th December, 1956, Ambedkar wrote the book. "The Buddha and His Dhamma" and he passed away two months after his conversion in his 65th year. And with the loss of this distinguished and undisputed leader, the untouchable movement broke into numerous quarelling groups.

6.4 B. R. Ambedkar and Social Development

Ambedkar was a versatile genius who left on indelible marks on social, political and intellectual life of modern India. His struggle for social justice and political equality has remained the keystone of the entire edifice of Indian democarcy. Ambedkar for the cove of his heart fought relentlessly to established a society based on the democratic idea of liberty, equaility, and fraternity. His idea of social development aimed at establishing on ideal society - a new social order.

Ectioing the philosophy of lord Buddha, he said that the main evil which playues the life of mankind is sorrow. Ambedkar endeavoured to eradicate sorrow in other words injustice and exploitation from the human life thought the recoustruction of social and economic order which rendered the majority of people as suffers veritable servitude in economic prosperity, which could be made available to every human being progressively releasing him from want and fear the cause of sorrow.

Ambedkar once said, his ideal society or new social order would be a society based on liberty, equality and fraternity. An ideal society should be mobile, should be full of channels for conveying a change taking place in one part to the other. In an ideal society there should be many interest consciouly communicated and shared. There should be varied and free points of contacts with other modes of association. Ambedkar aged, a society based on fraternity would only make the democracy possible.

A pragmatist to the core Ambedkar believed that in the absence of economic and social justices, political independence would net bring about either social solidarity or

national integration; therefore he laid emphasis on the liquidation of hierarchical structure of Indian society based on Chaturvarna. Thus for a new society order, he advocated the ablation of privileges on the basis of caste states and vigorously fought for the liberty and dignity of the individual.

The caste system according to Dr. Ambedkar is an integrated part of the Hindu civilization and culture. It is a major hindrance to social development and dinits the political, economic development of the action. According to Ambedkar, to get economic equality, it in necessary to remove the caste hindrances.

As a liberal thinker, Ambedkar was a hardcore believer in the value of constitutional democracy having irrevocable elements of social and economic demoralizes, addition to political democarcy. To him democracy in not merely a form of government, it is primarily a mode of associated living of conjoint communicated experience.

For the India's complete social development Ambedkar stood for social justices. He was a protagonist of the idea of social justice as an inalienable part of the constitutional democratic framework in India. With strong determination to figlity social justice, Ambedhar started Batishkrita Hitakarinl Sabha,. Ambedkar was the first among the galaxy of social reformers in India who made a legal and political approach to the social problem in India. He made a positive attempt to elevate the position of untouchables. He gave them a call to stop consuming carrion, alcotiolic drinks and dragging a dead cattle out of the village. From 1930 onwards he devoted himself for the educational development of untouchables. Among a number of social reforms he was the first to fight for the political and legal rights of the untouchables because according to him a revolution is merely transference of political power from one party to another party. Real society change will occur if the revolution is accompanied by a redistribution of power among theforces operating in the society.

Ambedkhar for having a all embracing social development envisioned a Indian polity free from economic exploitation. He wanted a "Casteless" and "classless" society as main foundation of Indian polity. During 1936-37 he organized the labour movement and also the independent labour party of India. His main plank was the abelish landlordism and capitalism.

As the law Minister of India Ambedkar introduced the Hindu code bill on Feb. 5, 1951. The Hindu code bill introduced four new things in their existing law. They were, abolition of the doctrine of the rights be birth, right over property to women, share to daughters from the parental property and provision for divorce. He also introduced a bill for the abolition o serfdom of agriculture tenants. He also dealt with the problems of landless labourers, small holding collective farming land revenue, currency system, universalization of education and abelition of landlordism. The main objective behind Ambedkar movement for social change has been primarily to establish an egalitarian social order, which will be the real foundation of modern Indian democratic polity. He always emphasized that the first condition which I think in a condition procreating for the successful working of democracy is that there must be no glaring inequalities in the society. Another objective has been to established in the society. Another objective has been to establish true 'integration of different sections in the maintream of national life.

What Ambedkar aimed at was to bring a structural change in the economic life of the people as that three would be no scope for exploitation. Hence he had strongly warned during the debates in the constituent assembly". How long shall we continue to deny equality in our social and economic life? If were continue to deny it for long we will do so only by putting our political democracy in peril. we must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this assembly has so laboriously built up. In view of the present social and economic crisis in India Ambedkar's warning in still relevant.

To Ambedkhar, the operationalisation of the idea of social justice could be carried on by putting inplace a set of constitutional provisions in the nature of both protective and promotional measures. His long standing demand for an autonomous political institutions of decision making in the country was to be the major move towards securing social justice.

Along with district and autonomous political representation of he deproned classes in the institution of Indian polity. Ambedkar also argued for reservation for the depressed sections of society in public employment. In Ambedkar instrumental in seuring a compressive amelioration in the conditions of the disadvantaged groups of people.

First, with the increase in their share in public service, a wider majority of people belonging to the depressed classes would gain social recognition and some degree of preponderance in social relations given the overwhelming status, prestige and power that the public service carry in the feudal mindset of the majority section in Indians.

Second, such an assured employment would probably also contribute to the economic upliftment of the depressed groups as regular and fairly sufficient course of income in family might add to the amelioration in the hitterto miserable economic conditions of the family. Thus, combined together, idea of reservation in public service we considered to be crucial component in the scheme of social justice envisioned by Ambedkar for the depressed sections of Indian society.

6.5   Sum up

Thus, looking at the Ambedkar opicious and efforts towards social development in Indian, these was aiming at the amelioration of social inequalities. Ambedkar was both a visionary and revolutionary. He was a liberal with a strong sense of nationalism. His unfathomable contribution for individual freedom, social justice, equality, unity and utegrity of the national will be long remembered by Indians. He had a pragmatic approach to country. Thus, stood for a social development whereby atrocities on the women and depressed will end, and will a totally eqalition society.

Born on untouchable, Ambedkar become India's foremost opponent of the evil of untouchability and caste system. Ambedkar has been the 1st Dalit to win the highest civil award of Bharat Ratna.

In his public life, Ambedkar was observed in several roles as scholar, teacher, lawyer, parlimentarian, administrator, journalist, publicist, negotiator, agitationist, leader and devotee.

6.6   References

*   Sukhaded Thorat Aryana - Ambedkar in Retrospect.

*   J. Michael Mahar - The Untouchables in Contemporary India

*   J.R. Jatara - Social Philosophy of B.R. Ambedkar

*   Dalits and the Democratic Revolution - Gail Omvedt

*   Rodrigues, Valerian - The Essential Writings of B.R. Ambedkar

6.7   Check your Progress

Q1.   Discuss in detail the ideology of B.R. Ambedkar?

_____

_____

_____

<p align="center">*****</p>

THE NEHRUVIAN VISION OF STATE, PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

C.No. : SOC-C-402	Lesson No. 7
Social Development in India	**Unit : I1**

Structure

7.1   Objectives

7.2   Introduction

7.3   Life Sketch

7.4   Nehruvion Vision

7.1   After going through this chapter the learner will be able to :

–   understand Nehruvion Vision on state

–   his point on planning

–   his techniques for development

7.2   Introduction

Jawarharlal Nehru has been a multifaceted personality his contribution to the regeneration and renaissance in India has been significant. He was a nationalist with democratic convictions gradually moving towards socialism. He has at various times been called a Jammunist, a Fapian Socialist, a fascist, an autocrat a convinced democrat and a liberal humanist.

Jawarlal Nehru was the only leader whose personality stood out as the one rallying point for the sentiment and loyalty of every section of the Indian Society. He is polished, cultured and articulate. He is rational and pragmatist. He was a man of introspection. He was a great nation builder. Nehru was a man of high imagination and sensitivity. Nehru's services to the making of modern India makes him our greatest nation builder, the founder of our secularism, our socialism and our democracy. He established firmly the planning processes and the foundations of parliamentary democracy. Nehru was really the founder of Indian socialism. Among the Indian political thinkers Nehru was first deeply attracted and influenced by Marxism and Socialism and he felt and understood that it was the best doctrine for the well being and emancipation of mankind.

7.3 Life Sketch

Jawaharlal Nehru was born on November 14, 1889 and died on May 27, 1964, completing almost 75 years of his life. India's first socialist weekly was founded in 1923. The first Indian workers and pleasant party was established in Bengal in 1926. Jawaharlal Nehru was invited to deliver the Presidential address to the first All-India Socialist Socialist Youth Congress in 1928. Nehru joined the civil Disobedience Movement in 1920-21 and thereafter he plunged into active politics with vigour and enthusiasm. Nehru's tour in west in 1926-27 was a boon to him. It enriched and enlightened his intellectual grasp and acumen. In 1927, Nehru was invited as a representative of the Indian National Congress to the Congress of oppressed Nations in Brussels. The ideas of Marx and lenin replaced to a considerable degree Nehru's formal liberal, social-reformist and Gandhian concepts.

7.4 Nehruvion Vision

Nehru was a visionary. He had a vision to establish socialism in India. He had a romantic attachment and fascination about socialism. Nehru accepted socialism as a philosophy of life and had the socialistic pattern of society adopted as the ideal of India by the Indian Parliament. Nehru was much fascinated by the Marxist statement of socialism, its scientific premises, its emphasis on economic basis of social relations, its interpretation of history as well as its goal of a classless society. Nehru's prime concern was, how to combine democracy with socialism, how to maintain individual freedom and initiative and yet have centralized social control and planning of the

economics of the people, on the national as well as on the international plane.

Nehru's socialism had three district features :

* Individualism

* Marxism

* Gandhian

Its ultimate objective was to achieve individual liberty accompanied by equal opportunities and equality among people, through the scientific theory of Marxism applied with Gandhian techniques. To him, democracy and socialism and means to an end, not the end itself. He did not want socialism without freedom or freedom without socialism. Nehru's ideas of socialism, equality and freedom have created amongst the vast mass of the Indian people a consciousness towards their democratic rights and equalitarian justice. And Nehru viewed communism as a way of life.

Jawaharlal Nehru desired to push the congress to the left. He felt that conditions were ripe for an inuction of socialism into the party programma. Nehru never associated himself officially with the CSP (Congress Socialism Party). Nehru did not join the CSP because he did not want to associate himself with any faction in the congress. He wanted to play the role of a national leader in the national movement and felt that association with one group might rob him of this role. He was not satisfied with the way the CSP functioned. Nehru was of the view that the socialists and also the communists had failed to adopt and adjust socialism to Indian conditions. Another reason is that Nehru felt that the CSP had ingidly adopted the language of western socialism. Another likely factor which Nehru might think was that the official membership of the CSP might alternate Gandhi and weaken his own position.

Jawaharlal Nehru was the greatest champion of liberal democracy. Throughout his life, he stressed the importance of democracy and sincerely district that free India went along the full democratic process. Nehru was a nation builder par excellence. He had a unique gift for building and sustaining national consensus on matters of vital important. To Nehru, democracy and socialism had to go together. He viewed democracy and socialism as mutually reinforcing elements and both are complimentary to each other.

Another important dimension of Nehru's scheme of democracy or democratic socialism is economic planning. Nehru emphasized that planning was to be integrated with the basic policies of social and institutional reforms and ultimately with the goal of realizing a socialistic pattern of society.

It was mainly due to Jawaharlal Nehru's efforts that India emerged as a secular state in the mid-twentieth century. A secular state such as India is one in which there is no interference with any religion, in which there is malice towards none, in which no one religion is sponsored or preferred over any other. Secularism, as conceived by Nehru, has, infact, two principal components. One of these is the vision of a composite cultural, where religion too is a special form of culture. A second component is the scientific outlook for atleast two reasons, as an essential aid to industrialization and as a solvent of narrow-minded supersections. Nehru's secularism found expression officially for the first time in the resolution drafted by him on 'Fundamental Rights and Duties' which was adopted by the Karachi Congress in 1931.

Jawaharlal Nehru was determined to eliminate communalism from independent India. According to Nehru, communalism has nothing to do with religion. There are three primary factors responsible for communalism, namely political, economic and psychological. Nehru created a secular state and gave it a secular constitution and wanted to create a secular society.

Nehru wanted to use Seience and Technology for social and economic development. According to him, the aim of scientific advancement should have the predominantly social aim to meet the pressing wants of the great majority of people. To Nehru, planning was ultimately associated with science. He understood that economic and national development in India would be possible only through the advancement of Science and Technology. From 1947 through 1950, in addition to being Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs, he was the Minister incharge of Scientific Research, When the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research was established. Jawaharlal Nehru was the first amongst the leaders of nationalist India to recognized the importance of Science and Technology for the modernization of Indian Society.

Nehru was indeed a majestic personality. He combined in himself a freedom fighter, a philosopher, a universalist, a true statesman, a nation builder and above all

a visionary with a sense of purpose and direction, who looked beyond the frontiers of time. Nehru believed that the political independence was the prime goal and establishment of socialism occupied the second priority. He stressed emphasis on social justice, equality and individual freedom.

Since the British Government was not coming to terms, Congress, under the leadership of Nehru, decided not to cooperate with the Government in war efforts. In 1942 when Quit India Movement was startewd, Jawahar Lal was again arrested and remained in jail for three years. He also actively participated in Cripps Misssion plan. In 1946, he became the first Prime Minister of India and formed interim Government. After 15th of August, 1947, he became the first Prime Minister of independent India and continued to hold that post throughout his life.

As Prime Minister of India he made India a sovereign democratic republic and was responsible for introduction of universal adult franchise. He also gave the policy of non-alignment in international affairs, In the economic field he introduced the system of planned economy.

Nehru wrote much while in jail as that was the only time which he could spare for the purpose. His speeches and latters are now available in book form. His significant works include Discovery of India and Autobiography.

On State, Planning and Development

Jawahar Lal Nehru (1889-1964) was one of the greatest figures of the modern India. He was an out standing statesman whose service to the cause of human freedom are unforgettable. His life and work have had a profound influence on our psyche, social structure and intellectual development.

On State Nehru was for a democratic Socialist state, which reflected his faith in democracy and socialism. Nehru has been acclaimed as the greatest champion of liberal democracy in India. His strong commitment to individually was never in question. He was convinced that it was only in a democracy that an individual could realise his potential. During the freedom struggle, democracy to Nehru was self rule or responsible government. But in course of time ,particularly after Independence democracy, in his views, assumed also an economic form. To him more and more it meant socio-economic equality. He considered it as a mental attitude. Democracy is

not only political, not only economic, but something of mind. It is mental approach applied to our political and economic problems. In Nehru's view, democracy offers equal opportunity to all and freedom to the individual to make best use of his capacity, petendity and ability. Humanism is an integral part of Nehru idea of democracy. Nehru's concept of democracy has different implication. As in early years of struggle for independence, democracy meant the ideal of self rule or responsible government. During later years, his socialist ideas alerted his views on democracy, emphasising more and more its economic aspect. Nehru's views on democracy have the following implications:

Limited Government

Nehru's long years of imprisonment during British rule had convinced him about two thing-freedom of nation and freedom of individual. Therefor, while fighting against British imperialism, also condemned Fascism and Nazism. He was opposed to the idea of an absolute government. He advocated limited government where people or masses will be the master. He recognised the importance of the masses.

Commitment to individuality

Nehru's concept of democracy is based on his faithin individualism. Nehru once wrote to Subhas Bose "I suppose I am temperamentally and by training an individualist..." That is why Nehru highlighted individual growth and believed in the identity of every individual. He had tremendous faith in the reasons and ability of man and everyone should given opportunity to develop material opportunities like food, clothing, education, health etc. He retained faith in freedom of man as creative faculty of man could grow only in an atmosphere of rights and freedom.

Egalitarian order

Nehru emphasised equality and the integrated conception of political, economic and social freedom which could not be separated from one another. He was critical about democracy in west where political power is the monopoly of economically dominant class. Nehru appropriately said "The spirit of the age is in favour of equality though practice denies it almost everywhere. But equality can be possible only when society is based on an egalitarian order.' This meant a society free from social discrimination and economic exploitation.

Secularism.

According to Nehru, democracy means tolerance not merely of those who agree with us but of those who donot agree with us. It implied his objective to establish a secular democracy in which Hindu majority would allow equal rights to Muslim and Christian minorities. Thus made provision in Indian constitution for protecting cultural and religious rights of the minorities.

Parliamentary democracy

Nehru favoured parliamentary democracy. It is the best and most dynamic,ensuers continuity and change,imposes self-discipline and is the right means to achieve ends in peaceful manner. His concept of democracy centred around certain governmental institution principal viz popular sovereighuty through representation, election through adult franchise, majority rule, responsible political parties and leadership. Nehru believed that the techniques of democracy pertain to discussion, arguments persuasion and final decision accepted by all sections.

Nehru as Socialist.

Being greatest champion of liberal democracy in India, Nehru happens to be one of the founding fathers of socialism in India. He was one of the among the few Indians who underwent many strains and stress during life to establish a 'Socialist India, free from exploitation, degradation and subjects. He introduced socialist ideas in to the socio-economic programs of Indian National Congress (INK) and Indian constitution. Nehru was a convinced socialist. He had the conviction that socialism is the only panacea to all our socio-economic evils. Secondly, he believed that socialism is more scientific and useful in the economic scene.

View of Democratic- Socialism.

Nehru was deeply concerned with Indian independence and socio-economic changes. The socio- ecoeconomic conditions in India are different from other countries. So the same technique of socialism should not be applied to all the countries. Moreover, his political ideas were conditioned by some of the liberal democratic tradition of the nineteenth century. He was very much concerned for individual freedom. He believed that political freedom is a prerequisite of national development for the solution of social and economic problems and of human dignity. It is means to an end, the end being the

upliftment of masses. Appropriately Nehru argued that democracy and socialism are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Nehru wrote " I do not see why under socialism there should not be great deal of freedom for the individual, indeed for grater freedom then the present system gives...". Nehru argued, democracy without socialism will be mockery and socialism without democracy will lead to authoritarianism and regimentation. Democratic socialism has the following implications,

(1) Socialist pattern of society : Herein in divided freedom, human dignity will go side by side with social and economic and political power through peaceful democratic methods. It envisages such a polity in which individual initiative- even property right will be there to a limited scale and state control will also exist.

(2) A philosophy of life : Nehru wrote " Socialism is something more than an economic doctrine, et is a philosophy of life and as such also it appeals to me ". He believed to bring an end to feudal and capitalist exploitation, unemployment and starvation, not only changes not only change in the political and social structure is necessary but also there should be changes in our behavior, attitude, iustincts, habits and desires.

(3) Mixed economy and planning : Nehru introduced democratic socialism as a model of development which is based on mixed ideology. It aims at the control by the state the means of production of key industries and the means of distribution like railway, co-operatives, bank etc. To Nehru, planning is inevitable process of socialist economy in a democratic structure. So Nehru's vision for a state was-democratic-socialist state.

Planning and Development Under Nehru

Nehru is considered to be father of Indian planning . Since Indian independence, Nehru was committed for the planned development. In fact, 1950-51, onwards India has been engaged in the world's largest and most comprehensive experiment in democratic planning. Historically, the congress party was persuaded by the arguments supporting planning for development, the congress party showed ample interest in socialistic means, including planing and heavy industrialisation as essential to make revolutionary changes in the present economic and social structure of society and to remove gross inequalities of society through law, persuasion and co-operation. Democratic socialism through planning was given a concrete shape at the Avadi

session of Congress in January, 1955.

But Nehru's democratic socialism has been subject to criticisms . R. C. Pallai described it as 'welfare capitalism' Bhambri remarks, Nehru's concept of a 'Mixed economy' encouraged and strengthened capitalism, Whatever may be the criticism, if Nehruvian model of democratic socialism failed in India, it was more due to lack of commitment of the rulers and bureaucrats and less due to conceptual fallacies.

Concept of planning

Nehru is considered to be the father of 'Indian Planning'. It was the ultimate out come of Nehru's vision to establish a socialist pattern of society in India. Nehru was deeply shocked to see the dithering Indian economy totally shaky and crippled due to prolonged imperialist, colonialist exploitation. On the other hand he was very much impressed by the success of planning in Soviet Russia under Communist Government. Hence to improve the economy of India and remove socio-economic injustice prevalent in Indian society, he believed that planning is the onlypanaces. Planning will help in the proper utilisation of existing resources for the benefit of all.

Origin of Planning in India :

Nehru's urge for planning was a by product of the political and economic situation of the world. Liberalisation had unleashed depression in the 1930s and everywhere there was a fight for political freedom. India also geared up its movement for its political independence paving the way for economic independence. During that crucial period Sir Visveswarayya published a book, 'Planned Economic for India' outlining ten year development plan. Indian economy conference held in 1934 ended to smoke. Hence in 1938, Subhas Chandra Bose, the then President of the Indian national congress called a meeting of provincial industry minister and a national planning Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Nehru. This marked the beginning of a new era in the economic history of India. Nehru's main thrust become to introduce provision in the constitution of India where there would be development with justice. As the first Prime Minister of Independent, he become the first Chairman of planning Commission and initiated the first five year plan in the count ry. Thus, Nehru was the chief architect of planning in India.

Meaning Objective of Planning

Planning ordinarily means proper utilisation and management of the existing resources for the benefit of all But it is not enough. Nehru viewed that planning must have a philosophical and ideological foundation. According to him "Planning does not means to collection of projects or schemes but a thought out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts". So at the root of planning lies Nehru's vision of an egalitarian socialist order. Under such an order there should be adequate means of livelihood for all, equal opportunities for all for self expression and self-fulfillment. Nehru believed , it is only through planning, such ideals of a democratic polity can be turned into reality. In other words, the basic objective of planning is to provide minimum basic needs to each and every member of society and not in the Benthonic way of utilitarianism. Man must live with dignity in the society. So for his own identity, he must have adequate sources of livelihood. He should not depend upon the mercy of others. So to generate employment and provide source of income should be another objective of planning in India.

Since Nehru had visualised the establishment of a truly democratic and socialist pattern of society, he said that planning should aim at the removal of poverty and reducing the disparities in the distribution of national income, national wealth and economic opportunities. Planning must strike at the root of concentration of wealth in few hands.

But Nehru never said that planning and socialism are inseparable. Planning may be there even where there is not true socialism. In India situation true socialism is not possible. The existing social structure cannot be demolished and at the same time the hand of vested interest cannot be stregthened. In order words, a class-conflict in Marxian sense is not passible. Hence according to Nehru, planning must have the objective of establishing harmony and coordination among the different classes of people. That's why planning has to adopt both public enterprises whereever necessary and private industry whenever possible. Growth, freedom and justice must be the aim of planning. Nationalization of key industries, substitution of profit by service-motive, abolishing Zamindary system, introducing collectives of planning.

To attain national self-sufficiency should be another goal of our planning process. It should not depend upon import. Nodoubt, international trade is inevitable

but India should try to be self-sufficient in food, raw-materialistic. But it should not join the competitive world market to avoid any sort of conflict and tension with other nation. Our surplus commodities should be exchanged for other commodities. Thus substitution of import and promotion of export should be the ideal of our planning.

From the above discussion, two things are very clear with regard to the objectives of nehru's planning. It is primarily socialistic in nature and has a humanitarian democratic nationalist bias.

