

janata

Vol. 72 No. 32
September 3, 2017

**Nepal PM Visit: Repairing &
Rebuilding Relations**
D. K. Giri

**Remembering Balraj Puri –
a true patriot**
Ramachandra Guha

The Champaran Crusade
Jawaharlal Jasthi

**Imagining India
Visions of Swaraj and the
Democratic Journey- IV**
Anand Kumar

Editor :
G. G. Parikh

Managing Editor : Guddi

D-15, Ganesh Prasad,
Naushir Bharucha Marg,
Mumbai - 400 007.

Email : janataweekly@gmail.com
Website: www.janataweekly.org

Ugly Side of Godmen

Kuldip Nayar

Baba Gurmeet Ram Rahim was a Bhindranwale in making. He, too, saw to it that nobody dared him. But he turned out to be a paper tiger. When CBI court judge Jagdeep Singh pronounced his verdict, the Baba wept openly in the court and implored him not to give severe punishment. His followers, too, were reportedly surprised over the manner in which the Baba capsized.

But there is no doubting about the Baba's vast following. It did not bother that he was being punished for raping two sadhvis, who were his followers at the Dera. It shows how ignorant and gullible can the followers be as they always looked towards him for leadership and guidance blindly. Bhindranwale, too, had become so powerful because of the vast following that the government turned a blind eye towards whatever he did.

Now that the verdict is out with the quantum of punishment pronounced on rape cases, there is a likelihood of more skeletons tumbling out of the Dera cupboards. The CBI court is already hearing murder charges against the Baba and it will be sooner than later that the court will give its verdict on

them, too. There are other cases of castration of male followers in the Dera which are being pursued. All these clearly indicate the mindset of the Baba and the connivance of the authorities.

There are some similarities between Bhindranwale and Baba Gurmeet Ram Rahim. If the former was the creation of the Congress Party, the latter has had the support of a plethora of parties in the state of Haryana, including the ruling Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP). The Baba may not be a militant like Bhindranwale but his motivation was very clear as he used political benevolence to further his own interests. Otherwise, he could not have amassed huge wealth and built as many as 132 deras around the world, including in the UK and the US.

The Akalis were gaining upper hand and slowly eroding the base of the Congress in Punjab after the Akali-Janata Party government came to power in 1977. That was when the Congress under Sanjay Gandhi and Zail Singh selected and supported Bhindranwale to take on the Akalis. He became so powerful that by the time Indira Gandhi realised that a Frankenstein had been created and it was time for him to go, nothing less than

the Indian Army would do to flush him out of Akal Takht inside the Golden Temple complex in Amritsar.

Before using the tanks the Army sought the permission of Mrs Gandhi and woke her up at midnight. Mrs Gandhi ended up committing a costly mistake by sending in the Army into the sanctum sanctorum in June 1984. Bhindranwale was killed but the anger over Operation Bluestar cost Mrs Gandhi her life four months later.

Similarly, Baba Gurmeet Ram Rahim was encouraged by the leaders of the BJP because it suited the party's vote bank politics. The Baba endorsed the BJP in both the 2014 Lok Sabha elections and the Haryana assembly elections in the same year. He also supported the saffron party in Punjab against Captain Amarinder Singh's Congress but that was not good enough to make it win. There are rumours that the entire Manohar Lal Khatter's cabinet, minus the chief minister, visited Baba's Dera Sachcha Souda in Sirsa after the swearing-in ceremony to pay obeisance to him.

But it is not as if the other parties are not complicit. In 2009, the Dera chief extended his support to the Congress which was his return gift for

the Z plus security cover the UPA provided to him in 2007. It was palpable how the Baba had become powerful that the state went weak in the knees when challenged by his private army. That the state of Haryana deliberately bungled in imposing Section 144 before the verdict, sending a cold invitation to murderers, asking them to take over.

Apparently, there were intelligence reports before the verdict and both the states of Punjab and Haryana, including the Chandigarh Administration, were warned of the trouble brewing as the Dera followers were gathering in Panchkula and preparing themselves for the show of strength if the verdict went against the Baba. Punjab, however, did safeguard its interests taking all necessary measures while Haryana, despite assuring that they were well prepared to meet any situation, failed to stop the followers from destroying public property and killing people. Only after the Punjab and Haryana High Court's order did the Haryana government wake up and make preparations to stall any further damage.

When history repeats itself, it is basically mocking at our system of not learning any lessons. Who will account

for the loss of 30 lives and damage to public property? But the BJP leadership has not done anything to touch chief minister Khattar because of the backing he has from the RSS. But then the problem in India is how to curb the godmen and to stop the government from supporting them? Maybe, they provide the vote bank but they do an irreparable damage to the polity.

Democracy demands a direct contact between the voter and the party. The Babas come in the way and try to become a parallel authority. When the ballot box is stalled by another force, democracy gets weakened. Therefore the godmen have no place in a system which runs with the consent of the people. They are only like *mahants* in temples. The more they are allowed to have say in public affairs, the less there would be free expressions.

Religion is a private affair. There are no problems with the Asarams, Nithyanandas and Ram Rahims as long as they pursue and preach spiritual thoughts. The problem arises when they indulge in fraudulent and illegal activity, going to the extent of committing rapes and murders. What gives the whole thing an ugly shape is the support of the political parties for their own gains.

Janata Subscription

Annual Rs. : 260/-

Three Years : 750/-

Demand Draft / Cheque

on

Mumbai Bank in favour of

JANATA TRUST

D-15, Ganesh Prasad, Naushir Bharucha Marg,
Mumbai 400 007

Janata

is available at

www.