Nehru :- A Critical Appraisal

Nehru stands at the entrance gets of modern India. Because of his versatile and multifarious role in the modern India polity, it is but natural that critics have the Opportunity to criticalities from different view points. Some times communists branded him as "Bourgeois reactionary' who did not keep up his words to implement 'socialism' in the post independence era and favoured the monopoly houses. Rights condemned him as 'unreasonable' and 'emotional' whose urge for international peace and friendship led to the capture of Indian territory by China in 1962. Critics also sometimes blame him for weak handling of State reorganisations.

But in spite of some of the reasonable and some biased criticism entire humanity will admit the dedication and commitment of Nehru for making a modern India and a 'new world order'. Unlike the present leadership.

Need for a Healthy Nationalism

The foregoing elaboration doed not imply that Nehru was less nationalistic than the contemporary political thinkers. Like Gandhi, he clarified the significance of nationalism by arguing. "In a contest between nationalism and inter-nationalism, nationalism is bound to win. That had happened in every country and every crisis, in a country under foreign domination, with bitter memories of continuous struggle and sufferings that was an inevitable and unavoidable consequence."[8]

He has also written in a different context, "Whenever a crisis has occured, national considerations or what were considered to be such, have been paramount and all others which did not fit in with them have been swept away."[9]

In this way, in the opinion of Jawahar Lal Nehru, nationalism is the most powerful force for obtaining release from the slavery imposed by foreign nationals. For

a nation which is the slave of another, no sentiment is higher than that of nationalism. It is also futile to talk of or expect any support for internationalism as long as a nation is in slavery. Internationalism as long as a nation is in slavery. Internationalism can be thought of only after slavery has been brought to an end. Consequently, development of nationalism in the world must precede the development of internationalism, but if the latter development is to become a reality, then the faults of nationalism must be kept in mind. In a recent address he said, "We want national unity and outlook, we have to be national and we have to be proud of our nationality. At the same time, remember that this nationalism taken to excess in a dangerous thing. It is dangerous in two ways. It may take the type of nationalism which in the past had become imperialism and had dominated over other countries or it might lead to Hitlerism. Hitlerism was intense nationalism, nationalism gone wrong and becoming a danger to the world. Another case of nationalism going wrong is that people begin to look at themselves complacently and develop a kind of selfish attitude to life, thinking that they are the best in the world and have nothing to learn from others who are second or third rate countries."[10]

As has already been shown, Sri Aurobindo's views on German nationalism were almost the same.

Humanist Nationalism

The foregoing analysis makes it clear that Jawahar lal Nehru distinguished between real nationalism and narrow nationalism, and supported the former while criticising the latter. As he argues, narrow nationalism often leads to such aberrations as colonialism, conflicts, competition and universal conflagarations such as wars. Its selfishness knows no end. In contrast the true nationalism is a stepping stone to internationalism. This was the nationalism he favoured. As he explained, "Be national, the sons and daughters our ancient motherland working for her liberation, and be international members of the republic of youth which knows, no boundaries or nationalities and work for the liberation the world."[11]

Addressing a meeting of students in Bengal, he declared, "Are you going, young men and women of Bengal, to dare to think and dare to act? Are you prepared to stand shoulder to shoulder with the youth of the world not only to free your own country from an insolent and alien rule but also to establish in this unhappy world a better and happier society? That is the problem before you and if you wish to face it

sincerely and fearlessly, you will have to make up your mind to lean yourselves and your country of every obstacle in your path."[12]. This makes it obvious that Nehru's humanism was stronger than his nationalism Clarifying his ideas on this point he said, "You and I are Indians and to India we owe much, but we are human beings and to humanity we also owe a debt, let us be citizens of the commonwealth or Empire of youth. This is the only Empire to which we can owe allegiance for that is the dream of the future federation of the world."[13].

Uniting this humanism with the Indian national tradition, he explained, "It was India's way in the past to welcome and honour other cultures. That is much more necessary today, for we march to the one world of tomorrow where national cultures will be mingled with the international culture of the human race. We are therefore, to seek wisdom and knowledge and friendship and comradeship wherever we can find them and cooperate with others in common tasks, we are not to aspire for others favours or patronage. Thus, we shall remain true Indians and Asiatics and become at the same time good internationalists and good citizens."[14].

In his status as one of the englightened commentators on the history of the world, Nehru demonstrated that the emergence of nationalism throughout the world in the twentieth century is a very significant event, which forms an important step to the growth of world unity. Nationalism emerged in almost each country as a result of world unity. Nationalism emerged in almost each country as a result of the two world wars. This fact should not be treated as now belonging to antiquity. Its significance should be respected.

Fundamental Elements of a Nation

As a political thinker, Nehru cogitated upon the elements that constitute a nation. He admitted the significance of national unity, and considered the factors that contribute to its growth. But he wanted national unity to be an internal growth rather than a sentiment thrust upon idividuals by force. The basis of the sentiment of nationality is the national culture in which language and religion play a very important part. Consequently, Jawahar Lal Nehru favoured the development of a national language which should be the language of the common man, but he did not deny the importance of the regional languages. Along with the growth of the national language, the languages of the various regions should be protected just as the culture of the minorities is to be

safeguarded. He was in favour of developing Hindustani, a combination of Hindi and Urdu as the national language.

Rejection of Dual Nationalism

While Nehru argued that a common culture is necessary for national unity, he did not accept that a common religion is also important. In the sphere of religion, he adopted a scientific, practical and mundane approach. Because of this, he was severely critical of the concept of a Hindu nation propagated by the Hindu Maha Sabha on the one side, and Muslim nationalism advocated by the Muslim League on the other. He was the severest critic of the political theory of dual nationalism. He said, "Real disunity sleeps in form for the principal communal organizations which cut at the root of national unity. Yet I do not think that this ideology has affected to any large extent even the members of the organizations. As soon as there is an improvement in the communal atmosphere, this way of thinking will probably fade out."

Nehru was convinced that the religious differences between Hindus and Muslims would not have serious consequences for national unity. He reputed the idea that there were two nations in India. He clearly said that not only did he have firm faith in the possibility of establishing an integrated nation, but also that in a fundamental form, from the cultural viewpoint, such a nation already existed. Jawahar Lal Nehru saw economic factors as being the root cause of communal riots.

Criticism of Communalism

It can be said that, in this communal conflict, Nehru held the Hindus more to blame than the Muslims becuase he believed that Hindus were in majority and more progressive than Muslims, and consequently it was their responsibility to do away with communalism. This is correct, but Nehru also forgot that any less civilzed or backward community cannot progress and attain a higher level unless it has the will to do so. This explains why the intensity of communalism in the country did not decline despite the vigorous efforts of both Nehru and Gandhi. In fact, the lowest level from which Nehru wanted to eradicate communalism was the level at which the Muslims were in a majority and they did not regard communalism as an economic problem, a fact that Nehru was himself compelled to admit. Despite the unceasing

efforts of Gandhi and Nehru, communalism continued to grow in this country, and this proves that Nehru's interpretation of communalism and the solutions he suggested were both ineffective. In his letter of October 18, 1939 addressed to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Nehru was constrained to admit that he had failed to understand the problem of communalism, he misguidedly assumed later on, when he became the country's Prime Minister, that he had finally come to comprehend it. But now, after the departure of Nehru, the Muslim League has once again fomented Muslim communalism with great vigour. This makes it clear that the solutions that Gandhi and Nehru had suggested for communalism were not sufficient.

INTERNATIONALSIM

The preceding analysis makes it apparent that Nehru regarded nationalism not as an end in itself, but as just a step towards the goal of internationalism. Thus, he harmonized the two concepts. Nationalism grows into internationalism. Nehru rejected the view that internationalism hinders the growth of a nationalist sentiment. The truth of Jawahar Lal Nehru's views can be seen in the history of the twentieth century. Today, not merely the slave nations but even independent nations consider nationalisms as the final criterion because of which the stronger nations are engaged in arms race. The world is split into two contending blocs. Hence, it is not appropriate to say that the era of nationalism is over, but as Nehru made clear, this same nationalism will ultimately lead to internationalism.

Foreign Policy

In order to understand Nehru's views on internationalism, it is necessary to analyse his foreign policy also. As in the case of the nation, in the sphere of internationalism, too, Nehru laid great stress on synthesis, harmony, cooperation and peace. For this, conflict and struggle must be replaced by harmony in the sphere of international relations. Nations should abandon their colonialist aims and substitute democratic goals for them instead.

Nehru was no less critical of capitalism than he was of colonialism. It is for this reason that he did not want India to take the help of any capitalist, fascist or colonialist nation in its struggle for freedom. It is on this point that he disagreed with Subash Bose.

*****

The Socialist Discourse :
J.P. Narayan & Ram Manohar Lohia

C.No. : SOC-C-402   Lesson No. 8

Social Development in India   **Unit : 1I**

Structure

8.0   **Objectives**

8.1   **Introduction**

8.2   **Basic Principles of Sarvodya**

8.3   **Panchayati Raj**

8.4   **Economic Ideas**

8.5   **Socialist Discourse**

8.6   **Sum up**

8.7   **Check your Progress**

8.0   **Objectives**

After going through this chapter, the learner will be equiped with :

–   The socialist discourse in Indian society

–   The vision of Jayprakash Narayan on Socialist discourse

–   The Ram Manohar Lohia's Model of Socialism

8.1   **Introduction**

Jaya Prakash Narayan, was born in 1903 and educated in U.S.A. Here he came in contact with many socialists and practially overwhelmed by the influence of Marxism. He studied M.N. Roy, another revolutionary of India, who had escaped to the U.S.A. to save himself from arrest and was influenced by his philosophy. For quite some time Jaya Prakash remained under the influence of Marxism but as the time passed he began to lose faith in Marxian creed, mainly because it denied individual freedom

and its party regimentation was very severe. In 1934 he founded Indian Socialist Party in which subsequently he also admitted the Communists. However, finding them not very sincere to the socialist doctrines, he turned them out and thus saved his party from infiltration. In 1940, Jaya Prakash openly denounced Popular Front of the Communists. In 1942, he actively participated in the revolutionary movement. He got name and fame in 1942 during Quit India Movement. He remained in jail for four years and once he even managed to escape from Hazari Bagh Central Jail. In 1946, he planned along with other socialists for a mass revolution. In 1953, he initiated talks with Jawahar Lal Nehru for increased cooperation between the Congress and the Socialists. In 1954, he, however, resigned from the Socialist Party then known as P.S.P. and became Jeewan Dani for Sarvodaya Movement. Since then he was devoted to the cause of bringing about a new society in India in which there will be no exploitation and decentralization of authority will be the basic principle. He was very closely associated with Vinoba Bhave in his Bhoodan Movement. He wanted to have new society which he termed as Sarvodaya. In 1979, Jaya Prakash passed away after a prolonged illness.

8.2 Basic Principles of Sarvodaya

The idea of Sarvodaya was taken by Mahatma Gandhi from Ruskin's Unto The Last. In Gandhian philosophy Sarvodaya meant collective welfare in which also was individual's own welfare and that there was always respect for work and that all types of jobs were respectable. Simple living and high thinking was true life and there should be universal development for all sections of society. Both Jay Prakash Narayan as well as Vinoba Bhave believed that Sarvodaya is a moral programme and a line of action for collective welfare. Sarvodyaya is an indication of a political revolution by peaceful means through free and frank expression of ideas. It has been said, "Ideally such a structure would replace completely the compulsion of the State of individual initiative and voluntary organisation, it is a sort of enlightened anarchy." In the economic field, well as distribution shall be controlled and managed by the society. In Sarvodaya society, there will be cooperative system of production both in the industry as well as agriculture. There will also be village autonomy.

Traits of a Sarvodaya Worker

A Sarvodaya worker is required to spin daily and use the cloth spun by himself. He should use goods produced by cottage and small scale industries. He should try to

use cow milk. He should clean latrines or do other work relating to cleanliness of the village at least once a month. He sould try to introduce basic system of education. He should try to learn at least one of the regional languages of India. He should be an ideal non-violent person with a sense of self-confidence and belief in the power of the masses. He should try to promote unity among various religious and sections of the society. He should boycott female education and try to spread the idea that both men and women were equal. He should try to spread regional language and provincial culture so that none of them is neglected. He should aim at bringing about economic equality and growth of agriculture. He should help in the unity of labourers and uplifting of the poor. He should serve the lepers and protect the cows.

Sarvodaya Society

The Society under Sarvodaya samaj will be free from coercive centralized authority. It shall be more or less a loose federation consisting of self-governing autonomous villages. Every village or unit shall be self-sufficient and believe in the system of economic decentralization. There should be no parliament of the type which we at present have. Those who come to power shall not be the rulers but servants of the society. The State will be unnecessary in Sarvodaya Society, and as far as possible its authority will be considerably reduced. The State does not help in the development of individual faculties. On the contrary, it is an unhealthy check even on individual's healthy activities. There is no need to load government with so many punitive weapons as such authorities in actual practice hamper individual progress. In Sarvodaya society there will be no party system and the people shall sit together to decide their own affairs. They will no require representatives to speak and talk on their behalf but on the contrary shall get opportunity to express their own ideas themselves. In Sarvodaya society there should be real Lok Neeti instead of Raj Neeti. There shall not be party of power politics but authority shall flow from the people themselves who will work in a sense and spirit of serving the people rather than of governing over them. Conflicts are not peculiar to mankind alone but these are also seen even among the animals. Such as conflict of interests of ignorance of irrational and intolerable inequalities created by the deliberate politics of those who have managed to come to power. But the solution to such problems does not lie in equipping the Government with more punitive powers but in creating awakening and consciousness among the masses so that they can adjust themselves in a better and reasonable way.

Socialism to Sarvodya

According to Jaya Prakash Marxism was neither easy nor the appropriate solution for many of our political problems. It did not guarantee individual liberty and freedom which it claimed to give, with the result that he changed his ideology. In 1929 Indian National Congress declared complete independence as the goal of its national struggle. Jaya Prakash bade farewell to his Marxist ideology and actively participated in the civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatama Gandhi. He kept aloof from the Communist Party of India and did not subscribe to its philosophies. He, however, wanted to introduce socialism in Congress. He founded the Congress Socialist Party which was subsequently responsible for giving socio-economic programme to the Congress. He was not in favour of the philosophy of materialism because he felt that is no solution for a lasting peace. As the time passed, he seriously studied the philosophy and political ideas of Mahatama Gandhi. He was convinced that spiritual foundation was required for a lasting peace. He began to realise the value of individual freedom, equality and brotherhood which were in practice missing from Communism.

Vinoba's starting of the Bhoodan Movement and getting a donation of 100 acres of land from Shri Ram Chandra Reddy changed the very course of J.P.'s philosophy. He found in Bhoodan Movement a fair, better and effective alternative to communist revolution which provided for snatching of land by forceful methods. According to him Gandhism taught us the method of *Satyagrapha* which brought freedom to India and that Bhoodan and Gramdan Movements were bound to bring economic revolution and make our political freedom a reality. He was inspired by the idea of *Lok Neeti* instead of *Raj Neeti* as expounded by Vinobaji. He was also convinced about the desirability of cottage industries and the system of democratic decentralization. He wanted to change the face of India by introducing village autonomy and raising the down-trodden and the poor who form a vast majority of Indian population. He believed that Bhoodan and Gramdan movements are constructive techniques and easy as well as practicable solution to India's problems. Hence, he subsequently decided to leave P.S.P. and join Bhoodan Movement. He found them far better than Marxism because the movement not only aimed at achieving what Communism aimed, but with the additional advantage that freedom is preserved and every individual remains true to his conscience. Jaya Prakash became a *Jeewan*

Dani meaning thereby that he devoted his whole life to the cause of Bhoodan and Gramdan. In his own words, "I was, and am, not sure if the State will ever wither away completely. But I am sure that it is one of the noblest goals of social endeavour to ensure that the power and the function and spheres of the State and reduced as far as possible. I became at this time, and still am, an ardent believer, like Gandhiji, in the maxim that Government was the best that governed the least."

Significant Political Ideas

Faith in Democracy. Jaya Prakash Narayan was very staunch supporter of democracy and favoured democratic institutions. For him, democracy was both a creed and a way of life. He believed in individual freedom which could best be achieved only in democracy and through democratic system. He was however, not satisfied with the present democratic system which he felt is highly defective. In his opinion the present system was highly centralized with the result that the people could take any active role in the proper functioning of democratic institutions. But control of party bosses is so rigid that individual is practically ignored and even he cannot express himself. The parliamentry system, in its present form, has a very narrow base where the authority starts from above rather from down below. It has thus an inverted structure which cannot last long. Jaya Prakash condermned democracy by saying that our present legislative bodies which govern in the name of majority are in fact minority Governments. Practical experiences shows that a constituency is called upon to elect one member out of so many who wish to be returned, and the person who is actually returned might have got the maximum votes. Similarly the majority party in the legislature might not have got majority of votes polled during the polls. The decisions arrived at the majority party are not unanimous. Even in the Cabinet, decisions are not arrived at unanimously and only a few powerful persons carry others with them. This clearly shows that the majority is ruled by the minority.

Jaya Prakash felt that in our present parliamentary democracy the institution of party system is very unhealthy. It has practically denied liberty to the individuals. Party bosses try to dominate their members. There is struggle for supermacy which divides the rank and file and also promotes insincerity. There is unnecessary wastage of natioal money. Those who can speak well irrespective of the consideration whether they are sincere or not, dominate the show and manage to come to power. In order to

win the elections all healthy and unhealthy practices are used. Even casteism and communalism are used to win the election. Therefore, Jaya Prakash strongly condemned the present system of parliamentary democracy.

But he was a democrat and wanted to see democracy running in its true sense and spirit. A democracy in its true sense must have spiritual basis and that can only be possible when the people practising democracy should believe in truth. They should also follow non-violence. They should be ready to face all oppression and high-handedness with courage and boldness. They should love liberty and believe in the spirit of toleration willing to extend their hand of cooperation. A true democrat should be ready to discharge his duties and responsibilities with willing happiness. He should be a believer in human equality. There should be decentralization of authority. The power should go from down to above and not flow from above to down below. In a true democracy there should be the system of decentralization of authority.

Partyless Democracy

Thus, Jaya Prakash felt that the introduction of party system in our present political set-up has degenerated democracy. It has made the institution of government of the people, for the people, by the people a mere farce. It encouraged party politics and divided the nation. Hence, the whole system should be changed. There should be a partyles democracy. There should be in each village a Gram Mandal or a Conference consisting of elected representatives of the village,one at least from each village. There will be no need and necessity of electing representatives to speak on behalf of the people but the people themselves will express their feelings and viewpoint. Each Mandal will in turn become an electoral college to send representatives to the legislatures. The authority will go down from villages to the legislatures and thus the real democracy will emerge. He has suggested that the cabinet should be partyless cabinets which should enlist capable and intelligent persons from all political parties.

8.3   Panchayati Raj

According to Jaya Prakash Narayan real solution to India's political problems lies in the introduction of system of Panchayati Raj in our body politic. As long as authority is not decentralized among the millions in our villages, nothing concrete can come out. Hence, in each village there should be a Gram Sabha which shall be the basis of the entire scheme. The Sabha shall consist of all adult men and women living

in that village there should be a Gram Sabha which shall be the basis of entire scheme. The Sabha shall consist of all adult men and women living in that village and shall have the power to discuss about the life and difficulties of village. Gram Panchayat shall be the executive organ of the Sabha. Subsequently there shall be Zila Parishads and Block Samitis at the higher level. Block Samitis shall over the villages falling in one block and a few blocks combined together shall form Zilas and these Zilas in turn shall constitute the State and country. Jaya Prakash Narayan fully realized the difficulties which can arise in the establishment of Gram Sabha or Gram Conference. Such difficulties can possibly be due to family feuds that are common in our villages. The caste system can also be one of the reasons for its not very successful working. However, if proper and effective steps are taken, there is no reason to think that all difficulties and complications which come in the way of proper and successful working of Panchayati Raj cannot be overcome. He suggested, that people should be given proper education. Family feuds and party system should not be allowed to interfere in the Gram Panchayats and Gram Sabhas. These Sabhas should be given some effective powers and real authority should be given to the Sabhas so that they can effectively exert themselves. The Sabhas should be given sufficient economic resources and authority to control civil servants working under their jurisdication. The Sabhas and Panchayats should have a non-political character. There should be no intervention from the high ups in the sphere of their jurisdiction. If this system is introduced in the villages a new life is bound to come in the country. Such a system is bound to bring consciousness among the people and they shall refuse to be exploited by the city people. In other words, indirectly cities shall also be suitably improved.

8.4   Economic Ideas

Jaya Prakash Narayan believed in the socialism of means of production and distribution. Our present system is not healty in which means of production and distribution are not being utilized for collective welfare. There should be reduction of land revenue and also limitations on expenditure. Economically there should be collective ownership and control of all large scale industries. Such heavy industries, as transport, mining or shipping should forthwhile be nationalized. However, cooperative effort alone can bring about the balance between agriculture and industry. There should be economic rehabilation of the poor and the down-trodden. There should be collective farming and agrarian reconstruction. There is very close

relationship between culture and economics because the culture of a nation is reflected by economic conditions of its people. Economic conditions of the country should be such that every individual gets equality of opportunity and is given some minimum economic standard.

In our modern society Jaya Prakash Narayan was a socialist of the first order. He tried to awaken the youth of India by telling them to remember the role which they played during 'Quit India Movement'. He gave them a call to re-unite themselves to perform that constructive duty. He tried to shake the present democracy from its very foundations. His system of decentralization, Panchayati Raj and democracy in its new form, if properly adopted, can bring a new outlook in India.

8.5   Socialist Discourse :

Vinoba Bhave left great influence on him to withdraw from party politics and to join the Bhoodan movement. The influence of Gandhi and Acharya Vinoba Bhave, with his selfless Bhoodan movement influenced J.P. so much that he decided to give up party politics and became a 'Jeevandani'. But his sincere concern for the people, particularly the poorer section of the society and the political situation of the country forced him again to plunge into politics. Diving 1974-77, it was his leaseless work that organized several parties into Jancita Party, which ultimately formed the first non-congress government at the centre, in 1977. He remained outside the party and power but became the 'King-maker'.

Next to Gandhi and Nehru, there has perhaps been no one in contemporary Indian politics occupying a more crucial and pivotal position than J.P. nor one who has been more enigmatic and controversial in ideas and actions. He has been called as a 'Lok Nayak'.

Some attempts have been made by scholars to divide J.P's socialist ideology and commitment into three or more broad phases -

–   Marxian socialist phase upto 1945-46

–   Democractic socialist phase during 1946-54

–   Gandhian Phase

–   Later he adopted the Sarvodaya Philosophy and the concept of total revolution.

Marxian Socialist Phase

J.P. Narayan, though has been categorized as the leader of the Marxian Group, within the congress socialist party, his political life was not confined to any single creed. His political life has followed a zig zig and tortious course, but with a uniform line of development. He had accepted Marxism but had redefined it and also had shifted from Marxism to Democratic Socialism. During his stay in America (from October 1922 to September, 1929), he came in contact with Marxian Ideology mainly through a polish jew, Abraham Landy, a member of the communist party.

The Marxian Science of revolution impressed him much that he found in this concept a quicker way for freedom of a country and mass amancipation, that Gandhian techniques of civil disobedience and non-cooperation. It was further strengthened of lenin's success in Russia which established stood for equality and brotherhood without which freedom was meaningless.

In his "The Foundation of Socialism", he pointed out that there is only one type, one theory of Socialism-Marxism, which be thought to be a system of social reconstruction of inequalities both biological and social. He stated that the root cause of inequalities of wealth and economic exploitation was due to the fact of private ownership of the "instruments of production" for the benefit of the owners only J.P. Narayan had strong faith in Dialectical Materialism and agreed with the Marxian proposition about the influence of material forces in individual and social positions or institutions. He also agreed with the Marxian economic interpretation of history and held that all the political institutions of a society are nothing but the reflections of a given set of economic conditions. To him, "Socialism is something more sensible, more scientific, more civilized than all that".

Jaya Prakash was one of the pioneer in modern India to have initiated such guerriella tactics through 'Azad Dasta' to work in every district. His plan was that "In a district of average size 250 Azads might be organised in five Jathas of 50 Azads each, which should further be divided into 25 Dastas of ten Azads each J.P. elaborately discussed the discipline and Oath of allegiance in the name of "Truth Son of Mother India". He suggested three broad plans of action -

*   Dislocation of chief means of government communication and war efforts eg. Telegrap and Telephone lines, railways, etc.

* Depriving government financial centres like treasuries and the like of monies of looting of mail bags, post offices and railway stations.

* Raids for destruction or disarming of the centres of enemies forces and authority.

Such was the nationalist and revolutionary spirit of Jaya Prakash to free India from the bondage of foreign rule. During the on it India Movement of 1942, "J.P. becames a legendary hero of the revolution as a guerilla leader".

Democratic Socialistic Phase

The beginning of J.P's Democratic socialist thinking may be traced to as early as 1940, when he placed before Gandhi and the congress, "An Outline Picture of Swaraj", (March 1940), where he had elaborated a democratic and non-violent social order, placing the supreme power to the people and the constitution. Marx conceived of two ways of socialism, one peaceful, the other violent, and the way to be adopted depends on the conditions of the country. J.P. was convinced that Socialism without democratic freedom was meaningless. He increasingly realized that democratic or peaceful methods alone could solve the problems of different traditions of Indian society.

Jaya Prakash had been influenced by Gandhi and Gandhian techniques of social reconstruction. The state to him was a necessary tool and an instrument of power in society. The state power was needed to legislate, to propagate, to educate and even to enforce the will upon the people. By 1946, he had changed his views upon the state. His mission was to prevent the state from acquiring the sole monopoly in industry and employment. According to J.P. Narayan, Complete democratic government should be established in Indian states. Jaya Prakash, thus visualized a socialist order based on both political and economic democracy where "Man will be free", and man should serve the society which would provide him means of livelihood.

Gandhian Phase :

J.P. Narayan felt the necessity of unfolding of the Gandhian techniques of social revolution and reconstruction as exemplified in the Bhoodan, Gramdan and Gramraj Movement and the accumulating experience of state ownership and bureaucratic management of economic enterprise which is being misconceived as socialism.

J.P. found in totalitarian communism, which he was wrongly called as Socialism, suppression of freedom and no opposition party was allowed to function there. He also argued for the abolition of caste system, which according to him was antisocial in democratic and turnamoul and was the cause of inequality in the society. His socialist society was a "democratic society" where everyone is a worker and all men are equal including women, where there are equal opportunities for all". He believed that without the spontaneous development of humanity, no material development was possible and this necessarily demanded the individual freedom in its true sense.

The Sarvodaya Phase

J.P. undertook the principle of Sarvodaya Plan enunciated by Gandhi Ji and published in 30 January 1950. Sarvodaya according to J.P., "is a people's socialism" aimed to create and develop forms of socialist living through the voluntary endeavour of the people rather than seek to establish socialism by the use of the power of the state. He accepted Sarvodaya Philosophy, which according to him, was through that 'Gandhi is every today the authoritative propounder of Sarvodaya Philosophy and way of life'. Many problems were identified there

–   Problem of Socialist ascious

–   Problem of creating a proper political framework for the development of a socialist society.

–   Problem of the technique or method of struggle and the nature of relationship between socialist countries.

J.P. confessed that the ugliness of party and power politics forced him to undertake the new politics of Sarvodaya which also has its politics - politics of a different kind. Politics of the people....as distinct from the politics of party and power, 'loknit' as destinct from 'Rajniti'. The politics of Sarvodaya can have no party and have no concern with power.

Jaya Prakash, through his devotion to Gandhian techniques, wanted to develop human society not only from material aspect of life, but also from his inner life. This realization led him to turn the idea of Total Revolution, a new version of Gandhian ideology of ideal society. This "all round resolution", according to J.P. and four

objectives :-

* Eradication of corruption

* High prices

* Employment

* Radial changes in education.

According to him, "Total revolution is a combination of seven revolutions - social, economic, political, cultural, ideological or intellectual, educational and spiritual".

Ram Manohor Lohia's socialist discourse

Lohia (1910-67) may arguably be reckoned as the most unconventional and, may be original as well, themeticiam among Indian Sociality.

Among the founders of the orgainsed sociality moment in India during the 1930, Ram Manohar Lohia occupies a seminal position. He was not only one if the youngest among the leaders who formed the congress socialist party but he was well educated and intellectually very sharp. He was admired in the socialist movement till be end of his life.

Throughout the post independence period Lohia remained a factor in Indian politics and the influence of his ideas increased after min 1960s and they continue to remain substantial even more today there decales after his death. His ideas touched not only the politics but other areas from man -women relationship to the language questions.

Lohia and Socialism

Lohia was a staunch democrate, lover of socialist democracy in the democracy of the common man, of the poor and the doutrodden, one in which the weaker sections of society have their say in the governance and which takes care of such sections of people. For his individual constituted through which democracy can really work as a way of life and as a way of governance. He found fault with the functioning of democracy as it actually operated in the west.

Like Gandhi Lohia Condemned the western model of democracy which had been adopted by the newly independent countires of Asia and Africa, India including. Lohia advocated particpatory democracy, which as a method, works through peaceful

means for arriving at any decision. As a method, democracy is discussion, dialogue, conversation, participation, involvement. It makes and attempt to crate on egalitarian society to remove inequalities, distrincition, discrimination, exploitation and injustice, Lohia insited that democracy was much more than a form of government. It is an end that brings about equality and justice for all, It is a means that lays down the method as to how one lives a full life, it is an effort that seeks to achieve a world of peace and prosperity for each and for all, a world without distinction and world without discrimination.

Lohia developed his concept of socialistic democracy based on distinct features. some of these can be briefly summel up . He argued that there can be no real democracy, without socialism, socialism alone ensures democracy, Lohia, though was influenced by marx, was Gandhian, socialist. He was not a socialist orthodox. Lohia evolved a six-point plan for strengthening democracy.

   i.   Maximum attainable equality towards which nationalization of economy may be one necessary step.

   ii.   A decent standard of life throughtout the world.

   iii.   A world parliament elected on adult franchise, leading to world government.

   iv.   Collective and individual practice of civil disobedience freedom of the individual against unjust encroachments of public authority and searing on are of free speech and association and private life over which no government may exercise control.

   v.   Evolution of technology consistent with these aims and porosis.

Democarcy can thrive on the ethers of equality. Equality come through socialism alone. Accordingly, democracy, equality and socialism supplement and strengthen one another.

Lohia refers to certain kinds of equality ;

   i.   equality between man and women.

   ii.   abolition of equations based on colour;

   iii.   elimination of inequalities of birth and caste ;

   iv.   economic equality through increased production.

Lohia's socialism aims at attaining the full development of a persons capacities and abilities. He argned that only a person could have a will and the state, not being a person doesn't have a will of its own. Lohia insisted that though it was the function of the socialism state to help an individual realized his rational will while it kept the irrational will from the social processes, testing the rationality of an individual will could not be the collective will of its rules, but the will of the community in its entirety.

Socialism alone helps India remove her poverty and backwardness and in the process brings her people to enjoy the fruits of democracy. Where there are poor, there can be no democracy; where there are poor, socialism alone can ensure them a decent living; right to work most precede right to govern.

In his paper, "The farmer in India' Lohia formulated. Thirteen point plan to end the rampant poverty and backward ness in the country, paving, thus the way for a socialist democracy.

1   Lowering of prices on the basis of party between agricultural and industrial prices.

2.   Austerity and sacrifice to be shared by all so that no income or salary exceed Rs.1000 a man.

3.   Industrialization with the help of small unit machines, the invention and manufacture of which to be promoted by the state.

4.   Any factory running below capacity to be taken over by the state, and immediate nationalizations of basic industries.

5.   Anti-corruption commissioners inevery state and at the centre with departments independent of the government.

6.   Land to the tiller and redivision of lands -12½ acre minium and 30 acrer maximum.

7.   Cultivation of one crore acrer of new land by a state recorded food army.

8.   Decentralization of administration and of economy so as to achieve the four pillor state.

9.   Housing programmes and other economic activity to provide full employment.

10. Establishment of polytechnic schools, and people high schools and centre for

youth and women for cultural activities.

11. Immediate adult fractise elections in unrspresented areas, that is, merged states and unions.

12. Pursuit of a positive policy of world peace through promoting full freedom, and right for all nations, social and economic equality among a people and between nations, and a peace bloc which can dictate true and warring power blocs.

13.   Volunteer bands for agriculture, irrigation, road - making and the like.

The most important contribution of Lohia is his development of the concept of political decentralization. A truly non violent democrative society can be achieved only on basis of decentralization.

Lohia had firm faith in democracy as a government of the people but the opposed the tendency of democarcy to lean on elitism. In a country like India where there is so much of poverty and caste distinctions, he was confined that it leads to increase in powers of the upper classes; democracy applies to there classes only and has no meaning for the masses. He believed in view of thinkers like laski that political democracy has no meaning without economic democracy. If democracy is to succeed it is absolutely necessary that there must be increased production and effective distribution. while Jaya Prakash Narayan had talked of the importance of the democratic decentralizations and adult franchise as a basis of "corporate democracy", and Narendra Dev had referred to distinct national traditions, Lohia talked of adopting it to the peculiar socio-economic conditions of India. Freedom India he emphasized is to be combined with the need to provide bread to all. Both are not contradictory. They are inseparable. Both can be achieved within the framework of social democracy. Lohia was of the opinion that neither political freedom can be scarified for the sake of economic freedom nor the latter for the former. Each has a place of its own.

It is one widely acknowledged that the socialist discourse represented by Ram Mamohan Lohia is a product of a complex historical phenomenon which is quite aften described as the socialist movement in India. The socialist movement in India has history of over fifty years spread across the periods between Indias struggle for independence and its politics ever since until 1977.

Three aspects of Lohia's democratic socialist imagination standout significantly as they inturn constitute a major dimension of socialist vision in India. Fist his deep

suspicion towards Eurocentrism which he primarily attributes to maxims, exhibit his concern to evolve socialism that responds to the needs of the cultural location in which it is articulated.

Second he argned thay primarily due to colonialism the cultural location of societies like India is fundamentally different from that of Europe and therefore any theoretical articulation of socialism witch refuses to take cognisance of the historical and cultural context is bound to be politically infective and failure third, his unequivocal refused to operate within the theoretical ambience of the western historical experience of socialism and his endeavous to work out an alternative paradigm of socialist theory and practice in congruence with the specific cultural milieu in India, is a major contribution to the democratic socialist vision in India.

8.6   Sum up

J.P. and Ram Manohar Lohia as a socialist leaders, became a real leader with sufficient theoretical clarity of mind, full devotion to their cause of attaining the goals of freedom, equality and peace, establishment of a society of equals - in all respect, with radical change both internal and external. They understood that good means can produce goods ends and good means deseve good morality, values, which was the root of all development. Their power remained in the heart of the people, who were so long neglected and he called organize people for any movement. The election of 1977 is a great proof of this, where J.P. come, organised and made the 'king', the first non-congress Ministry at the centre with the people, to whom was the 'Loknayak'.

8.7   Check your Progress

Q1.   Discuss in brief the basic principles of Sarvodya?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   Explain Ram Manoha Lohia' socialist discourse?

_____

_____

_____

****

HINDUTVA : V.D. SAVARKAR

C.No. : SOC-C-402	Lesson No. 9
Social Development in India	**Unit : II**

Structure

9.1   Objectives

9.2   Introduction

9.3   Political Ideas

9.4   Sum up

9.5   Check your Progress

9.1   Objectives

After going through this chapter, learner will be able to understood :

–   Savarkar's ideological treatise

–   his basic principles of Hinduism

–   Savarkar's concept of Hindutava

9.2   Introduction

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was born in 1883 in Ratnagiri district. During his school days he showed a visible tendency of his love for Hindu religion. He even organised student groups to check the excesses of Muslims, whenever he came to know of these. As a student he took active interest in politics and gave all possible support to Swadeshi movement. He organised a campaign for burning foreign cloth. As a result he was expelled from his college. In 1906, he got a recommendatory letter from Tilak which enabled him to get scholarship from Shyamji Verma, an Indian revolutionary in England, to study in England. It England many revolutionaries came in his contact and were inspired by him. As the time passed he became an eye-sore

for the British Government and was arrested in 1910 for certain speeches alleged to have been made by him in India in 1906. However, when he was being brought to India as a captive, he jumped from the ship into the sea but was re-arrested. The Government of India found him guilty of treason and deported him to Andamans. In 1923, he was brought back to India and interned at Ratnagiri. He was released on the specific condition that he would not participate in active politics. He remained under this condition till 1937. He, however, utilised this period in consolidating the Hindus, and pointing out the evils of Hindu society. After his realease from Ratnagiri he actively associated himself with Hindu Mahasabha and became its life and soul. For many years he was its President. In 1948, when Mahatama Gandhi was shot dead, Savarkar was also tried but acquitted by the trial judge. Due to over-exertion, his health began to deteriorate and untimely on February 26, 1966, he left this world for his heavenly abode.

Savarkar wrote and spoke to awaken the Hindus from their deep sleep and make them ready to face the hard realities of life. Some of his significant words are : 1. My Transportation for Life. 2. Hindu Pad Padshahi. 3. Hindutva. 4. The Indian War of Independence of 1857. (This was proscribed soon after its release in 1909 and made available to public only in 1947.)

9.3 Political Ideas

Savarkar was a revolutionary from the very start of his political career. He was a staunch and devoted Hindu with a very firm faith in the superiority of Hindu culture and civilisation which was for him above everything else. For him everything should move round the world 'Hindutva'.

Views About Hindutva

Savarkar developed and defined the term Hindutva, which according to him was different and broader than the term Hinduism. In his own words, "Therefore those who love the land that stretches from Sindhu to Sindhu from Indus to sea, as their fatherland and consequently claim to inherit the blood of the race that has evolved, by incorporation and adaptation, from ancient Saptasinhus, can be said to possess two of the most esential requisites of Hindutva" Hindutva has three essential qualities

namely : (1) Rashtra, (2) Jati, and (3) Sanskriti.

1.   Rashtra. The person concerned should respect the territorial integrity and geographical sanctity of national borders. He should be most willing to sacrifice his everything for the sake of protecting these geographical boundaries. He should have no extra-territorial attachments.

2.   Jati. A believer of Hindutva should belong to a family which has Hindu blood, i.e., his ancestors should be Hindus.

3.   Sanskriti. The person concerned should have faith in the superiority of ancient Indian culture and civilisation and should take pride in it. Thus, according to him such minorities as the Muslims and the Christians which do not feel proud of our cultural heritage or in whom the blood of Indian ancestors does not flow, did not came under Hindutva.

Hinduism

Savarkar was a true Hindu and a great moving force in Hindu Mahasabha, which was primarily responsible for the consolidation of energies of Hindus of our times. For him, Hinduism was the most anceint religion in the world and that too with rich traditions. For him, it was also one of those religions which have been preserved and passed on to us with care. Our present and the coming generations are only the trustees of a sacred trust reposed in them namely preservation of these cultural traditions. Hinduism has not decayed itself on because it is a dynamic religion which can absorb all other religions. It has a homogeneous and heterogeneous outlook. It is very rational and appealing to mind and soul. Many other world religions have drawn inspiration from Hinduism. It has been tested on the standards of time and proved its worth. Modern degeneration and perversion is only due to the rulers who are deliberately disfiguring Hinduism and misinterpreting it so as to shake our faith in our religion and thus to take us spiritually poor. It was the this Hinduism which made India the spiritual leader of the world.

Differentiating between Hindutva and Hinduism Savarkar said that the former was broader and more comprehensive than the latter. Hindutva was a social, economic and political concept. It was closer to nationalism than religion. On the other hand Hinduism was a religion and as such it had closer affinity to morality than politics.

Thus, Hindutva was political whereas Hinduism was a religious concept.

Like Madan Mohan Malavyia, Savarkar had great faith in the capacity of Hindus to run and manage their own affairs. The present political degeneration of Hindus was only due to circumstances beyond their control. The Hindus had great capacity to run and manage their own affairs and for centuries they had very well managed their own affairs. The very fact that Hindus were on the forefront of India's national struggle bore an ample testimony to the logic that they had capacity and strong desire to achieve their independence, that capacity shall further develop after the alien rule had come to an end.

V.D. Savarkar on Hindutva

Vinayak Danoda Savarkar (1883-1966) was born on 28 may, 1883 in a traditional Brahmin family in Maharashtra at a time when the Indian renassance was manifested in diverse interpreatetions of th past, present and future of the cultural nationlism in contrast to the theory of terrotorial nationalism. Savarka was unique in personality and thinking as one school of heroic revolutimary and terrorist. Which won him immortal fame. It was because of his daring political exploits in the early decades of twentienth century.

While other school of thought call him as an angry, resentful, vengegul, violent and intolerate prophet. IN facts, savarkar gave a systematic articulation to the opioions held by many Indian poeple that the true resurgence of India as a distinguished nation could be only by rooting Indian nationalism in the cultural ethos of the Hindu religion. He was of the opioion that the real personlity of India could be restored to her only be reviving her glorious post and restablishing, what he called Hindu Rashtra".

In Savarkar's conceptualisation of Hindutra and Hindurashta, his social dieas became quite critical as they provide a blue print for suitable transfromation in the Indian society.

Savarker's accpeted the cultural and aginst rolidanity of the Hindu nation. He has been devoted to the ideas if Hindu resurrection and believed in the cultural superiority of Hinduism. he strened the moral and social regeneration of Hinduism, he said :

" let Hindusim concern itself with the salvation of life after death, the concept of

God, and the univere.. But so far as the materialistic secular aspect in concerned, the Hindus are a nation bound by a common culture a common history a common language, a common country a common religious.

The real development of the Hindus could take palce only when there was a consdation of their interedet and neopos bilities, The spirit of fellowship and community, hence, was to replace the pervarive isoltion of the Hindus.

There are thrre funcamental criteria for being inculded under Hindutra or for beinga Hindu. First, the territorial and or reshtra is a requriement. A hindu is one who feels attachement to the geographical region extending from the Sindhu river to the B/Putra and from the Himalchal to the lape commsion.

Secondly, the recial or blood band or the jati. A Hindu in one who inherits the blood of the race "Whose first and discernible source coulkd be traced to the Himalayan atluide of the vedic saptasinghu. There is no preacting of historial existence, the Hindus have developed a physiognomy and racial features that are in some respect diff. from the those of the German, chines on Ethiopiam.

Savarkar write :

"No people in the world can more justly claim to get recognized as a racial unit that the Hindu and perhaps the jews. A Hindu marrying a Muslim may lose his caste but not his Hindutia. A Hindu believing in any theoretical or Plilosoplical or social system, orthodux or heterodox, provided it in unquestionably indigenous and founded by a Hindu, my lose his rect but not his. Hindutra Hindurim because the most imp. essential which deteines it is the inheritence of the Hindu blood. therefore all those who love the land that strachs from Hindu to Sindhu, from Indu to seas, as their fatherland and consequently claim to inheirt the blood of the race that has erolred, by incorporation and adaptation, from the ancient saptasudhu, can be said to posses two of the most essential requinities of Hindution.

The third criteion of being a Hindu in culture or sanskriti. A Hindu is one who feels pride in the Hindu culture and civilization repesented in common inturical memories of acheivements and failures in common artistic, literary and justice creation and in commom -- or festivals or other media of collective expression. Thus, Muslim

and Christains who have been converts from Hindusm cannot claim to Hindu because they don't subscribe to Hindu culture. Thus, the three bonds of Hindutra are reshtra, jati and sankritai. Acc o savarkar, th concept of Hindutra in broader and more comprehesive then Hindisum has a religious significance and connotes the theology ritrulaism of the Hindu, Hindutra does ampreh within it thin religious bond of Hindusim but goes beyond. Hindustra are included the social, moral political and economic aspats as well. Hindustra connote the nation of a orgainc socio-political body kint together by the three bonds of territorial belongingnen, blood or birth and culture.

Savarker firmly believes in the doctriues of Hindutra or Hindu solidarity. In a competitive world full of tension and struggler for power, the solidification of strength is the sole means of survival. Hindustra, as interpreted Savarkar, in not only a concept of organic socio-political unity, it comprehands also the essential elements of nationlism. It is a programme for action. All the barriers that separate the Hindu have to be demolished. Savarkar favoured intermarriages b/w all sections of Hindus. He included the Jain, the Sikhs, the arya Samajit and the Brahmn Sumajists also among Hindu.

Acc. to Savarkar there is no cofliect b/w Hindutra and noticalism. He said;

"A Hindu patriot worth the name can't but be an Indian patriot as well. To the Hindus, Hindustan being the Fatherland and Holgyland, the ove they bear to Hindustan in Boundles. That is why they redominate in the national struggle that in going for th overthrow of the British your. Even the buried bones in Andaman would assest this fact".

Savarkari Hindustra in not narrow creed. It is clamed to be vationatistic and scientific. It is not opposed to Humaism and universalism. He quote Tukaramis statemet.... The limits of the univers. there are the frouties of my country lie.

In such a Hindu rashtra, Savakar offered the minorities some degree of freedom and right to particpation in the affairs of the state Provided they accept a postion of non ogaresion to interests and right of Hndus.

9.4   Sum up

Savarkar has been brought up in his early youth an not only a fearlen terrorist and

revolutionist, but aslos as a staurch Hindu, Solidarist, and in sprite of his immense love for the country he contined to view things from the Hindu standpoint.

Savarkar had a keen and original mind. He had the perception and vision to see in the so called muting of 1857 the potent seeds and manifestations of a national struggle for libration. An almost similiar view about the political and nationalistic character of that upheaval has also been advocated by Lala Lajpa Rai in his book young India. After Indian independence, new comon and criteria are being adopted for the interpretation of Indian history and savarkar may derive satisfaction from the fact that are school of histrriam of India is gradually approximating towards his interpretation of the movement of 1857.

9.5 Check your Progress

Q1. Discuss in brief the Political Ideas of Savarkar?

_____

_____

_____

****

MUSLIM LEAGUE

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 10**
Social Development in India	**Unit : II**

Structure

10.1   **Introduction**

10.2   **Foundation**

10.3   **Early Years**

10.4   **Communalism**

10.1   Introduction

The All–India Muslim League (popularised as Muslim League), was a historic political party established in the early years of the 20th century in the British Indian Empire. Its strong advocacy for the establishment of a separate Muslim-majority nation-state, Pakistan, successfully led to the partition of India in 1947 by the British Empire. Early genesis of the party are founded as an aftermath of literary movement led by Syed Ahmad Khan, who also helped in founding the party. In 1906, the party was officially found at the educational conference held in Dhaka to protest against the integration of Bengal in 1905. Its original political goal was to define and advance the Indian Muslim's civil rights and to provide protection to upper and gentry class of Indian Muslims. From 1906–30s, the party worked on its organizational structure, its credibility in all over the Muslim communities of British Indian Empire, and lacked as a mass organisation but represented the landed and commercial Muslim interests of the United Provinces (today's Uttar Pradesh).

Following in the 1930s, the idea of separate nation-state and influential philosopher Sir Iqbal's vision of uniting the four provinces in North-West British India further support the rational of Two-nation theory. Constitutional struggle of Jinnah and political struggle of founding fathers, the Muslim League played a decisive role in the World War II in 1940s and as the driving force behind the division of India along religious lines and the creation of Pakistan as a Muslim state in 1947. The events leading the World War II, the Congress effective protest against the United Kingdom unilaterally involving India in the war without consulting with the Indian people; the Muslim League went on to support the British war efforts, which was allowed to actively propagandise against the Congress with the cry of. "Islam in Danger".

After the partition and subsequent establishment of Pakistan, the Muslim League continued as a minor party in India where it was often part of the government. In Bangladesh, the Muslim League was revived in 1976 but it was reduced, rendering it insignificant in the political arena. In Pakistan, the Muslim League became the original successor of All India Muslim League, led by the founder of Pakistan Muhammad Ali Jinnah and after Jinnah's death by Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan but suffered with ill-fate following the military intervention in 1958. One of its faction remained to supportive of President Ayub Khan until 1962 when the all factions decided to reform into the Pakistan Muslim League led by Nurul Amin supporting Fatima Jinnah in the presidential elections in 1965. Furthermore, it was the only party to have receives votes from both East and West Pakistan during the elections held in 1970. During the successive periods of Pakistan, the Muslim League continued to be a ruling party in the different periods of Pakistan.

Since 1985, the Pakistan Muslim League split into various factions; all factions which had little ideological connection with the original Muslim League. However, the PML (N) remains to be influential faction than others, and has been in power during the elections held in 1990 and in the 1997. As of current of 2013 elections, the PML(N) remains to be a ruling party of Pakistan.

10.2   Foundation

Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–98) helped form the All-India Muslim League (AIML). His educational proposals and political activism inspired Muslim elites to support the AIML. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan originally founded the All India Muhammadan Educational Conference in 1886 to uplift Western education, especially science and literature, among India's Muslims. The conference, in addition to generating funds for Ahmad Khan's Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, motivated Muslim elites to propose expansion of educational uplift elsewhere, known as the Aligarh Movement. In turn this new awareness of Muslim needs helped stimulate a political consciousness among Muslim elites that went on to form the AIML.

The formation of a Muslim political party on national level was seen as essential by 1901. The first stage of its formation was the meeting held at Lucknow in September 1906, with participation of representatives from all over India. The decision for re-consideration to form the all Indian Muslim political party was taken and further proceedings were adjourned until the next meeting of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference. The Simla Deputation reconsidered the issue in October 1906 and decided to frame the objectives of the party on the occasion of the annual meeting of Educational Conference; that was later, scheduled to be held at Dhaka. Meanwhile Nawab Salimullah Khan published a detailed scheme through which he suggested the party to be named All India Muslim Confederacy. Pursuant upon the decisions taken earlier in Lukhnow meeting and later in Simla; the annual meeting of All India Muhammadan Educational Conference was held at Dhaka that continued from 27 December, until 30 December 1906. that was headed by both Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk and Nawab Muhasan-ul-Mulk (the Secretary of the Muhammaden Educational Conference); in which he explained its objectives and stressed the unity of the Muslims under the banner of an association. It was formally proposed by Nawab Salimullah Khan and supported by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Muhammed

Ali Jauhar, Zafar Ali Khan, Syed Nabiullah Bar at Law Lucknow and Syed Zahur Ahmad an eminent lawyer and several others. The Founding meeting was hosted by Nawab Sir Khwaja Salimullah and attended by three thousand delegates, while Ameer Ali, Sir Mian Muhammad Shafi were also the founding fathers who attended this meeting. The name "All India Muslim League" was proposed by Sir Agha Khan III who was appointed its first president. The League's constitution was framed in 1907 in Karachi.

10.3   Early years

Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah(Aga Khan III) was appointed the first Honorary President of the Muslim League. The headquarters were established at Lucknow. There were also six vice-presidents, a secretary and two joint secretaries initially appointed for a three-years term, proportionately from different provinces. The principles of the League were espoused in the "Green Book," which included the organisation's constitution, written by Maulana Mohammad Ali. Its goals at this stage did not include establishing an independent Muslim state, but rather concentrated on protecting Muslim liberties and rights, promoting understanding between the Muslim community and other Indians, educating the Muslim and Indian community at large on the actions of the government, and discouraging violence.

Aga Khan III's (1877–1957) played a leading role in founding AIML; his goal was the advancement of Muslim agendas and protection of Muslim rights in India. He shared Ahmad Khan's belief that Muslims should first build up their social capital through advanced education before engaging in politics. Agha Khan boldly told the British Raj that Muslims must be considered a separate nation within India. Even after he resigned as president of the AIML in 1912, he still exerted major influence on its policies and agendas. In 1913 Mohammed Ali Jinnah joined the Muslim league.

Intellectual support and a cadre of young activists emerged from Aligarh Muslim University. Hasan reports that in the early 20th century, this Muslim institution,

designed to prepare students for service to the British Raj, exploded into political activity. Until 1939, the faculty and students supported an all-India nationalist movement. After 1939, however, sentiment shifted dramatically toward a Muslim separatist movement, as students and faculty mobilised behind Jinnah and the Muslim League.

10.4   Communalism grows

Politically there was a degree of unity between Muslim and Hindu leaders after the World War I, as typified by the Khilafat Movement. The relationships cooled sharply after 1922, as communalism grew rapidly forcing the two groups of leaders apart. Major riots broke out in numerous cities, including 91 in U.P. alone. At the leadership level, the proportion of Muslims among delegates to Congress fell sharply, from 11% in 1921 to under 4% in 1923.

Muhammad Ali Jinnah became disillusioned with politics after the failure of his attempt to form a Hindu-Muslim alliance, and he spent most of the 1920s in Britain. The leadership of the League was taken over by, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, who in 1930 first put forward the demand for a separate Muslim state in India. The "Two-Nation Theory", the belief that Hindus and Muslims were two different nations who could not live in one country, gained popularity among Muslims. The two-state solution was rejected by the Congress leaders, who favoured a united India based on composite national identity. Congress at all times rejected "communalism"—that is, basing politics on religious identity. Iqbal's policy of uniting the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Punjab, and Sindh into a new Muslim majority state united the many factions of the League.

The League rejected the Committee report (the Nehru Report), arguing that it gave too little representation (only one quarter) to Muslims, established Devanagari as the official language of the colony, and demanded that India turn into a de facto unitary state, with residuary powers resting at the center – the League had demanded at least one-third representation in the legislature and sizeable autonomy for the Muslim provinces. Jinnah reported a "parting of the

ways" after his requests for minor amendments to the proposal were denied outright, and relations between the Congress and the League began to sour.

The Muslim League successfully mobilised the religious community in the United Provinces in the late 1930s. Jinnah worked closely with local politicians. However, there was a lack of uniform political voice by the League during the 1938–1939 Madhe Sahaba riots of Lucknow.

Conception of Pakistan

Main articles: Pakistan Movement and Allahabad Address

On 29 December 1930 Sir Muhammad Iqbal delivered his monumental presidential address to the All India Muslim League annual session. He said :

" I would like to see Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Sindh and Balochistan amalgamated into a single state. Self government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim state appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India. "

Sir Muhammad Iqbal did not use the word "Pakistan" in his address. According to some scholars, Iqbal had not presented the idea of a separate Muslim State; rather he wanted a large Muslim province by amalgamating Punjab, Sindh, NWFP and Baluchistan into a big North-Western province within India. They argued that "Iqbal never pleaded for any kind of partition of the country. Rather he was an ardent proponent of a 'true' federal setup for India..., and wanted a consolidated Muslim majority within the Indian Federation".

Another Indian historian Tara Chand also held that Iqbal was not thinking in terms of partition of India but in terms of a federation of autonomous states within India. Dr. Safdar Mehmood also asserted in a series of articles that in the Allahabad address Iqbal proposed a Muslim majority province within an Indian federation and not an independent state outside an Indian Federation.

On 28 January 1933, Choudhary Rahmat Ali, founder of Pakistan National Movement voiced his ideas in the pamphlet entitled "Now or Never; Are We to Live or Perish Forever?" The word 'P In a subsequent book Rehmat Ali discussed the etymology in further detail. "Pakistan' is both a Persian and an Urdu word. It is composed of letters taken from the names of all our South Asia homelands; that is, Punjab, Afghania, Kashmir, Sindh and Balochistan. It means the land of the Pure".

The British and the Indian Press vehemently criticised these two different schemes and created a confusion about the authorship of the word "Pakistan" to such an extent that even Jawahur Lal Nehru had to write:

" Iqbal was one of the early advocates of Pakistan and yet he appears to have realised its inherent danger and absurdity. Edward Thompson has written that in the course of conversation, Iqbal told him that he had advocated Pakistan because of his position as President of Muslim League session, but he felt sure that it would be injurious to India as a whole and to Muslims especially. "

Campaign for Pakistan

At a League conference in Lahore in 1940, Jinnah said: "Hindus and the Muslims belong to two different religions, philosophies, social customs and literature.... It is quite clear that Hindus and Muslims derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, different heroes and different episodes.... To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.", 'ALL INDIA JAMHUR MUSLIM LEAGUE' was formed to counter the move of Md. Ali Jinnah on two Nation theory and creation of separate Pakistan. Raja of Mahmoodabad was elected its President and Dr.Maghfoor Ahmad Ajazi general secretary. Perhaps it was the first split of Muslim League on ideological ground. This party however merged with Congress latter on to strengthen its views on partition.

At Lahore the League formally recommitted itself to creating an independent Muslim state, including Sindh, Punjab, Baluchistan, the North West Frontier Province and Bengal, that would be "wholly autonomous and sovereign". The resolution guaranteed protection for non-Muslim religions. The Lahore Resolution, moved by the sitting Chief Minister of Bengal A. K. Fazlul Huq, was adopted on 23 March 1940, and its principles formed the foundation for Pakistan's first constitution. Talks between Jinnah and Gandhi in 1944 in Bombay failed to achieve agreement. This was the last attempt to reach a single-state solution.

In the 1940s, Jinnah emerged as a leader of the Indian Muslims and was popularly known as Quaid-e-Azam (Great Leader). In the Constituent Assembly of India elections of 1946, the League won 425 out of 496 seats reserved for Muslims (and about 89.2% of Muslim votes) on a policy of creating an independent state of Pakistan, and with an implied threat of secession if this was not granted. Congress, led by Gandhi and Nehru remained adamantly opposed to dividing India.

However, 1947 saw violent and bloody battles caused due to the communal clashes between the two communities in India. Millions of people migrated from India to Pakistan and vice-versa. The situation continued to be tense even after the governments of the two nations were formed.

The partition seems to have been inevitable after all, one of the examples being Lord Mountbatten's statement on Jinnah: "There was no argument that could move him from his consuming determination to realize the impossible dream of Pakistan."

Impact on the future courses of Subcontinent

Pakistan

After the partition of British Indian Empire, the Muslim League played a major role in giving the birth of modern conservatism and the introduction of the democratic process in the country. The Pakistan Muslim League (N) continues to

be serves as its legal successor and legal personality of the All-India Muslim League, as many veteran Pakistan movement activists joined the party during its successive periods.

From 1947–51, Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan spearheaded the Muslim League's government until 1955 when Awami League came to power with Huseyn Suhrawardy becoming the Prime Minister. After Jinnah and Ali Khan, Nazimuddin struggled to lead the party, primarily due to lack of its social programmes. During this time, the Republican Party, led by Iskander Mirza, had taken over the credibility and prestige of Muslim League in all over the country. In 1958, the Muslim League nearly lost its influence when General Ayub Khan, army chief at that time, imposed martial law to with the support of Republican President Iskander Mirza against Prime Minister Feroze Khan Noon, a leader of Muslim League.

The Federative constitution allowed the ailing Muslim League to be reformed itself as the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and endorsed for Fatima Jinnah for the presidential bid in 1965. However, one of its convention actively supported President Ayub Khan.

Other factions were also involved in supporting the presidential regimes of Zia-ul-Haq in the 1980s, and the recent regime of Pervez Musharraf in the 2000s.[38] Every time, the establishment has put the political leaders were put together, who splintered apart when the general's blessings faded away. Hence, Pakistan Muslim League refers to several political parties in Pakistan.

Following the death of Nurul Amin, the PML went into political abyss but made its notable comeback in a direct response to nationalisation and the outgrowth of leftism in the country. In the 1970s, the PML led by Pir Pagara was benefited with the financial support of industrialists, including Navaz Sharif and Shujat Hussain, and intelligentsia that included lawyers, Fida Mohammad and Javed Hashmi. The Muslim League campaigned on its conservative agenda, under the grand alliance, against the Pakistan Peoples Party. Efforts of Pir Pagara assimilated of majority of the factions of the Pakistan Muslim League, in a bid to

mount a strong opposition to the leftist Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) in the 1970s. It may be noted that all factions will continue to hold their individual identities, as the PML was treated as a platform for parties to come together.

In 1990, the Muslim League led by Nawaz Sharif came to power with a strong mandate, for the first time under a democratic transition. In addition, the Muslim League is the only party to have received 2/3 majority in 1997. As of 2013, it secured majority seats in the Parliament and formed Government in June 2013.

India

With the partition of British Indian Empire, the Muslim League lost all influence in the United Provinces and Muslim majority Indian states. In 1948, the Indian Muslim League was formed as breakaway faction of the Muslim League by those activists who could not migrate to Pakistan. During its successive periods, the Indian Muslim League remained a part of the Kerala government; nonetheless, the Indian Muslim League disintegrated after the general elections of 1980. Majority of its leaders later joined the Congress and the BJP.

Bangladesh

The Muslim League formed its government in East Bengal immediately after partition of Bengal, with Nurul Amin becoming the first Chief Minister.

Problems in East Pakistan for Muslim League began rise following the issue of Constitution. Furthermore, the language movement proved to be a last event that led the Muslim League to lost its mandate in the East Bengal. Muslim League's national conservatism program also faced several set back and resistance from the Communist Party of Pakistan. In an interview given to print media, Nurul Amin stated that the communists had played an integral and major role in staging the massive protests, mass demonstration, and strikes for the Bengali Language Movement.

All over the country, the political parties had favoured the general elections in Pakistan with the exception of Muslim League. In 1954, the legislative elections were to be held for the Parliament. Unlike in West, not all of the Hindu population migrated to India, instead a large number of Hindu population was in fact presented in the state. The communist influence deepened and was finally realised in the elections. The United Front, Communist Party and the Awami League returned to power, inflicting sever defeat to Muslim League. Out of 309, the Muslim League only won 10 seats, whereas the communist party had 4 seats of the ten contested. The communists working with other parties had secured 22 additional seats, totalling 26 seats. The right-wing Jamaat-e-Islami had completely failed in the elections.

In 1955, the United Front named Abu Hussain Sarkar as the Chief minister of the State who ruled the state in two non-consecutive terms until 1958 when the martial law was imposed.[41] The Muslim League remained to be a minor party in East Pakistan but participated with full rigour during the general elections in 1970. It had won 10 seats from East Pakistan and 7 seats from other parts of Pakistan. After the independence of Bangladesh, the Muslim League was revived in 1976 but it was reduced, rendering it insignificant in the political arena.

United Kingdom

During the 1940s, the Muslim League had a United Kingdom section active in the British politics. After the establishment of Pakistan, the Pakistani community's leaders took over the UK branch to continue to serve its purpose in the United Kingdom.[42] As of current, the Muslim League's UK branch is taken over by the PML(N), with Zubair Gull its president, and Nawaz Sharif serving its patron-in-chief.

Historical versions

Historically, Pakistan Muslim League can also refer to any of the following political parties in Pakistan:

- Muslim League, the original successor of All-India Muslim League, which was disbanded on first marshal law.

- Convention Muslim League, a political platform created by General Ayub Khan in 1962 when he became the president.

- Council Muslim League, a party created by political leaders who opposed General Ayub Khan.

- Muslim League, a party created by Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan when he split with the Council Muslim League to run for the 1970 general elections.

*****

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

C.No. : SOC-C-402	Lesson No. 11
Social Development in India	Unit : III

CONTENTS

11.1 Introduction

11.2 Models of Development

11.3 The Model and the Compromises

11.4 Need for Austerity

11.5 People's Participation

11.6 Problem of Motivation

11.7 Social Policy Issues

11.8 Summary

11.9 Check your Progress

OBJECTIVES

After going through this lesson, you will be able to:-

"   Understand the concept of social development

"   Describe its models

"   Understand social policy issues - Distributive Justice, Population, Health and Education etc.

11.1 Introduction

Social Development means something more than merely socio-economic, political and environmental development. It is not simply an effort to provide adhoc growth

targets in each of the separate sectors of planning. This type of social development planning has existed in all developing countries. Most of the national development plans provide for economic, physical, infrastructural, educational, health and welfare targets of growth or expansion. Social development planning requires the perception and delineation of the nature of interrelationships between the different sectors.

11.2 Models of Development

Developing countries have before them several models development and they may follow one of these either as a result of choice or circumstance. It is customary to identify and group them in terms of the dichotomy of capitalist and socialist models of development, though, in a strict sense; classical capitalism cannot be reconciled with planning. According, the terms 'capitalist' and 'socialist' are not a distinct in their meaning and implications as they used to be. There are at least two different dimensions along which these terms are interrelated:

"   One of these dimensions is provided by the extent to which the economy is controlled by the state. Today, after the depression of the 1930's and the Second World War, there is hardly any government which leaves the economic forces in the country to operate freely without some measures of state regulation. At on end is the pattern where regulation is effected through legal and fiscal measures in an economy which is otherwise considered to be open or free for the exercise of private initiative. The other end is the one where the economy is directly controlled through state ownership and leaves no role, or only a very minor role, for private enterprise. This is called as capitalist-socialist label was traditionally expected to reflect also rejection or acceptance of the concept of social justice and the right of individuals to be provided social services equally without reference to their ability to pay for these services.

"   Apart from the capitalist-socialist differentiation, there is the other dimension of a democratic-totalitarian polity along which states are differentiated. The democratic state may have either a capitalist or a socialist economy, though in the old stereotype, capitalism and democracy on the one hand and socialism

and totalitarian rule on the other necessarily went together. In the world today, one can see countries which combine these two pairs of characteristics in different ways.

Thus the choice of the 'socialist' or 'capitalist' models o development- however inadequately these are defined- will tend to influence the types of social services that are planned, the percentage of population covered through them, the legislative measures that the government may take to strengthen or weaken labour organizations, the type of incentives that may be offered to entrepreneurs, the definition of policy relating to distribution of essential commodities and even the relative priority given to the production of luxury and essential goods.

11.3 The Models and the Compromises

The developing countries, which are universally poor and have in most cases a colonial history, had made certain ideological commitments during their struggle for freedom. Politically, they were committed, at least initially, to a representative democracy and economically they were committed to work for improving the lot of the common man. The economic goal did not always commit them to any one system - capitalist or socialist but it left them with enough initiative to undertake regulatory legislation of a degree of restrictiveness. In course of time, some of the countries have developed economies in which both the state and private entrepreneurs have a role. Some other countries have called themselves socialist though, as of the present, they have acted only to nationalise foreign owned industrial and business enterprises without necessarily legislating against all private enterprise.

11.4 Need for Austerity

The discipline that a government can impose on society is based only partly on the use of the stick; it depends also on the spontaneous acceptance of the need for such discipline by the people. The law of the land provides the government with the stick that it needs it needs, but it will gain the moral authority to use the stick only when those in authority, whether in government or in administration, themselves lead a life conforming to the norms of economic discipline. The people

will accept their deprivations more willingly----in the interest of the nation (!)----when they find that those in power practise what they preach. Conspicuous simplicity on the part of the rulers and their readiness to punish the delinquent promptly, irrespective of the class origin of the delinquent, is essential for establishing the credibility of a government's austerity measures requiring people to make sacrifices.

11.5 People's Participation

As already stated, the willingness of the people to accept sacrifices without allowing them to warp their lives depends upon the credibility of government's performance and on the lead given by the elite in society. This willingness also depends upon the degree of people's participation in the process of planning. While the broad or strategic decisions of overall planning and planning in relation to capital-intensive projects may have to be taken at higher levels of national and regional government, there is a great deal of planning and implementation that can be left to people at the local level. In the highly stratified societies of Asia, participation by the common man in any deliberative process is difficult to achieve.

The very low percentages of literacy and education in the general population also present a major difficulty in communication and participation. The elective democratic polity is based on assumptions of relative homogeneity and a commonality of interest in the electorate. The absence of such homogeneity poses problems of national integration and the low levels of literacy and education make for serious difficulties in communication except at a very gross level. Both these factors are obstacles in the way of motivation for participating in political and decision-making processes except in the form of voter participation during elections to legislatures. The lack of political participation by the mass of people is the cause and consequence of poor mobilisation of the people in governmental programmes of development.

11.6 Problem of Motivation

The challenge of social development is not so much, or evens primarily, a problem

of mobilising money resources but rather a problem of motivating and mobilising people. Poor countries have by definition a paucity of material resources and while a certain amount or proportion of them must necessarily be found, borrowed or commandeered, a good proportion of them would have to be substituted by human labour, enthusiasm, ingenuity and creativity. In such mobilisation, equality and democracy are not only desired end-states, but also necessary means and instrumentalities in the present.

The problem of motivation and mobilisation of people runs through the whole spectrum of social development programmes. It is a necessary part of all efforts at economic development and also of efforts to ensure utilisation of all services.

The problem of motivating and mobilising people for hard work and for making their contribution to the community and the problem of motivating individuals to fully utilise available resources are not as different services are not as different as they may seem. We are inclined to look at one of the contribution that man makes and at the other as a benefit he drives, but both depend upon the values and beliefs he holds. Social development involves and is contingent upon the establishment of an appropriate of values.

11.7 Social Policy Issues

Distributive Justice: The first priority in any poor country is of couse to seek economic growth; but this growth is to be measured not exclusively in terms of GNP. It has to be measued also, and among other things , in terms of additional job created. This may mean lower productivity per person but on the other hand if the country economy grows without corresponding increases in the number of jobs, the coutry will have to hear the cost of supporting unemployed persons through programmes of social assistance of one variety or the other. A job- oriented economic development programmes has the advantage of maintaining the self respect of the individual. From this point of view, even subsidised programmes of producing hand-spun and handwoven textiles are better than any syatem which reduces the recipient of state assistance to the position of a social dependent

because he is considered to have individually failed to fnd a job and make a success of his life.

Population: Equally important for economic growth, but vital even from a purely social point of view, is an effective proframme of checking population growth. The programme cannot gain acceptance only on grounds of national interest. It must find legitimacy and meet needs in the life of the individual citizen. But, even at the level of calculation of the economic gain, the programme cannot achieve a major breakthrough until the current income levels of peasants improve making it unnecessary for them to depend upon every marginal addtionvthat even young children can make to a family living at a level of bare subsistence. Children also mean security in old age- a much needed assurance in a country which offers no other form of security.

Health: Health is another area where an overall policy perspective has to be developed. Western countries have developed a very expensive system of health care- whether this cost is borne directly by the individual or the state. The developing countries may not be able to copy the model. While clinical care will necessarily have to be provided, it is even more important to organise an effective, preventive health service. This is diifficult to do. A person who is ill goes to a doctor and takes the medicine prescribed. But, a person who is not ill does not give the same measure of cooperationin a programme of prevention. Even from the point of view of the medical profession, there is much more prestige, as well as profit, to be had in the practice of clinical medicine, and little of either in preventive medicine.

Education: In the sphere of education an important policy question relates to the level of an important plicy quesion relates to the level of education at which major financial investments should be made. From an econimc as well as social point of view it is of highest importance that universal literacy in the adult age group and compulsory primary education for children between six and eleven years of age should be achieved. For a variety of reasons India has not achieved these targets and this is true of other Asian Countries as well.

11.8 Summary

Thus social development requires the perception and delineation of the nature of inter-relationships between the different sectors. Social development is an integrative concept and this integration depends upon a clear enunciation of the values and the type of society toward which planning is to be undertaken.

11.9 Check your Progress

Q1.   Explain in detail the various models of development?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   Why there is need for Austerity?

_____

_____

_____

*****

SOCIAL EXCLUSION

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 12**
Social Development in India	**Unit : III**

Structure

12.1   **Introduction**

12.2   **Characteristics**

12.3   **Excluded ones**

12.4   **Caste Exclusion**

12.5   **Sum up**

12.6   **Check your Progress**

12.1   **Introduction**

Exclusion as a social phenomenon is expressed in different forms all over the world. In India, unique forms of exclusion are observed, where certain groups like the Dalits, background classes, women and religious minorities experience systemic exclusion in regard o occurring the advantages of development and institutional inequality and discrimination have been pervasive features of the society.

12.2   **Characteristics of Exclusion**

* The deprivation caused through exclusion or denial of equal opportunity in multiple spheres-showing its multidimensionality.

* The process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from the society in which they live.

In short, social exlcusion in its more specific manifestation as discrimination refers to the process through which different groups are wholly or partially restricted from full participation in the economic, educational and social institutions that define social membership. It involves both the act of restricting access to resources and the consequences that follow.

Social exlcusion of deprived communities can lead to economic poverty, as social exclusion and poverty are deeply interconnected. Discrimination, inequality and isolation - the main features of social exclusion - have an intensive negative impact on equality of life. There are two aspects of this relationship.

* First poverty can load to social stigmatization, marginalization and exclusion from institutions which further lead to greater poverty.

* Second, while social exclusion does not always lead to economic poverty, it is always linked to exclusion from institutions of society and leads to a poorer sense of well-being.

12.3 WHO ARE EXCLUDED :

In the Indian context, exclusion revolves around institutions that discriminate, isolate, share and deprive subordinate groups on the basis of identities such as caste, religion and gender. It is mainly based on caste and patriarchy. The salient features of social exclusion on the basis of caste and social stratification, social inequality, hierarchy and hegemony. Patriarchy breeds gender inequality and social exclusion of weaker sections is closely associate with the discriminatory practices and inequality embedded in the institution by caste.

* **Amartya Sen :** draws attention to various meanings and dimensions of social exclusion .

* **Unfavorable Exclusion :** Where some people are being kept out (at least left out) or violating fair norms of exclusion.

* **Unfavourable inclusion :** Where some people are being included (may even by forced to be included).

  The "Unfavourable inclusion", with unequal treatment may carry the same adverse effects as "unfavourable exclusion". Sen also differentiated between "active and passive exclusion" for the causal analysis and policy response.

* **Active Exclusion : Fostering of exclusion** through the deliberate policy interventions by the government or by another willful agents to exclude some people from some opportunity.

*   **Passive exclusion :** which works through the social processes in which there are no deliberate attempts to exclude, but nevertheless, may results in exclusion from a set of circumstances.

*   **Constitutive relevance of exclusion :** Exclusion or deprivation have an instrinsic importance of their own. For instance, not bring able to relate to others and to take part in the life of the community can directly impoverish a person's life in addition to the further deprivation it may generate.

*   **Instrumental Importance of Exclusion :** In which the exclusion in itself if not impoverishing, but can lead to impoverishment of human life.

12.4   CASTE-EXCLUSION AND DISCRIMINATION

The caste and untouchability based exclusion and discrimination can be categorized in the economic, civil, cultural and political sphere as follows :

*   The exclusion and the denial of equal opportunity in economic sphere would necessarily operate through markets and non-market transactions and exchange.

*   In the civil and cultural spheres, the untouchables may face discrimination and exclusion in the use of public services like public roads, temples, water bodies and institutions delivering services like education, health and other public services.

*   In the political spheres, the untouchables can face discrimination in use of political rights and in participation in decision-making process.

The caste and untouchability based exclusion and discrimination, essentially is structural in character and comprehensive and multiple in coverage and involve denial of equal opportunities, particularly to the excluded groups like former untouchables.

To liberate Dalits from the iron clutches of social exclusion, their human rights have been protected and promoted through special policies framed for their upliftment. This provides Dalits with opportunities to particular in the mainstream devlopment process. Dalit should be absorbed into this development exercise both as participants and beneficiaries and only then the establishment of a more egalitarian society committed to the principle of social justice and economic equality is possible.

Accordingly, a sound inclusive policy with an effective implementation is the need of the hour.

The Scheduled Tribes (STs) in India with 8.2% of population are being excluded in a way that they are considered to be less developed, physically isolated, background and too have low literacy levels when compared to the caste communities. More than 45% of the total population in India stands below poverty line and faces problems like food insecurity, illiteracy, indebtedness, landalienation, exploitation, malnutrition and early deaths. The government of India has taken a number of programmes for the upliftment of tribal communities.

12.5 Sum Up

The question remains as to why the SCs and STs have poor access to all resources that directly and indirectly determine the level of income and capabilities to secure sources of income. Why are the unemployment rates high particularly among.

12.6 Check your Progress

Q1.   Elaborate various characteristics of social exclusion?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   What is meant by Caste Exclusion?

_____

_____

_____

****

INCLUSIVE POLICY FOR THE MARGINALIZED DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

C.No. : SOC-C-402   Lesson No. 13

Social Development in India   Unit : III

Structure

13.1 Introduction

13.2 Marginalised Communities

13.3 Excluded ones

13.4 Caste Exclusion

13.5 Sum Up

13.6 Check your Progress

13.1 Introduction

Marginalisation is a made of creating and maintaining social identities and individual self-definitions affecting individuals at all levels of society, which involves constructing a dominant social identity against the background of excluded individuals and social groups. Marginalisation is conceptually the alination of individuals from the ability to access culturally held goods because of the individuals minority status. It can be defined as a process where there is a more or less comprehensive involuntary exclusion from participation in one or more spheres of life. A process where there is a normative expectation of participation both as regards the individual and in relation to the given socially dominant norms and practice. People can be marginalised in several spheres, but marginalization in one sphere does not automatically lead to marginalization in others.

Social inclusion of certain social groups is also to be understood as contextual

and situational. Development policies and programmes are another kind of measurement in order to achieve inclusive growth among the excluded social categories of India. The Indian constitution provides equality to all citizens, irrespective of caste, creed, religion and gender. It also directs the state to take various measures to remove the different forms of discrimination and inequality and thereby help to eradicate social exclusion. The state should ensure social justice to all the deprived communities such as SCs, STss, OBCs, religious minorities, women etc.

13.2   MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES

Muslims : Constitute about nearly 12-13% of the total population of India. According to Muslim Women's Survey (MWS) conducted in 2001, the female literacy rate is very low in this community. Early marriage was cited as an important reason for dropping out of school. The most common disease, that prevails among Muslims in Tuberculosis, mainly due to occupational structure. A major proportion of the population is engaged in manual works and in bidi making or in textile sector. The average family size of the Muslims is 5-7. Muslims are clearly on the margins of the structures of economic, social and political relevance in India.

Scheduled Castes : Literacy rate amongst this group is very low when compared with non-SCs. Anaemia among SC women is more as compared to women of other communities mainly due to malnutrition.

13.3   INCLUSIVE POLICIES

* **Article 15 :** Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

* **Article 17 :** Abolition of untouchability

* **Article 25 :** Protection of Interests (Cultural and Educational) of minorities.

* **Article 15(4) :** Reservation are provided toin educational institutions.

* **Article 16(4) :** Reservation are provided to SCs and STs in the appointment under the state.

* **Article 330 and 332 :** Reservations are provided in legislative bodies (central, State and local bodies).

* **Article 338 :** National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes etc.

* **Scheduled Tribes :** Literacy rate of STs was more than SCs Prevalence of HIV/AIDS is more. Least access to basic health care suffer largely from malnutrition and hunger.

13.4 **OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES :** The population of OBC class has been estimated to be 41% of the population in the country. There are four states - Tamil Nadu, Bihar, Kerala and Uttar Pradesh where OBCs constitute more than 50% of the population.

* **INCLUSIVE POLICIES**

* **Article 15(4) and 16(4) :** State is empowered to make special provisions for any socially and educationally backward classes of citizen.

* **Article 340 :** Authorizes the President of India to appoint a commission to investigate and report on the condition of the backward classes in different parts of the country.

ACCORDING TO NSSO

SC Population - 19.59%   Rest of the population : 30.80%

ST Population - 8.63%

OBC Population - 41%

Women : Dalit women experience discirmination and untouchability in multiple spheres. Two aspects of Dalit women's lives are of special concern :

The gendered division labour that exposes women to specific forms of untouchability.

Sexualized forms of Oppression :

INCLUSIVE POLICIES

* **Article 15(1) :** Non-discrimination on the basis of caste and gender

* **Article 17 :** Abolished untouchability

*   **Article 21 :** Right to life and security of life.

13.5   Sum Up

Social inclusion is defined as the removal of institutional barriers and enhancement of incentives to increase the access of diverse individuals and groups to development opportunities. Exclusion- inclusion needs to be explored and addressed as a combine as the two are closely interwined. There are no 'Quick-fix' solutions to promote inclusion.

13.6   Check your Progress

Q1.   What is meant by Marginalised Communities?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   Who are Excluded ones?

_____

_____

_____

*****

THE SCHEDULED CASTES

C.No. : SOC-C-402   **Lesson No. 14**

Social Development in India   **Unit : III**

Structure

14.1   Introduction

14.2   Scheduled Castes and Social Mobility

14.3   Two patterns of Social Mobility

14.4   Inequalities and Exploitation

14.5   Scheduled Tribes

14.6   Problems of Tribal People

14.7   Constitutional Provisions

14.1   Introduction

The constitution of India prescribes protection and safeguards for the Scheduled Castes (Dalit or SC's) and Scheduled Tribes (SC's) and other Backward Classes (OBC's) with the object of removing their social disabilities and promoting their varied interests. The machinery for safeguarding the interests of SCs and STs was created in the form of setting up a commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This has now been renamed as National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It was given constitutional status on March 12, 1992. Its functions are related with the issues and policies concerned with the development of SCs and STs.

Caste is an all pervasive feature of the Indian society. It is marked by features such as hierarchy, purity and pollution. The position of the Scheduled Castes has a

bearing on the social structure of the 'Cast Society' i.e. division of Hindu society into caste group. Brahmins occupy the top position in the caste hierarchy, while at the lowest level are the untouchables. In between there are several caste groups. The value of pollution/purity pervades all aspects of social life including food, cloth, metals, occupations etc. Thus, not only are persons and castes pure/impure or less pure/impure but everything in Hindu society is viewed in terms of the value of purity-pollution; for example, silk is pure and cotton is impure, gold is pure that silver is less pure.

The notions of Dharma and Karma are associated with caste assigned roles and obligations. Those who are at higher levels of the caste-ranking are certainly less subjected to expression and exploitation. The Karma principle leads a person to the belief that his low or high caste position is because his past bad or good deeds and therefore, he cannot do anything about his position. He can improve his future by performing his duties in accordance with what he has been assigned to perform under the caste system. These two notions of : dharma and Karma have made the caste system stagnant and reignited. Since Brahmins were at the top of caste hierarcy, they were the rule-makers and prescribers of norms. They are even today considered the models of social and cultural mobility.

The constitution of India has listed the 'untouchables' as the 'Scheduled Castes' with a view providing them protection against discrimination, exploitation and degradetion. It provides their novel, economic, political, cutlural and educational upliftment. A policy of reservation of promotion, educational facilities, constituencies for Lok Sabha and state Assemblies and nomination to Panchayats and urban local bodies has been adopted by the government of India.

The various measures adopted by the government in post-independent India for the Scheduled Castes, are as result of several reform movements mostly in the South India and also due to the efforts of leaders like E.V Ramaswamy, Mahatma Gandhi, Babasahib Bhimrao Ambedkar etc.

Dr. Ambedkar fought constantly for a place of honour and dignity for the Scheduled Castes during the freedom struggle. The British conceded political

representation to the 'Untouchables' by the communal award. Gandhi rejected this as the Muslims had already made such a demand with a view to quicken the growth of separation and communalization of social relation. Gandhi undertook a fast unto death against the communal award. The award was withdraw under the Poona pact which recognised that Harijans were part of the Hindu social order. Ambedkar did his in best as chairman of the constitution drafting committee to make constitutional provisions for the upliftment of the millions of down-trodden Harijans. Gandhi called untouchables Harijans (Janes of God) and urged that they be given a special treatment. Gandhi also brought out a periodical entitled Harijan to highlight the flight of 'the children of God'.

Provisions have been made against social discriminated and untouchability, with a view to bringing the SCs to an equal rank with the caste Hindus. However, scripture status cannot be changed simply by constitutional provisions. The processes of social change and modernization of traditional values alone can bring about a change in the course of time. The constitution of India makes provisions for the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes in economic, political and educational fields.

However, a majority of the SCs live in villages and they continue to suffer because they work under the command of the dominant castes and the landlords. They continue to be economically dependent on the upper caste and class groups. Constitutional provisions have been availed of by the Harijans in a very marginal way. They remain objects of exploitation.

14.2   SCHEDULED CASTES AND SOCIAL MOBILITY

Mobility refers to a process whereby an individual or a group can move upward or downward in a hierarchial society. Social mobility in an upward direction is always desirable, especially so by the deprived sections of a society.

In the case of Scheduled Castes, it has been observed that there is an increasing possibility for upward mobility. Mobility is possible mainly through two processes-

*   By corporate mobility and

*   By competition between castes and within a castes

There is inter caste variability in regard to social mobility. There are also sacred and secular models in different contexts. Migration, education and white collar jobs have been the main source of social mobility among the SC. As a result of these factors of social mobility, there have been changes in their social status, patterns of interaction, levels of aspirations, family patterns, employment patterns of the women and awareness of governmental policies. The SC have also used their caste associations for political actions in towns and cities.

14.3   TWO PATTERNS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE SC

* Welfare measures have introduced a certain level of mobility among some selected sections of the SC and

* a certain level of awareness about their own low status has emerged along with an anti-upper caste attitude.

14.4   INEQUALITIES AND EXPLOITATION

All Harijans are not subjected to the same all treatment and atrocities by the landlords, rich pleasant and upper cases. The Harijans who are not victims of atricities and exploitation, belong to a higher class. It is this class of Haryans who extract maximum benefits from various policies and programmes. The poor Harijans were victims of massacre, loot and rape in Belch Agus, Pantnagar, Marathwada, Bajitpur, Bhagalpour and some other places. The role of caste is detrimental to the progress of the 'untouchables'. Ramakrishna Mukharjee observes that caste-riots are frequent in those areas where the caste wise social deprivations are manifestly correlated with the class wise economic deprivations such as in Bihar, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu etc. Literary, education and employment are the most important indications of social mobility among the Scheduled Castes and the phenomenon of violence is closely related to social mobility.

The bulk of the SC are engaged as agricultural and manual labourers. They are vicitms of assault, murder, rape and other in human treatment. In May 1977 in Belchi, nine Harijans were brunt alive. In July 1978, in Maharashtra, riots began due to the renaming of Marathwada University as Ambedkar University and this incident was repeated in 1993-94. The conflict crystallized between the Dalit and non-Dalit

activities. The movement against the Dalits provoked violence, including the killing of people, molestation and rape of Harijan women, burning of Harijan houses and huts, denial of drinking water etc.

Harijans have made several efforts to come out of the clutches of the dominant sections of caste Hindu society. These include Sanskritizations, conversion to Buddhim, Migration, education, urban employment etc. The Dalit literature movement in Maharashtra has been launched to create consciousness among the Harijans about their rightful place in Indian society. The Harijans have yet to go a long way to achieve equality with the non-Harijans. These efforts are more in the nature of a quit for equality rather than actual realization of equality with the caste-Hindus.

14.5   SCHEDULED TRIBES

People under Scheduled Tribes though were not subjected to untouchability and social hatred unlike Scheduled Castes, their socioeconomic condition was pathetic deserving protective discrimination for their assimilation in the general stream society. Common criteria for inclusion of tribes under the category were their tribal origin and characteristic, primitive traits and way of life, remote habitation and geographic isolation. The aim of reservation policy meant for Scheduled Tribes is to bring improvement in their condition and a degree of assimilation with preservation of their distinctiveness and a measure of autonomy.

The constitution of India, under Article 342, states that the President may "by public notification specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of a or groups which shall for the purposes of this constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes..... ". "Thus, as recognised by the constitution, there is no fixed definition of Scheduled Tribes (ST).G.S. Ghurye also writes, "the Scheduled Tribes are neither called the 'aborigenes', nor the 'adivasis' nor are they treated as a category by themselves. By and large they are treated together with the Scheduled Castes and further envisaged as one group of the Backward Classes".

The tribes of India are varied in terms of their Socio-economic and political development. Some of them have changed through Hinduisation, through conversion to Christianity or through some other route. Some tribal people are in the transitional

phase, while others continue to adhere to their old life styles to a large extent. This shows an uneven process of change and development among the tribal people in India. Some tribes live in the forest and hills, whereas others live in the plains. Some are settled agriculturists, whereas others depend upon forest produce. Some have been in close contact with the wide society and have adopted the life styles of Hindus, Christians and other communities. As a result of these variations, they are not all found at, the same level of socio-political awakening and economic standing. In general, all tribes still form a weaker section of the society, with the exception of their power elite and economically better off.

14.6 PROBLEMS OF THE TRIBAL PEOPLE

The whole of tribal India is at the present moment going through the critical stage of transection. That the reaction of each tribe or group of tribes has not been the same is borne out by the fact that there has been no uniformity trend in the population trends of various tribes. There are the Bhils, the Gonds and the others who confirm to the national trends of rapid increase in numbers.

Alienation is a major problem associated with the tribes. The tribes were alienated from their own lands, Ghurye mentions three views on the solution of the problems of the tribal people.

* No change and revivalism

* Isolation and Preservation

* Assimilation

S.C. Dube's five fold classification of the Indian tribes provides a clear picture of the problems of tribes in India :

* Aboriginals living in seclusion

* Tribal groups having on association with the neighboring non-tribal society and also maintaining their distinctiveness.

* Tribal living in villages along with caste groups, sects and religious groups and maintaining their identity.

* Tribals who have been degraded to the status of untouchables.

* Tribals who enjoy high social, economic and political status.

Such a classification is basically based on the nature of cultural contact of the tribals with non-tribals. The UN Dhebar Commission recommended that an area be declared 'tribal' where more than 50% of the people were tribals.

Another significant problem is the declining per capita landholding among the tribals, which is attributed mainly to 3 factors :

* Alienation of land due to indebtedness and socio-economic backwardness.

* Increase in tribal population and

* Takeover the tribal lands by the government for establishing industries.

The British came into contact with the tribes during their efforts at the consolidation of their Indian empire. Quite early, they had to control the turbulent Paharia of the Rajmahal Hills (Bengal) who had risen in revolt against the Hindu Zamindars. This pattern of British administration continued with marginal modifications till 1914 when the government of India act was passed. Under section - 52 A(2) of this Act, special modified administration of various areas, regarded as backward, could be ordered by the Governor-General in council, thus wholly exempting the people of the said areas from administration under provisions of this Act.

The Preamble of the constitution of India guarantees to all citizens of India social economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship and equality of status and opportunity and seeks to promote fraternity among the countrymen in order to assure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

14.7 Specific Constitutional Provisions for the Protection, Upliftment and Welfare of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes

PART - II

* **Article - 15 :** Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth.

* **Article - 16:** Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment
* **Article - 17 :** Abolition of untouchability.
* **Article - 19 :** Protection of certain rights regarding freedom of speech, expression, residence, acquisition and disposal of property, practice of a profession, free association and free movement.
* **Article 23 :** Prohibition of traffic in human beings and forced labour.
* **Article 25 :** Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion.
* **Article 29 :** Protection of interests (cultural and educational) of minorities.
* **Article 30 :** Right of minorities establish and administer educational institutions.

PART - IV

* **Article 46 :** Promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Weaker Sections .

PART - VI

* **Article 164 :** Provision of a minister in charge of tribal welfare in Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, who may in addition be incharge of the welfare of the Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes or any other work

PART - X

* **Article 244 :** Administration of Scheduled areas and tribal areas, as mentioned in 5th and 6th schedules of the constitution.

PART XII

* **Article 275 (i) :** Grants by the Union to certain states for promoting the welfare of Scheduled Tribes and for better administration of Scheduled areas etc.

PART - XV

* **Article 325 :** No person to be eligible for inclusion in, or to claim to be inducted in a special, electoral role on ground of religion, race, caste or sex.

PART - XVI

* **Article 330 :** Reservation of seats for Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha.

* **Article 332 :** Reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the legislative assemblies of the states.

* **Article 335 :** Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts.

* **Article 338 :** National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

* **Article 339 :** Control of the Union over the Administration of Scheduled areas and the welfare of Scheduled Tribes.

* **Article 340 :** Appointment of a Commission (by the President) to investigate the conditions of backward classes.

* **Article 341 :** Power of the President to specify the castes, races tribes or posts of or groups within castes, races or tribes or as Scheduled Casts.

* **Article 342 :** Power of the President to specify the tribes or tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities as Scheduled Tribes.

PART - XVII

* **Article 350 (A) :** Facilities for instruction in mother tongues of a minority group.

* **Article 350 (B) :** Special officer for linguistic groups.

******

GENDER AND DISADVANTAGED GROUPS

C.No. : SOC-C-402   **Lesson No. 15**

Social Development in India   **Unit : III**

Structure

15.1 **Introduction**

15.2 **Our Constitution Guarantees**

15.3 **Institutional Guarantee**

15.4 **Sum up**

15.5 **Check your Progress**

15.1 **Introduction**

Women always face violence from en. Equality is only preached but not put into practice. Dalit women face more violence everyday, and they will continue to do so until society changes and accepts them as equals. Based on the positioning women experience gender and caste discrimination and violence as the outcome of several imbalanced social, economic and political power equations. It means, Dalit women are being disadvantaged because of :

*   The positioning of the caste of social hierarchy

*   Being of women

15.2 **Our Constitution Guarantees**

*   **Article 15(1):** Non discrimination on the basis of caste and gender

*   **Article 21 :** Right ot life and security of life

*   **Article 17 :** Abolishes untouchability

*   **Article 46 :** Constitutional directive to specifically protect Dalits from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

(152)

*   **Article 341 and 342 :** President of India and Governor of States were compiled to made SC's constitution order 1950 and 1008 castes were introduced in it and similarly. 1950 ST constitutional order lists 744 tribes in 22 states of India.

The Indian state has enacted a series of laws protecting the rights of Dalits and women, acknowledging the prevalance of discrimination and violence against the these sections of the society. A key law in this regard is the Scheduled Caste/ Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Astrocities) Act. 1989.

Dalit women endure violence in both the general community and in the family, from state and non-state actors of different genders, castes and socio-economic grouping. The violence highlights the incogruence between Dalit women's reality and the universal right of women to freedom from any gender-based violence that results in physical, serial or psychological harm Twelve Major forms of violence are mainly against the Dalit women, nine being violence in the general community - the physical assault, verbal abuse, sexual harassment and assault rape, sexual exploitation, forced prostitution, kidnapping and abduction, forced incarceration and medical negligence and three being violence in the family - female foeticide and infanticide child sexual abuse and domestic violence from natal and marital family members. The majority of the 500 Dalit women have faced several forms of violence over the past five years, either in one incident, or in a series of incidents of violence, in either or both the general community and the family.

The more frequent forms of violence that are perpetrated against the majority of Dalit women are verbal abuse (62.4% of total women), physical violence (54.8%), and rape (23.2%) in descending order. Although the remaining forms of violence are relatively based by fever Dalit women (less than 10%). If total women per form of violence) because of the qualitative factor of force present in these forms of violence.

The sites where violence occurs revival another aspect of Dalit women's vulnerability.

*   **Public spaces :** streets, women's toilet areas, bus stands, fields etc,

*   **Within the home**

(153)

* **Work place :** Daily wage labour occupations, economic dependence etc.

* **Government spaces :** Raped in police stations, medical negligence in government hospitals etc.

Violence is committed against women by the "dominat caste persons" as perpetrators not only as individuals, but also as group violence involving people of the same status or different status. The group nature of violence (particularly physical assaults, verbal abuse, sexual harassment and gang rapes) often against an individual Dalit women highlights the particular vulnerability of these women.

Caste-wise both forward castes (FC's) and backward castes (BCs) are seent o engage in violence against Dalit women, either as individuals or as a group. Roughly equal numbers of women across the difficult forms of violence have faced violence at the hands of these two major caste categories. Sexual violence against Dalit women often takes a collective caste aspect, in terms of gang rapes or forced postitution.

Worldview regards Dalit women's 'inferior' caste, class and gender status and consequent powerlessness and vulnerability. And based on this assumption, that Dalit women are available for any form of exploitation and violence, as a consequence of their "law " and "impure" character and hence the low character of their caste that does not deserve honour and respect. The primary identified factor for violence in the general community related to the issue of Dalit woman's sexual or bodily integrity.

* Secondly, gender inequality and 'natural' caste hierarchy
* Thirdly, area of Dalit women's civil rights
* Fourth, economic resources
* Fifth, Basic livelihood
* Sixth, political rights

Violence in the family include

* Gender inequality and norms of female subordination
* Economic causal factors - poverty, insufficient dowry etc.

15.3 Institutional Guarantee to the Tribals in India

The tribals are more backward not only compared with the General Population, but also compared to the Scheduled Castes. The tribals are the most adversely affected ethnic group due to developmental project of dams, factories and mines. They constitute 8% of the national population, but about 40% of displaced persons due to developmental projects are tribals. A tribal women can divorce and remarry easily. She earns and is, therefore, to a great extent economically independent. The UN International year of the Indigenous Peoples (1993) is an appropriate occasion to review the status of Tribals of India and also the status of the Tribal women. Tribal women, more than women in any other social group, works harder and the family economy and management depends on her.

Health Status of Tribal Women

* Higher infant mortality rate in the tribals compared to the national average.

* Low nutritional status of the tribals.

* Lower life expectancy in the tribals than the national average

* Higher fertility rate in Tribal women.

Educational Status of Tribal Women

* The literacy rate of tribals in lower than that of general as well as SC population.

* The literacy rate of the rural tribal female is the lowest of all groups.

* There is a gender bias in the literacy of the tribal population as in other groups, the female literacy being lower than the male literacy.

Employment Status of Tribal Women

* The employment status of tribal women may be considered in terms of their work participation, agriculture, forest, non-agricultural activities and the impact of developmental programmes.

* The work participation rates among tribals are higher than those among

Scheduled Caste and General population.

The date on Tribal women indicate that :

* They are overworked

* They are lower paid than men

* They have been adversely affected to deforestation and development projects.

* Non-tribal men are marrying tribal women to get land/jobs.

* They are sexually exploited by non-tribal men.

* Tribal women are denied property rights.

The main focus should be to improve the status of the tribal women, and be on the tribal girl.

15.4   Sum up

The National commission for women was constituted on 31st Jan, 1992 under the National commission for women Act, 1990. New Act, 1990 I a statute having the potential to catalase all the arms of the state under parliamentary democracy i.e. the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, though much more powers could make the commission on effective instrument. The commission functions cover every aspect of women's concerns and issues. They range from protective laws and constitutional provisions to empowerment.

The Report of the committee on the status of women in India, the National Perspective Plan for women and the Shramshakti report highlighted the prevalent discrimination against women and recommended various measures for the advancement of women.

The Indian Government has identified in its 10th Five Year Plan 2002-2007 the empowerment of socially disadvantaged groups such as Dalits and women as priority strategies for development of the nation.

The National Federation of Dalit women has stated in its Declaration of Dalit women's Right 2002. Dalit women have the right to life and to freedom from a oppression and violence, the right to expression, consclince and autonomy. It is only

when support is extended to Dalit women across the country that these women will become empowered and enjoy these fundamental rights on par with the rest of the country.

Article 338(A) : Two commissions were formed

* **National Commission for Scheduled Castes and**

* **National Commission for Scheduled Tribes**

2001 Census :

* 22.2% of the Hindus and SC's and 9.10% ST

* 89.5% of the Buddhists are SC's and 7.4% ST

* 37% of the Sikhs are SC'sand 0.9% ST

* 9% of the Christians are SC's and 32.80% ST

* 0.8% SC's in Islam and 0.5% ST's

15.5   Check your Progress

Q1.   Discuss in detail about the different Constitutional Guarantees?

_____

_____

_____

******

IDENTITY FORMATION AND ETHNIC ASSERTION

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 16**
Social Development in India	**Unit : IV**

Structure

16.1 Introduction

16.2 Ethnicity

16.3 Ethnic Upsurge

16.4 Sum up

16.5 Check your Progress

16.1 Introduction

The term "Ethnic" denotes race. But ethnic community laid emphasis on the distinct cutlural identity of the group. Ethnicity is a concept referring to a shared culture and way of life especially as reflected in language, folkways, religious and other institutional forms, material culture such as clothing and food and cultural products such as music, literature and art.

Ethnicity is sociologically important because it is often a major source of social cohesion and social conflict. Nationalism of often has a strong ethnic base as does the oppression of minorities Ethnicity is also an important basis for the formation of sucutures in complex society.

There are three ways of defining identity in ethnic groups with reference in objective attributes, subjective feelings and in relation to behaviour. An objective definition assumes that though no specific attributes is invariably associated with all ethnic categories, there must be some distinguishing cultural feature that clearly separates one group of people from another, whether that feature be language,

territory, religion, color, diet, dress or any of them. The difficulty with subjective definition is that they make it impossible to answer the basic question of how a group make it impossible to answer the basic question of how a group of people arrives at subjective self-consciousness in the first place. Behavioral definitions are really a form of objective definition since they assume that there are specific concrete ways in which ethnic groups behave or do not behave, particularly in relation to and in interaction with other groups.

Ethnicity is a sense of ethnic identity, which has been defined by De Vos as consisting of the 'subjective, symbolic or emblemaic use' by a group of people.. of any aspect of culture, in order to differentiate themselves from other groups. Ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves in addition to subjective self conscienceless, a claim to status and recognition either as a superior or group or as a group at least equal to other group.

14.2 Ethnicity is to ethnic category what class consciouness is to class

Ethnicity is an alternative form of social organization and identification to class ' Ethnic groups use ethnicity to make demands in the political arena for alternation in their status, in their economic well - being, in their civil rights or in their educational opportunities are engaged in a form of interest group politics.

Thus, Ethnicity is sociologically important because it is often a major should be made between cohension and social conflict. A distinction should be made between sociologically and psychologically ethnicity. These can be called as "hard" and "soft" ethnicities. The former connects directly with many aspects of life, the latter is marginal. A hard ethnic order is thoroughly institutionalized, soft ethnic order has blevered, permeable lines, incomplete institutionalization and an emerging idology.

Ethnicity is an emerging phenomenon in today's world. In India ethnic movements have assumed the form of regionalism in some form or other.

According to J.M. Yinger, the members of an ethnic group, who constitute a segment of the larger society, are assumed by themselves or by others to have a culture which they share exclusively among themselves.

Yinger's definition brings out the following characteristic elements of ethnicity.

* That the ethnic group is seen by others as distinct and separate from all those around them in terms of religion, race, language, country of origin etc.

* That the members of the ethnic group themselves sec them as distinct or separate in terms of some cultural aspects from all those around them.

* That the members of the ethnic group, a part from participating in common activities with others, also engage exclusively in activities which they consider to be their very own in order to retain their cultural distinctions.

16.3 Explanation of Recent Ethnic Upsurge

The recent ethnic outburst is explained by two different schools of thought

* Primordialists

* Circumstantialities according to the primordialists, ethnic feeling and pride have their roots deep in the past. The remnant of the old does not generally lose its identity. Minority groups could preserve their distinct identity by asserting their rights against the demands of dominant majority groups. A minority group may be defined as a group who, because of their racial or cultural characteristic, regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination. These communities survived as potential states mainly through the conscious effect of their leaders to prevent loss of identity and in response to the repressive efforts of the dominant group. Distinctive, speech, dress, religious practices and rituals have been utilized and called into play a order to re-enforce a distinct cultural identity.

The circumstantiates, on the other hand, hold the view that instead of going to the origin of ethnic identity, it is more worth while to take into account the circumstances which are primarily responsible for the ethnic upsurge in recent years in India and abroad.

16.4 Sum Up

Ethnic Identity is used as an instrument for strengthening the demands of ethnic group. The objective distinctions among ethnic groups do not necessarily lead to aggravate conflict. But when such objective distinctions are perceived

subjectively as obstacles to the attainment of certain goals-economic, political or educational - ethnic movements tend to develop a separatist character. Therefore, one of the ways to contains ethnic upsevege within limits is to ensure that people of a particular ethnic group do not suffer from a sense of deprivation or injustice on ethnic grounds.

16.5   Check your Progress

Q1.   What is meant by "Ethnicity"?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   Discuss in brief about Ethnic Upsurge?

_____

_____

_____

******

CULTURAL NATIONALISM

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 17**
Social Development in India	**Unit : IV**

Structure

17.1 Introduction

17.2 Yogendra Singh

17.3 T.K. Oommen

17.1 Introduction

The term nation is general, is a cultural entity, a body of people bounded together by a shared cultural heritage. The cultural factors that define a national are usually a common language, religion, traditions, historical consciousness and soon nationalism, therefore provides a real solution to the real problem by uniting the people and involves themselves into the struggle for modern social, economic and political development.

Bipan Chandra is his article "The Making of Indian Nationalism' has talked in the context of colonization. In his article, he sees how whole continent fought against the colonial, not based on caste, colour, sex, but as a Indian.

According to Bipan Chandra. The Nation is the product of concrete historical process and is, therefore, a long time in making. In case of history. To study the evolution of Indian national and nationalism means to study the economic, political and ideological development of the Indian people.

So, far Bipan Chandra, the 'people' or the nation' in India were formed as unity because their economic and political interests became increasingly common as did the interest of their social and cultural developments. For him, the process of

national formation is both 'objective' as well as 'subjective' i.e. emotional, intellectual and ideological process.

In general, objective criteria refers to the criteria that can be seen and shared with each other and subjective criteria is related to the personal experiences of individual. According to Bipan Chandra, no nation can come into being without the objective process i.e. the process of its economic and political integration but such integration can always be disturbed due to subjective factors. From the objective point of view, Indians were sharing common interest and common conditions of existence but it was also the product of the painstaking, conscious effort of the struggle against colonialism during which the Indian people acquired the necessary collective consciousness and identity of being one nation.

From the pre-19th century, India was culturally diverse. There had also come into being over the centuries certain unifying strands of a common cultural heritage.

The common mythology, common pilgrimage, the common religious reform movements such as 'Bharti' and 'sufi' were some of the aspects of this phenomenon.

The colonization of the Indian economy, society and polity further strengthened the objective process of India's unification.

The Britishers gradually introduced a uniform system of law and administration which penetrated down to the village and thus further unified the country and created a single administrative and politically entity.

According to the founders of the Indian National movement. India's becoming a nation was not to be seen as an event but a prolonged historicla process which has to be carefully promoted and nurtured. The process faced many obstacles and was constantly challenged. India could be unified and its segmentation overcome only by recognizing and accepting its immense diversity.

The Indian National movement was, therefore, committed to religious freedom, diversity of cultures, reorganization of Indian administration, removal of economic disparity among regions, full protection and development of the cultures, economic

autonomy and lofie styles of the tribal people. The movement accepted that a federal polity (relating to union of several independent states) a unified economy and composite culture had to be evolved on the basis of the principle of unity in diversity.

The social vision of the national movement ecnompoassed a secular society and secular state. Secular was defined as the separation of religions from the states and politics, treatment or equal respect for all religious. The national congress declared in 1931 in its famous Karachi resolution, that in free India, every citizen shall enjoy freedom of conscience and the right to freely practise this religion and the state shall observe neutrality in regard to all religious.

The movement was also committed fully to political democracy and civil liberties which were seen as the basic building block of nation making. As Jawahar Lal Nehru was stated that without democracy India could not be held together.

It can be concluded that the Nation and Nationalism are a historical phenomenon. Indian national was not a datum. (things known or granted) to the national movement. Indian national was the result of the political and ideological struggles. people acquired the necessary self-consciousness and identify of being one-nation.

17.2 YOGENDRA SINGH

According to Yogendra Singh, culture has its roots in the phenomenology of species. There are certain elements in the human reality such as cognitive, symbolic and mental. The dynamics of culture and symbolic life is involved in the process of being human. The enrich this process, interaction between symbolic and material aspects is required.

e.g. Transition from tribal to peasant folk and to techno-indus trial culture reflects this process. There has come the phase of information society and "popular culture".

* The dynamics of culture manifests itself at three levels.

Mythology : i.e. myth making is a very unique attribute of human kind.

Historiography : Through which events of social significance are given meanings

'Reason' or logic : Influences the instrumental aspects of life. One cannot understand the relationship between culture and national building without analyzing these three principles. A very important aspect of the relationship among myth, history and reason is that in theoretical terms, it goes beyond the metaphors (used in imaginative way) of tradition and modernity. The principles of history, science and logic are central to the concept of modernization as reflected in the nation-building process.

According to Yogendra Singh; Nation as a concept is very complex. There is always the danger of ratification. There are two different ways in order to understand this process in which myth, history and reason have worked one way is towards the evolution and growth of reason i.e. Growth is Science, Productive capacity, evolution from hunting and gathering mode of production to agricultural mode of Production and finally to the Industrial mode of production. There is beginning of the early stages of the post-industrial, information-oriented society. There is a growth in the professional and managerial areas, that need to be studies, so the problem of national building in India is located, on the one hand, in the evolutionary integrative processes of economy and profession through which the rationalization process of the productive forces takes place and on the other, it can also be observed at the level of the emergent forces of segmentation.

Between "culture" and "nation-building" there is a link issue of the quality of life. To promote quality of life, only the growth of huge industries is not required rather is necessary rather to promote privacy in life. The memories, mythologies, fantasies and religious beliefs of people at the level of local cultures and also the institutions of democracy and civil society will have to be strengthened.

Thus, Yogendra Singh has given some of the important points in strengthening the process of nation-building.

* Removal of illiteracy, poverty, unemployment and exploitation

* Decentralization of power

* Networking of the voluntary associations

* Conscious about the various national movements

Nation-building process originally related to the successes in achieving economic and social development, distributive justice in society and the ability in society for linking mythology with history and reason. These mythologies, history and reason are unique to each society.

17.3 T.K. OOMMEN

According to **T.K. OOMMEN**, there are two basic condition for the formation of nation.

* A territory on which the inhabitants have a moral claim either because it is their original homeland or because they come to identify with it was their homeland though they are migrants, colonizers or even conquerors.

* The secpmd condition for the formation of a nation is a common instrument of communication, a language. A nation which want to develop or modernise itself should either develop its own language or adopt another developed language.

There are four important clauses regarding the nation-building.

* **Territorialization** : It refers top a tendency on the party of religious collectively to claim that a specific territory is its exclusive homeland. The disjunctive between territory and culture leads to the ethnification of a people but they could acquire nationhood by eventual identification with new homeland. Viewed from this religious nationalities are indeed imagined communities.

* Religious communities defines itself as an autonomous political community.

* A cultural entity with a territorial base i.e. define by religion itself as a nation

* Religious collectively to be recognized as a specific entity suffering from material deprivations such as employment quota, distribution of land etc.

* **Homogenization** : The claim to nationhood implies the process of cultural homogenization i.e. evoling and imposing a common life style. In independent

India, this has been articulated in different forms. The Hindu nationalist project of homogenizations is caught in a trap of Hinduism's internal contradiction because homogenization implies not only uniformity but also equality.

*   **Relativisation** : It is the tendency to rehabilitate tradition in terms of original vision and purity. It often provides justification to all kinds of human practices e.g. Sati, untouchability etc all of which are justified in the name of religion.

<center>*****</center>

COMMUNALISM

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 18**
Social Development in India	**Unit : IV**

Structure

18.1   Introduction

The rising trend of communalism and the accompanying violence have created a feeling of insecurity among the religious minorities and ethnic groups. The prevent damage to the peace and integrity of the nation, there is a need to analyses and debate on the problem of communalism and communal violence. It has become important to define "communalism" today also, equally important to discover who is "communal".

Communalism is a derivative of the word "communal" which in itself is a derivative of the words. 'Commune' and 'community' communal means something of or belonging to a commune. Literally speaking, communalism, therefore is the principle of the communal organization of society. In other words, communalism means all that pertains to community and the communalize is the supporter of the community.

Therefore, communalism is an attribute of community, empirically speaking, "communalism is the community in action".

Communalism is an ideology which states that society is divided into religious communities whose interests differ and are, at times, even opposed to each other. The antagonism practised by the people of one community against the people of other community and religion can be termed 'communalism' This antagonism goes to the extent of falsely causing, harming and deliberately insulting a particular community and extends to looting, burning down the homes and shops of the helpless and the weak, dishonoring women and even killing persons.

"Communal persons" are those who practice politics through religion power political and not really religious but they are viewed as dangerous political "Scum". For them, God and religion are merely instruments to be used to live curiously as the "king parasites" of society and to attain the political goals.

18.2 DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNALISM

T.K. OOMMEN has suggested six dimensions of communalism Assimilations communalism is one in which small religious groups are assimilated into a big religious group such communalism claims that scheduled tribes are Hindus or that Jains, Sikhs and Buddhists are Hindus and they should be Covered by the Hindu Marriage Act.

Welfarist Communalism aims at the Welfare of a particular community, say, improving living standard and providing for education and health of Christians by the Christian associations or Parsi associations, working for the uplift of the Parsis. Such communal mobilization aims at working only for the members of one's own community.

Retreatist Communalism is one in which a small religious community keeps itself away from politics e.g. Bahai Community which prescribes its members from participating in political activities.

Retaliatory Communalism attempts to harm, hurt, injure the members of other religious communities **Separatist Communalism** is one in which one religious or a cultural group wants to maintain its cultural specificity and demands a separate territorial state within the country e.g. the demands of some mizos and nagas in north east Indian or Bodos in Assam or of Jharkhand tribals in Bihar, or of Gorkhas for

Gorkhaland in West Bengal, or of hill people for Uttarakhand in Uttar Pradesh or of Vidarbha in Maharashtra.

Secessionist Communalism is one in which a religious community wants a separate political identity and demands an independent state. A very small militant section of sikh population demanding Khalistan or some Muslim militants demanding independent Kashmir were engaged in practising the type of communalism.

Retaliatory, separatist, secessions, communalism create problems like agitation, communal riots, terrorism etc.

18.3 Causes :

The Marxist school relates communalism to economic deprivation and to the class struggle between the haves and the have nots to secure a monopoly control of the market forces.

*   Political Scientists view it as a power struggle.

*   Sociologists see it as a phenomenon of Social tensions and relative deprivations

*   Ten major factors have been identified for the cause of communalism.

-       **Social Factors** : It include social tradition, caste and class ego, inequality and religion based social stratification.

-       **Religious Factors** : It include decline in religious norms and secular values, narrow and dogmatic religious values, use of religion for political gains and communal ideology of religious leaders.

-       **Political Factors** : It includes religion based politics, religion-dominated political organizations, canvassing in elections based on religious considerations, political interference, instigation or support to agitations by politicians for vested interests.

-       **Economic factors** : It include economic exploitation and discrimination of minority religious communities, lop-sided economic development, competitive market, non-expanding economy.

-       **Legal Factors** : It include absence of common civil code, special provisions and concession for some communities in the constitution, reservation policy and special

laws for different communities.

- **Psychological factors** : It include social prejudices, stereotyped attitudes, distrust, hostility and apathy against another community, rumor, fear psychosis.

- **Administrative factors** : It includes lack of coordination between the police and other administrative units, ill-equipped, and ill-trained police personnel, biased policeman

- **Historical Factors** : It include alien invasions, damage to religious institutions, divide and rule policy of colonial rulers, partition trauma, past communal riots, old disputes on land, temples and mosques.

- **Local Factors** : It includes religious processions, slogan raising, rumours, land disputes, local anti-social elements and group rivalries.

- **International factors** : It includes training and financial support from other countries, other countries mechanization to disunite and weaken Indian and then support to communal organization.

18.4   FEATURES:

Communal violence is based mainly on hatrid, enemity and revenge and these brings the features of communal violence.

* It is more of politically motivated than fuelled by religion

* Besides politicla interests, economic interests too play a vigorous part in fermenting communal clashes.

* The probability of recurrence of communal riots in a town where communal riots have already taken place once or twice is stronger than in a town in which riots have never occurred.

* Most Communal riots take place on the occasion of religious festivals.

18.5   THEORIES

Communal violence is a collective violence, when large sections of people in the community fall ti achieve their collective goals. It feel that they are being disseminated against deprived of equal opportunities, they feel frustrated and the collective frustration leads to collective violence.

(171)

Theories regarding collective violence is classified into two groups.

* At the level of socio-psychological analysis.

* At the level of the sociocultural or sociological analysis

In the first group, theories like frustation-aggression theory. Perversion theory, Motive Attribution theory and self-attitude theory. In the second group, theories like social tension theory, anomie theory, theory of subculture of violence and social learning theory. Act. to Ram Ahuja all these theories fail to explain the phenomenon of collective violence in communal riots his theoretical approach called social Barriers approach concentrates on the Sociological analysis of Social Culture Conditions.

18.6   SOCIAL BARRIERS THEORY

The Conditions which lead to collective communal violence are : Stress, Status, frustation and crises of various kind. Aggressors use violence because they suffer from insecurity and anxiety. The origin of these feelings and anxieties in an individual can be traced to social barriers created by the appressive social systems, the power elite as well as the individuals background and upbringing which have probable put up hurdles for him and which serve to aggravate his tendency to irrational and unrealistic attitudes to social norms and social institutions.

Three factors which create aggressors behavior are

-	Adjustment (in status)	-	Social Environment (in which individual/aggressors live)
-	Attachment (to community)	-	Socialized personalities of the individuals (aggressors)
-	Commitment (to values)		

Maladjustment, non-attachment and non-commitment of an individual lead to a feeling of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation occurs when

* expectations increase while capability remain the same or decline

* When expectations remain the same while capability decline

Several cases of collective communal violence are -Aligarh in 1978, Jamshedpur in 1979, Moradabad in 1980, Hyderabad in 1981, Meerut in 1982,

Ahmedabad in 1985, Jaipur in 1990, Varanasi in 1991, Bombay in 1993 and calcutta in 1996. The violence in Ahmedabad was the result of the feeling of deprivation. The main issue was the reservation issues, where two groups the anti-resevationsts as well as the pro-reservationsts felt deprived and frustrated their frustration was exploited by the political parties for their vested interest and the reservation issue came to be linked with caste and religion Anti-social elements engaged in bootlegging and thriving on political support were used to spread communal distrust.

18.7   THEORY OF POLARIZATION AND CLUSTER EFFECT :

Recently, a new conceptual paradigm has been developed based on an empirical study of communal riots in Uttar Pradesh to explain the inter and intra community violence in India. The paradigm is based on three concepts-polarity, cleawage and cluster

*   **Polarity** is sense of affinity, affiliation, belongings, concern and identity with people share with a particular issue. The polarization is the heightened sense of identity and belongingness resulting in emotional, mental or physical mobilization of individuals or groups to cause cohension

*   **Leavage** is a phenomenon by which population in a particular place is divided into two different polarities which have conflicting, contrasting or opposite principles or tendencies.

*   **Cluster** referes to the habitation pattern of the people belonging to one polarity share commonness in a given area at a particular time.

The communal disturbances involve two antagonistic social groups, it necessitates a careful analysis of animenty (state of mind and psyche), structural conduciveness (physical situation) and prejudices.

The individual in isolation is weak and insecure. The strength lies in assembles collectiveness and groups. The individual joints them for his gain and security. Various polarities are references in the matter of interpersonal relationships. The polarities are of two types.

Permanent : To this category belong ideology, religion, language caste, region and six. These polarities constitute individual's basic identity which lasts with the individual.

(173)

Temporary : To this category belong occupation, profession, functions based on vested interests.

Normally the polarities are not mutually exclusive but they become exclusive when the society undergoes a cleavage phenomenon due to perceived difference and division of the population as a consequence of polarization when masses in general assign the same closeness to single polarity, it becomes a dominating polarity at that time at that particular place for that particular population. This dominant polarity sets the pattern of inhibitions of the population (cluster formation) that is the polarity-based clusters determine the demographic living pattern. Such clusters in old cities and towns are based on religion, caste and sect, but in modern cities these are more class based. When such clustering takes place because of two different polarities (of religion or religious sects), there is a clash.

18.8   Sum Up

The community call given at the level of leadership also accelerates the process of polarization e.g. Shahi Imam Bukhari's inflammatory speech in Meerut City to the Muslim population in 1982 sparked off a great reaction among hindus to polarize against Muslims to safe guard their interests which ultimately resulted in communal riots in the city. He gave a similar provocative speech in anantnag,. Kashmir on April 8, 1988 inciting Kashmirs Muslims by claiming that they have been enslaved since the partition. He asserted that the centre had not created better economic conditions for them, they were being deprived of their rights and their problems were not looked into.

The nature of polarity dominance depends upon five factors :

-        Time and Space (that is, period, area, location and situation or geographical limits)

-        Education (that is awareness of interest)

-        Economic interests

-        Leadership (that is, emotional speeches, promises policies of the leaders)

On the basis of above analysis, V. V. Singh describes the riot-prince structure as follows :

*   bi-polarity population in identifiable clusters

* Close proximity

* Common interest and resultant animosity

* Potency of polarized population. Potency is based on numerical strength, economic prosperity, state of possession of arms, cohesion, type of leadership and the strength of activity.

* Administrative expediency and inefficiency of district police and public administration

Thus, communalism is not only a state of intercommunal rivalry and tension, but has also been an unfortunate commentary on the havoc that different customs and creeds, intemperateness and traditions and its and religious of various (communities have wrought in their life)

18.9 Check your Progress

Q1.   Discuss in detail the various dimensions of Communalism?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   What are the various causes of Communalism?

_____

_____

_____

*****

DALIT BAHUJAN DISCOURSE

C.No. : SOC-C-402   **Lesson No. 19**

Social Development in India   **Unit : IV**

Structure

19.1 Introduction

19.2 Dalit Bahujan Discourse

19.3 Forms of Movements

19.4 Styles of Movements

19.5 Sum up

19.6 Check your Progress

19.1 Introduction

"The Dalits," once known as untouchables have from time in immeorial been socially and economically oppressed, culturally subjugated and politically marginalized. Salutes in India with their constitutional or official identifying of the "Scheduled castes" have organized numerous forms of movements since have organized numerous forms of movements since around mid of the 19th Century. Their society and its movement has been captive of the process of reductionism. Dalit society is projected dirty, drunkard and devoid of any merit collectively professing an agenda of selfish demands. Some know this collectively as untouchables who are seeking privileges from government like "reservation" or special regulations or compensation for atrocities committee on them by caste Hindus. Another action of so-called conscious citizens know them through status of Ambedkar, feeling uneasy as the statuses remind them their presence-success or

failure of their movements is not always to be assessed in terms of the manifest positive or negative consequences that they have produced. Instead, it is to be seen in a symbiotic relationship wherein is embedded a latent success in the manifest failure. They have shown commendable degree of assertions for achieving freedom from their exploitation and subjugation for status equality and social respect.

19.2   DALIT BAHUJAN DISCOURSE

Lata Dalit Movement has been reduced to movement led by Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and its leaders 'Kanshi Ram' and Mayavati. In recent times they have begun to assert themselves and have launched movements aimed at ushering in a new social order based on the principle of equality and liberty. Even through many Dalits have, as a consequence, reached positions of power and prominence, particularly in the political una, the vast majority of them continue to suffer discriminate or poverty, humiliation and are often targets of in human a rocities. Most of the social reformers of the Dalit Communities have been blocked out from the mainstream historical and intellectual discourse. The present work is a modest departure from the existing understanding and writings on the Dalit. The midwifery role played by Dalit Women, who helps majority of women to deliver their babies and there by helps in the development of next generation to the landless agricultural laborer and helps to grow enough food material in the fields to feed the population. The labour of these people would not allege that they are professing a selfish agenda. Rather they are contributing much-much more than what are they getting Even Ravi Dasa, a dalit scunt poet of 'nirgun' tradition dalit assertion in reality has shocked and challenged the Hindus society. Moreover, in the modern times as well from Ambedkar's touching of Chowdar tank water and burning of manusmritit to Mayawati's ascendance to the C.M. of U.P not once but thrice created a rupture in the great Hindu Civilization.

From 1850 onwards, there has been an independent assertion of the Dalits. This revolution starts traversing new horizon. But at some point of historical development they were victim of Hindu social tradition and were reduced appendage of Hindu Society. This dalit assertion which started with certain conscious individuals for their own emancipation soon took a communitarian turn. Hence in 19th century number of socio-political organizations emerging in every nook and corner. These

(177)

organizations demanded their legitimate human rights economic, religious, educational and even political for their dignified survival.

The Dalit assertion exclusively through political demand came only in the year 1930s when Ambedkar demanded equal political rights for dalits and even participated in round table conference in 1932. These demands reached new horizon when Ambedkar on 15th August 1936 established the Independent labour political party. It was first ever political party established by Dalits. Since then almost 70 years have passed, the number of political parties established lead and Dominated by Dalits have increased in numbers & size. Since 1936, scheduled Caste Federation (1942), Dalit Panthers (1972), Bahujan Samaj Party (1984), Lok-Janshakti party (2000) etc, almost half a dozen parties have been established by the Dalits. All these parties have made some impression in Indian politics but among these, Bahujan Samaj Party has been the most successful of all BSP represents the new horizon of Dalit Assertion. It become the first national political party established by Dalit. No other politicla party established by Dalits has obtained such status as has been attained by BSP in Indian politics. Today it stands at third position after congress and Bhartiya Janta Party in terms of percentage of popular votes pelled in an elections.

The Dalit assertion has reached to new horizons that the Dalits can also come to power and in fact rule by forming their own political party. They can also represent themselves independently which is eualitatively different from being in a party led and dominated by the so-called upper strata and then represented by them for their socio-political rights. Before the advent of BSP, Dalits have never thought of contesting elections independently even for panchayat. But now the Dalits not only contest elections from panchayats to Parliament on their own but they are nursing the aspiration of becoming ministers of the country through a politicla party led and dominated by the Dalits.

Dalit movement has lost track towards the end of 1950s after the sad demise of Ambedkar. The contemporary Dalit leadership was in no way and match for Ambedkar's vision and ability. Congress further led by Dalit leaders Jaggivan Ram co-opted the independent Dalit movement and assertion. In 1990s in the Indian politics both at the state and national level because of emergence of BSP-a political party lest

and dominated by the upper castes like BJP, congress by 1990s BSP had consolidated itself politically in U.P. Even Govt. has made policies after policies for the Dalit uplift but Dalit upliftment has not come in true sense so government policies can at best Dalits only right to equality' but not 'right to be treated as equals'.

BSP leadership led a mass people's contact programme through public meeting, fairs and even by print media. Hence it created young, dynamic and fearless leadership which was free from the clutches of divined slavery of caste bonds. The young Dalits who are growing with this consciousness are trying to claim the nation and are not satisfied with lip-service of the mainstream political parties. Today they want an independent Dalit movement of their own, they want equal share in the national resources. The want to the masters of their own destiny and for they want an independent Dalit assertion and independent Dalit Political Movement.

Some criticizes BSP for not implementing the agenda of land reforms, implementation of minimum wages, primary education, jobs for poor etc But the significant point is that BSP, which is only twenty years old and has ruled for 25 and half month or appx. 750 days. It has strengthened Indian democracy and there by the nation.

19.3   FORMS OF DALIT MOVEMENTS

Various forms or types of Dalit movements organized in different parts of the country due to overlap of the issue, addressed by them moved and Patanker, have classified them as caste bad and class based movements. Shah has categorized them into reformative and alternative movements He has classified further into

*   Bhakti Movements

*   Non-Vedantic

*   Sanskritization movements

*   Religious conversion

*   Secular movements

*   Movements for achieving self-respect, human dignity, equality and new social identity

Two points need to be mentioned here are

- The main issues addressed by almost all types of Dalit Movements are the self respect, social equality and respectful identity of Dalits.

- All Dalits have neither been mobilized in the same degree's nor have they organized their movements with equal force and sustenance.

Religious movements counter the religion which emphasis universalize social values and bring them to the mind of the individual.

Dalit literature movement is concerned with the self-realized themes of sufferings, exploitation and social degradation of the Dalit masses

Dalits fight for gaining their self-respect, social dumity and the reason is that their social respect, dignified social status and it tied with their freedom from caste system.

19.4 STYLES OF DALIT MOVEMENTS

The Styles of Dalit movements, were initially organised upto the present time, have changed and depending upon the nature involved issues, adopted ideology on frame argued in many studies that the Dalits through their numerous types of movements had rebelled and dissented against the status question. Dalits have suffered from the multiple forms of deprivation. They have not only organized various types of protests or protest movements but event the styles of these movements have varied considerably

19.5 Sum Up

Dalit-Bahujan discourse have addressed the multiple forms of discrimination, exploitation and their resultant deprivation. This also focused on not only separate and distinct socio-religion identity for dalits but also successful agenda for BSP which strengthened democracy and nation.

19.6 Check your Progress

Q1.   What is meant by Dalit-Bahujan discourse?

_____

_____

_____

Q2.   What are the various forms of movements of discourse?

_____

_____

_____

****

MOVEMENT FOR TRIBAL AUTONOMY OR THEIR INTEGRATION

Structure

20.1   Introduction

20.2   Movements

20.3   Sum Up

20.4   Check your Progress

20.1   Introduction

Tribes are relatively isolated from larger cultural influences, have a relative cultural homogeneity and a simple technology. They believe in spirits, magic and witch craft. They have their own taboos which prohibit certain actions that are punishable by the community, by the supernatural or by magical consequences. Some important features of tribes in India are :

*   **Common name** : Each caste has a distinct name of its own through which it is distinguished from others.

*   **Common territory** : Tribes generally occupy common geographical areas

*   **Common Language** : Members of one tribe speak the same language. each tribe has its own dialect, if not the script

*   **Common Culture** : Each tribe has prescribed patterns of behavior and festivals and devotes to worship

*   **Endogamy** : Each tribes has the practice of marrying members with their own tribe.

*   **Political Organization** : All tribes have their own political organization. They

have councils of elders which control members.

Christian missionaries and social workers have viewed this problem from different angles with different perspectives. These views and approaches may be divided into three categories

- No change/Isolationism
- Assimilations
- Integrationism

Isolationism : Protagonists of the first approach hold the view that all the alien links, responsible for the unregulated and unrestricted contacts with the modern world and the resultant miserable condition of the tribes, should be snapped and the primitive people should be allowed and encouraged to flourish in their own primitive environment.

This approached also includes what is now widely known as 'National Park Theory' credited to verier Elwin. He suggested that "the first necessity is the establishment of National Park. A fairly large area was to be marked out for this purpose. The area should be under the direct control of a tribe's commissioner who should be an expert standing between them as was resorted to in the case of the HOS and Santhals. No missionaries of any religion were to be allowed to break up tribal life. This approach has been severely criticized on the ground that they are not domestic cattle or zoo exhibits but equal citizens of free India and thus they should be allowed to contribute towards the advancement of their country and enjoy the resultant fruits of development.

Assimilationism : The second approach i.e. Assimilation has got considerable acceptance when lobbied by social workers. The protagonists of 'assimilation' advance the view that tribes should be assimilated with their neighboring non-tribal cultures. The policy of total assimilation has also not been in conformity with the trend of Indian history. Despite thousands of years of cultural contacts and inter-cultural exchanges, the Indian society could not become totally homogenous. Though some cultural characteristics did take shape that are truly 'national' in character as the by-product of historical development of Indian society. Indian society has been formed when Santhal, Gand, Oriya, Telegu, Kashmir and numerous other cultural currents. under such conditions the policy of total assimilation of tribal culture as the solution

(183)

of their problems is unfair and futile.

      Integrations : The approach of 'integration' of the tribal population with the rest of the Indian population on the basis of equality and mutual respect is propagated by the anthropologists. integration should be differentiated from forced assimilation. We have got so many religious and linguistic groups who are being integrated to form one Indian nation without anybody making a demand that they should be forced to give up their cultural identity and identify themselves with the majority community. Perhaps, there will be more meaningful and durable integration when every minority group feels secured; when, in this pluralistic society that India is, people can exist as Hindus, Muslims, Christians, sikhs etc, when one can exist here as Tamil, Oriya, Gujarati, Bengali, Punjabi etc. they why not a person can exist here with respect and dignity as a Santhal, a Gond, a Tharu, a meena and a Yenadi. Integration can never be achieved under the shadow of threat and no plural society can afford to keep disgrunt led, distressed restless and frustrated minorities in its fold and still aspire for the harmonious development of the country. To ensure integration in this way the non-tribal need education as such as the tribals.

20.2 TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

      Cameron has classified them in four groups

* **Revivalists** - which seeks to bring back the good old days.

* **Conservative** : which are organized to obstruct the current changes and seeks to maintain status quo unton calls them 'perpetuities' movement.

* **Revisionary** : which desire specific changes by modifying the existing customs, improving or purifying the culture or social order and eliminating some institutions.

* **Revolutionary** : which aim at replacing the whole of the culture or social order with another more progressive. This does not mean that everything is to be replaced this movement is also termed as 'revivalistic movement'

- After independence, tribal movements may be classified into three groups

* Movements due to exploitation of outsiders (like those of the santhals and the mundas.

* Movements due to economic deprivation (like those of the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and the Mahars in Andhra Pradhes)

* Movements due to separatist tendencies (like those of the Nagas and Mizos)
- The Tribal movements may also be classified on the basis of their orientation into four types
* Movements seeking politicla autonomy and formation of a state (Nagas, Mizos, Jharkhand)
* Agrarian Movements
* Socio-religious or socio-cultural movements
* **Surjit Sinha** : has referred to four types of Tribal movements
* Ethnic rebellious movements during the British rule in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, like Birsa movement, among the Mundas, Kol rebellion in 1832, Santhal rebellion in 1857-58 and Naga rebellion in the 1880s.
* Reform movements, emulating the pattern of higher Hindu castes like Bhagat movement among the Oraon, Vaishnavite movement among the Bhumi and Kehr movement among the Santhals
* Political movements for Tribal states like Jharkhand movement in Chota Nagpur
* Secessionist movement like the Naga and Mizo movements
* Movement relating to agrarian interest like Naxalbari movement (1967) and Birsadal movement (1967) and Birs adal movement (1968-69)
  Two instances of Tribla exploitation are highlighted here to explain the cause of their movements
* **The Telugu Desam Governments** quashed the congress government order in 1984 because of which non-tribals took a defensive position. Tribals were organized by extremists against the non-tribal feudal classes. There were series of incidents of violence between Gonds (Tribals) and non-tribals. The Non-tribals put a fight. They burned tribal huntments, criminally assaulted women, wounded and killed the tribals and forced them to do bonded labour for them. **The Second Case** refers to a tribal convention organized in February 1984, in Vidarbha region near Nagpur in Maharashtra.
  Tribal movements were mainly movements launched for liberation from
* Oppression and discrimination
* Neglect and backwardness
* A government which has callous to the tribals plight marked by poverty, hunger,

unemployment and exploitation

When the law does not help tribals and the government remains callous and the police fail to protect them seven harasses them, they take up arms against their explorters.

The tribals adopted two paths of achieving goals.

* Non-violent path of bargaining and negotiating with the government and using a variety of pressure tactics without resorting to violence/revolts and

* militant path of revolts or mass struggles based on developing the fighting power of the exploited/oppressed tribal strata.

The Consquences of both these paths are different one indicated struggle oriented to reforms, while the other indicates struggle transformation of the community.

20.3 Sum Up

Since tribals continue to face problems and also continue to feel discontented and deprived, this fact shows that both the above paths have not helped them to achieve their goals.

20.4 Check your Progress

Q1. What are the various movements for Tribal Integration?

_____

_____

_____

******

EXTENSION OF RESERVATION
FOR THE BACKWARD CLASSES

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 21**
Social Development in India	**Unit : IV**

Structure

21.1 Introduction

21.2 Commissions

21.3 Muslim Reservations

21.4 Sum up

21.5 Check your Progress

21.1 Introduction

The constitutional reference to the term ' backward classes' finds place in article 15(4) and the 16(4) where in the state empowered to make special provisions for any socially and educationally backward classes (SBECs) of citizen. The category ' Backward classes' remained ambiguous. The term had come into usage during the British period but with a variety of referents and evidently without any clearly specified parameter regarding the inclusion and exclusion of groups cubbed as backwards. In its early usage, the ' backward classes' was a all- encompassing category that would include the underpricing and the marginalized castes, tribes and communities. The term was used as far back as 1880 to describe a set of groups, called illiterate and indigent classes, entitled to allowances of the study in elementary schools.

OBC's as a class are envisaged to be different from scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

First, the OBC's are socially and educationally disadvantage, but they donot

suffer from the sort and extent of social privations as the SCs and STs such as untouchability, social hatred etc.

Reservation to OBC's are only for employment and education. There is no provision for electrol posts in their case unlike SC's and ST's.

The working of the relevant provisions itself shows that object of the constitution in regard to both these categories i.e. SC/ST and OBC is different.

Reservations are really about fraternity and not merely a equality of economic status. OBC's have never faced social discrimination of the kind that scheduled castes and schedule tribes have. No specific article for OBC is carved in the constitute. The impression in the definition of the term could be observed even at the time of the framing of the constitution. In the constituent assembly, multiple interpretations of the term emerged in the articulation of members participating in the debate. Both the two distinct usages can be spelt out.

First, as an inclusive groups of all sections that required essential treatment. Here, the category ' Backward classes founded the untouchables and tribes as well.

Second, a stratum higher than untouchables but nonetheless passed. In this case, the distinctive term that came into usage ' other backward classes'.

Articles-340 authorises the president of India to appoint a passion to investigate and report on the conditions of the backward classes in different parts of the country. The state imments also under article 15(4)(16) can appoint a commission took into the social and educational problem of different backward castes and can also make reservations in educational institutions and government services based on the findings of commissions. The criteria of backwardness differ from state and as no all India index of backwardness exists.

21.2   COMMISSIONS APPOINTED UNDER ARTICLE-340

53-55_____ Kaka Kalekar commission- not accepted

69-80_____ B.P. Mandal commission

Kaka Kalekar Commission:- A commission was appointed by president of India on January 29, 1953 with Kaka Kalekar is chairman to determine the criteria to identify

socially educationally backward , to investigate the conditions of such classes and the difficulties which they encounter in lying out their work. It was asked to make recommendations the following matters.

The steps that should be taken by the union or any state remove such difficulties and

To the grants that should be made

The commission completed its work in two years and used a list of 2399 castes and communities and suggested all measures for their social and economic development it 70% of India's population was considered backward. The vision recommended the following criteria for determining backwardness:

Social position in the caste hierarchy

Of educational progress.

Inadequate representation in government services

Inadequate representations in the fields of trade, commerce and industry.

Caste was taken as the key factor in making a list backward classes. The commission proposed reservations at least 25% in class 1, 33.5% in class 2, 40% in class 3 & 4 service for the castes listed as backward. It recommended to a reserve in the fields of medical, scientific and technical education commission also recommended the formation of a separate ministry for the welfare of backward classes.

The recommendation of the commission that caste be basis for identifying economic and educational backwardness rejected by the government of India. The centre asked state government to conduct surveys to identify members of the backward classes and then to extent them all reasonable facilities. In 1961, the centre decided not draw up any list OBC's . the states were advised to draw up their list using eco-tests, rather than going by castes. A number of dates decided to use the criteria of occupation and income to classify backward groups.

THE MANDAL COMMISSION:- The government of India, head by the Janata party,appointed a backward classes commission under the chairmanship of B.P. Mandal, member of parliament with a view to getting definite recommendations by which it could implement its elections promises. The following were the terms of

reference of the mandal commission.

· To determine the criteria for defining the socially and educationally backward classes.

· To recommends steps to be taken for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes of citizen so identified.

· To examine the desirability or otherwise of making provide for the reservation of appointment of posts in favour of such backward classes of citizens which are not adequately represented in the services of both the central and the state governments unterritory administrations to present a report setting out the facts as found by them and making such recommendations as they think proper.

The commission observed that backwardness is both social and educational. Caste is also a class of people. The backward classes, including the non-hindu castes and excluding SC and ST constitute 52 percent of india's population according the mandel report.

The commission recommended the following steps:-

The reservation of 27 percent for those who donot qualify the basis of merit.

The reservation of 27 percent for promotions at all levels the reserved quota, if unfilled, should be carried forward a period of three years and deserved thereafter.

Age relaxation for the backward classes should be the same as in the case of the scheduled tribes. A roaster system should be prepared for the backward classes on pattern of that for the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes.

The principle of reservation should be made applicable to all the public sector undertaking, banks, private undertakings receiving from the central and state government, universities and colleges.

The government should make the necessary legal provisions implementing these recommendations.

The commission recommended the implementation of an sensate and time bound programme for adult education, particularly for the backward classes and the setting

up of identical schools for the backward class students. The principle reservation of 27 percent was suggested for seats in educational institutions as well as in jobs.Suggestions for the economic tment of the backward classes were also made by the mission, with a view to bringing about structural changes in Indian society.

The janata dal which was the major constituent of the zonal front government at the centre had promised to implement recommendations of the mandal commission. After the janata dal government announced its decision in august 1990 to reserved 27% of jobs for the other backward castes in the government departments and public sector undertaking,large scale protests erupted thought out the country particularly in northern and western India culminating in self-immolations, suicides and killings in police action one of the social consequences of this step taken by the government was a further deeping of the caste divide in Indian society.

The usage of 'classes' instead of ' caste' in constitutional reference to OBC's viz article 15(4),16(4) and 340(1) has led to many wrangles and disputes the two backward classes commissions accepted 'caste' as a basis of classification. Backward classes as a category has gradually emerged to specially refer to those caste groups that occupy the middle position in the social hierarchy and lag behind in terms of economic, educational and other human development indicators.

21.3   Muslims Reservation

The Rajinder Sachar committee finds that the Muslim community in India is deprived and neglected and makes for reaching recommendations. The sachar report is comprehensive and its content has been approved by all political groups except the Hindustan parties. Issues relating to the social, economic and political status of india's muslin minority community has been a matter of debate for several decades, quite a few government have initiated studies on the community and evolved, administrative measures on their basis. As early as the 19th century ,Monstuant Ephinstone, the legendary British administrator, put it on record that special measures were required to uplifted the backward actions of the Muslim community. Studies conducted by the British administration led to the passage of a government Act in 1935 offering dalit Muslims reservation facilities along with Dalit Hindus. Nearly two and a half decades

ago,Prime Minister Indira Gandhi constituted a 10- member high power panel on minorities, scheduled castes (SCs) and scheduled Tribes (STs) and other weaker sections, headed by Dr.Gopal singh. In its report submitted on June 14, 1983 the Dr. Gopal singh committee maintained that there was a sense of discrimination prevailing among the minorities and that it must be eliminated, root branch if we want the minorities to form an effective part of the mainstream.

The examination of the social, economic and educational status of the muslin community by the seven-member high level committee headed by justice Rajinder Sachar, constituted by the ManMohan Singh government and the publication of its report in November, represents a continuation of the debate on the community. The Sachar committee was excepted to have an enhanced focus on the Muslim community and this is reflected in its frame of reference and examination processes.

The process of examination of the examination of the committee were essentially based on three types of issues relating to identity, security and equity with special emphasis on issues on equity, within this broad perspective, a wide range of specific were covered by the committee, such as persecutions about Muslims, the size and distribution of the community's population, indicies of the community's income,employment,health, education, poverty , consumption and standards of living and the community's access to social and physical infrastructure. The committee also made a meticulous study of the perpetuation of the caste system in the muslin community.

The context in which the Sachar committee undertook its work is significant. The sustained campaign of the Hindutuva oriented Sangh parivar and its political arm., the Bharatiya janta party (BJP), accusing secular parties of promoting a policy of 'Muslim appeasement' and insinuating that the Muslim community was politically and socially "anti-national" provides this. The Hindutuva campaign developed steadily from the mid-1980s, when the sangh parivar advanced its ayodhya Ram Mandir agitation and has reached a stage today where leaders such as pravin Togadia of the vishwa Hindu parishad (VHP) castigate all muslins as global 'terrorist'. Madrasa run by the community were portrayed as " terrorists" manufacturing units as a part of this castigation. The very formation of the Sachar committee in march 2005, was

characterized by these forces as yet another act of muslim appeasement.

The committee report has taken note of this context. It points out that Muslims carry a double burden of being labeled "anti-national" and as being appeased at the same time". The report further states,"while muslims need to prove on a daily basis that they are not anti-national and terrorists, it is not recognized that the alleged appeasement has also resulted in the desired level of socio-economic development of the community. The community exhibits deficits and deprivations in practically all dimensions of development. The report adds that muslims rank some what above SCs/ STs but below Hindu OBC's (other backward classes), other minorities and Hindu general in almost all indicators considered.

Though muslims have a share of 13.4 percent in the country's population, their representation in government jobs is a ,mere 4.9%. The report shows that muslims across the country have less access than other religious groups to educational facilities, particularly in higher education. Consequently, only 34% of the muslim population has completed graduation. The report shows that only 80% of urban muslim boys are enrolled in schools,compared to 90% in SCs/STs communities and 95% among others just 68% of muslim girls go to school, compared to 72% of Dalit girls and 80% of girls from other groups. Muslims prefer to send their children to madrassas only 3 to 4 percent of muslim children go to madrassas. The community has an increasingly better sex ratio than other socio-religious categories.The national infant mortality rate stood at 73 in 1989-99 while it was only 59 in the muslim community while the figure was 77 among Hindus and 49 among Christians. The report points out that of the 543 lok sabha members, only 33 are muslims in nearly all political spaces could have an adverse impact on Indian society and polity in the long run. The study shows that several constituticies reserved for SC's have muslim populations. The study also showed that many constituencies with more than 50% SC population are in the unreserved category.

The three social segments among Indian muslims are Ashraf's,Ajlaf's and Arzal's. The traditional occupation of Arzal's is similar to that of SC's , most of them work as butchers, washermen, barbers and scavengers. Ajlaf's are engaged in occupations similar to that of the hindu OBC's and a sizable section of them are also

landowners. Ashraf's have suffered no social deprivation as they are converts from the Hindu upper castes or have ' foreign blood'.

The report said that Arzals are essentially converts from ' untouchable' Hindu communities and that the 'Change in religion' did not bring about any change in their social or economic status. The report also points out that Arzals have been clubbed with 'Ajlaf's and that while the three groups require different types of affirmative action, the Arzal's require multifarious measures, including reservation.The committee maintains that Arzals are "cumulatively" oppressed" as such it would be "most appropriate" to absorb them among the SC's or atleast in a separate category. Most backward classes, carved out of the OBC's. The scheduled caste order of 1950 has kept muslim and Christian converts from among Hindu Dalits out of its preview denying them reservation. Twenty-three years after the submission of that report there in no record to suggest that these recommendations have been implemented.

SACHAR REPORT-HIGHLIGHTS

· Set up an equal opportunity commission to address concerns of deprived minority groups.

· Create a national data bank on various socio-religious categories.

· Designate Arzal muslims as SCs or most backward castes and evolve affirmative action measures.

· Institution a nomination procedure for participation of minorities in public bodies.

· Intitiate steps to increase the employment share of muslims.

· Provide legal mechanisms to address complaints of discrimination.

· Establish a delimitation procedure that rules out reserving constituencies with high minority population for SC's.

· Evaluate the extent of development benefits for different socio-religious categories.

· Evolve a university grants commission and link financial allocation to diversity

in student population.

·   Evolve criteria to facilitate admissions to the most backward socio-religious categories in universities.

·   Provides financial and other support to initiatives built around occupations where muslims are concentrated and that have growth potential.

·   Work out mechanisms to link madrassas to higher secondary schools and recognize madrassa degrees for eligibility in defence, civils and banking examinations.

·   Devise teacher-training components that highlight diversity and sensitive teachers to the aspirations of muslims.

·   Set up a national wakf development corporation with a revolving corpus fund of Rs. 500 crores.

Muslim Employment In Government Sectors

(In Percent)

Total 4.9	Judiciary 7.8
Psus 7.2	Health 4.4
IAS, Ifs & IPs 3.2	Transport 6.5
Railways 4.5	Home affairs 7.3
	Education 6.5

The overall policy perspective that the committee has taken five key dimensions:

·   Mainstreaming and inclusiveness should be the cornerstones for any policy initiative.

·   There is an urgent need to enhance diversity in residential work and educational spaces.

·   More equity would reduce the sense of discrimination that the community perceives.

- Availability of detailed information can facilitate action and monitoring especially when combined with the right to information Act (RTI)

- Focus should be on general rather than community specific initiatives.

Of the 593 district in India only nine are predominantly muslim (over 75% of the population is muslim). These include Lakshadweep and eight districts in Jammu and Kashmir only 11 district have a muslim population of 50% to 75% . These are in Assam, J&K, west Bengal, Kerela and Bihar.

21.4 SUM UP

Muslims are clearly on the margins of the structures of economic, social and political relevance in India. The report of the high level committee on the social, economic and educational status of muslims in India, also known as the Sachar committee, is the first attempt to provide information on conditions in the community using large-scale empirical data. It provides on the conditions of the muslims. Two factors, however, remain crucial in explaining how well muslims fare:

- Access to education

- And the particular state in which muslims live, neither of which is satisfactory addressed in the report.

21.5 Check your Progress

Q1.   Write a short note on Muslim Reservation?

_____

_____

_____

****

CHRISTIAN DALIT RESERVATION

C.No. : SOC-C-402   **Lesson No.22**

Social Development in India   **Unit : IV**

Structure

22.1 Introduction

22.2 The Caste System

22.3 Reservations

22.4 Sum up

22.5 Check your Progress

22.1 Introduction

The term dalit Christian is used to describe those low castes who have converted to Christianity from hindu, Christian and Islamic societies in India , Pakistan and other countries. Hindu dalits are referred to as ' Harijans' while the Islamic dalits are categorized as ' muhajir' or ' Arzal'.

22.2 THE CASTE SYSTEM

Dalits who converted to Christianity did not escape the caste system which has a strongly ingrained presence in Indian society, that is limited to hindu religious ideals. There have been regular complaints by hindu and some Christians that dalit Christians are denied admission and appointments in church run educational institutions in this background. Since Christianity is theoretically without caste, this is a controversial issue in India. Although about 70% of Indian Christians are reported to

be dalit Christians.

The Sachar committee on muslim affairs reported that 9% of Indian Christians have SC status and 24.8% belonging to the disadvantaged groups. As a result, Indian constitution discriminatory SC order of 1950 that dismantled the social, economic and educational benefits of dalits who converted to Christianity. Many of the Indian Christians dalits identify themselves as hindu for all public and official purposes in order to avail themselves of constitutional reservation benefits.

22.3 RESERVATION

Reservation is available to dalits who follow Hinduism, Buddhism and Sikhism but dalit Christians and muslims are not protected as caste under Indian reservation policy. The Indian constitution in 1950 abolish untouchability connecting those castes to SC/ST. In 1980 the constitutional policy was extended to cover the rest of the 3743 backward castes in the country.

Dalits who convert to Christianity are no longer part of the affirmative action programme run by the government. Dalits Christians have now appealed the government to extend the benefits of reservation policy to dalit Christians in order to improve their employment opportunities.

In 2007, dalit Christians from differing sects organized and rallied to protest against anti- Christian violence, anti-conversion laws exacted by hindu nationalists.In 2008, a study commission by the national commission for minorities suggested extension of reservation to dalit muslims and dalit Christians.

A petition from the All India Christian federation(AICF) has been filled with the supreme court of India seeking for all dalits irrespective of their religious faith on January 6,2010, a bench comprising chief justice K.G Balakrishan and justice B.S Chauhan issued a notice to the ministry of social justice and ministry of minority affairs seeking their responses to the petition.

22.4 Sum Up

To be concluded that the minorities SC/ST dalits, belonging to the various minority religious such as buddism, Christianity , islam, Sikhism etc were all asking for their due place in the constitutional reservation as SC's not as other backward classes and not even as minorities.

22.5 Check your Progress

Q1.   Write a short note on Christian Dalit Reservation?

_____

_____

_____

****

WOMEN POLITICAL RESERVATION

C.No. : SOC-C-402	**Lesson No. 23**
Social Development in India	**Unit : IV**

Structure

23.1 Introduction

23.2 Panchayati Raj

23.3 Sum up

23.4 Check your Progress

23.1   Introduction

The participation of women in politics is seen as the issue of justice, equality and representation that challenges their long time segregation and exclusion from decision-making institutions. In India, it has been more than fifty years since independence (1947) and adoption of the constitution and thereby of the democratic system of governance (1950), but the representation of women in the parliament and state legislatures has not crossed the ten percent mark. Despite the numerical strength almost equal to that of men, the women in India constitute 'minority' in so far as their representation and participation in decision-making institutions is concerned. In panchayat raj institutions (local governing bodies at the grass roots level in rural areas), implemented after independence in 1959,the representation of women was almost non-existent till the constitutional 73rd Amendment to the constitution of India ensuring reservation of 33% of seats for them was exacted (Panchayati Raj Act, 1992).

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K), like in some regions of tribal and scheduled areas in India, the constitutional 73rd Amendment was not implement owing

to special circumstances of these regions. J&K is the only state in India, which has its own constitution under article 370 and a person is the citizen of the country as well as of the state. The non-existension of 73rd Amendment Act to the state of J&K along with the rest of the country is understood as a play not to devolve power to the people and involve them in the process of development. A latent, But implicit and more important reason has been to deny women access to decision-making positions where both the state and the societal forces seen to operate together. A successful implementation of panchayati raj with its own model would bring about development of the people and make panchayats more democratic and representative. This is possible by devolving power to the people and the people and the people should also mean a critical number of women. The women negotiate for space through their empowerment in panchayati raj system in India and how this is made possible through reservation. It argues that such a space is essential to make 'minority' women more visible in the political and decision-making realm in the state of J&K to bring about an overall development of people and dilute the conflict-ridden problem of the state.

These facts raised two important questions:

·   The related to the necessity of presence and participation of women in critical number in democratic institutions.

·   And second, to the method of ensuring this.

Women in decision-making in the state.

In the constitution of India (1950) and that of Jammu & Kashmir (1956), attempts were made to bring women at par with men. Besides granting equality between sexes on all matters, special provisions for women have been made. Extension of the panchayati raj to rural areas in terms of the 73rd Amendment to the constitution of India marks a structural change in the national polity and priorities of state action.

The states in India had their own starting points in the evolution of democratic process and the specific situations in which dominant social forces appeared and influenced them. To name a few, education played a leading role through a competition among religious and social domination in kerela, the green revolution and urbanization through small towns in Punjab, consolidation of land holdings in Haryana and uttar

Pradesh, the history of permanent settlement in Bengal and the emergence of the peasant movements, both violent and non-violent there in, it is the women who gets ignored or marginalized in the process.

In Jammu and Kashmir, the constitution empowers the govern to nominate two women members to the legislative Assembly (Constitution of Jammu & Kashmir, section 47). Besides several state legislations for women's protection like those related to dowry prohibition, poverty, marriage and dissolution laws and welfare schemes for women, there are other additional important measures for the empowerment of women undertaken in the state. These include reservation of seats for women in the representative bodies and free education upto 50% in medical colleges. The Non-applicability of Indian constitution owing to the special status accorded to the state under Article-370 of the constitution, the anti-women state laws continue to thrive, one of the most important is related to the rights of women to a permanent resident of the state on marrying an outsider. A women married to a state would automatically loose her right to ownland and property, obtain or continue in a government job, pursue higher education contest of vote in municipal and state elections.

It was only in 2002 after a legal battle of more than twenty years that the women of the state become entitled to retain their state subject after being married to a non-resident of the state. It was only on August 27th 2004 that the bill was defeated in the state legislatures though it was supported by two prominent political parties fully supported the Bill.

The most important Acts which give women the right of representation in the local political bodies and not implemented in the state of Jammu and Kashmir are the constitutional 73rd and 74th Amendments of the constitution of India. These Acts provide for 33% of reservation for women in the 'panchayats' (in rural areas) and municipal councils and corporations(Urban bodies)

In the state of Jammu and Kashmir it can be said that the representation of women in the decision-making bodies from the top to the grass-roots level has been very low. In the state assembly elections of 2002, a total of 679 contestants stood for elections, of which 30 were women. This was a significant number compared to that

in the earlier elections of these only 2 women were declared elected and 85 men and rest were defeated, 25 of them loosing their deposits. Thus in the state assembly of J&K there are only 2 women out of a total of 87 members. One of these is from Pahalgam constituency and the daughter of the present Chief Minister and the other is from R.S. Pura (Jammu) reserved (S.C) constituent (Institute of social sciences (ISS),2002)

In parliamentary national elections, all the 6 seats in lok sabha and 4 in Rajya Sabha of the state are occupied by men. Infact hardly any women contested these elections. In 1989 general elections out of 63 candidates, only one was woman and in the 1998 elections out of 110 candidates, there were 8 women candidates. Most of independent candidates. This is one of the important reasons as to why most of them are defeated. This also shows that the lack of support women get within the political parties donot give adequate posts, especially the decision-making positions to women. Consequently they remain insensitive to women's issues. The introduction and support to the permanent resident (Disqualification) Bill in the state Assembly is the recent example.

After a total absence of women in 1956 and 1972 Municipal elections, in the last election in 1980, one women candidate contested the elections and was defeated. The municipal corporation elections held in Jammu and Kashmir division in February 2005, provided reservation of one-third seats for women and today women in these bodies occupy 33% of the total seats. Similar will be the case with panchayat elections scheduled to be held in J&K state in 2005-2006 but being delayed for the reason. For the first time a large number of women will occupy seats in panchayats in the state of J&K. The panchayat elections in the state held in 2001 after twenty-two years gap saw a very few women coming through elections as the provision had not come into force then.

23.2   PANCHAYATI RAJ IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

The history of panchayati raj in the state of Jammu and Kashmir can be traced back to the promulgation of Jammu and Kashmir panchayat regulation number 1 by Maharaja Hari singh in 1935. This regulation is popularly known as panchayati raj

Act in 1935. The preamble of this Act stated that it is important to establish village panchayats in Jammu and Kashmir to assesst in the administration of civil and criminal justice and also to manage the sanitation and other common concern of the villages. The Act was amended in 1941 to widen the function of panchayat with some minor modifications which could buy the taxes and tolls, generate resources for the development of village and delegate power in non- judicial areas.

The Act of 1935 as amended in 1941 was replaced in 1951 by Act 5 according to which a panchayat was to cover five to seven villages, which generally also constituted a revenge halqa members of panchayats and not the electrote were entitled to elect the chairpersons of the panchayat had to perform administration, developmental civic and judicial duties.

With the coming of Balwant rai Mehta committee report in 1957, the Jammu and Kashmir government exacted the village panchayat Act,1958 replacing the 1951 panchayat Act. The 1958 Act envisaged a two- third panchati raj system-gram panchayat the village level and block panchayat boards at the block level.

Towards the later part of 1980's, the state government repealed the Jammu and Kashmir valley panchayat Act 1958,and replaced it by Jammu and Kashmir panchayati raj Act 1989. The silent features of the Act are that it reduced the voting age from 21 to 18 and three tier panchayati raj system with powers to halqa panchayat. These tiers were the halqa panchayat, the block development council and the district planning and developmental board.

An amendment to the 1989 Act regarding reservations for women was made by the state legislature in april 1997. This amendment provides for the nomination of women to halqa panchayats. The Panchayati raj elections were held in Jammu and Kashmir in the years 2001 after a span of 22 years. The result of these elections shows that out of 22,700 elected panchs and sarpanchs only 28 panchs and 2 sarpanchs were women whereas in other parts of India 33% of women have the right to be elected and become representatives.

The J&K panchayati raj (second amendment) Act, 2003 provides for the reservation of not less than one-third seats for SC's and ST's in proportion to their population as members in halqa panchayat. Only when the next panchayat elections

take place, will come to occupy seats in panchayats. However, the exercise has already started and the wards for members have been reserved for women,S.C and S.T candidates in case the elections are announced.

Some important laws concerning women's political participation.

·   Article 325 and 326 of the Indian constitution guarantee political equality to all, yet women have not benefited from this right.

·   Article 14 Equal voting rights and political participation to both men and women.

·   Article 15 Affirmative action programme for women.

·   Article 16 Equality of opportunity in matters relating to employment.

·   Article 39a Adequate means of livelihood for both men and women.

·   Article 39b Equal pay for equal work for both men and women.

·   Article 39c provision for just and humane conditions of work and for maternity itself.

·   81st , 84th and 85th constitutional amendment Bills

Reservation for women in parliament and state legislatures has not been passed for not having reservation for women on the basis of caste.

23.3   Sum Up

Reservation seems to be the essential mechanism of negotiating space for empowerment of women as increasing representation of women in critical number of panchayats. The report of the committee on the status of women in India (1975).

Towards equality, a landmark study on women's condition also did not approve of reservation as method to increase women's representation. Reservation is thus regarded as necessary for all these reasons and also to ensure ' Critical number' of women in decision-making bodies so that their voices are heard and they can take gender-sensitive decisions collectively. Only through this method, women would be able to leave the status of 'minority and acquire their rightful place in the politics of Indian society.

Therefore, women in the state of J&K have to fight a longer battle for creating spaces of empowerment for themselves, not only to ensure constitutional provisions but also for its implementation. Even the posts of the chairperson, like in other states are not reserved for women.

Netherless, the panchayat elections in the state of Jammu and Kashmir about to be held soon, would be different from those than all other times in the past, as women for the first time would contest elections on thirty-three percent seats reserved for them. And electoral participation and quotas through affirmative action alone are not enough to result in gender equity.

23.4   Check your Progress

Q1.   Write a short note on Women Political Reservation.

_____

_____

_____

*****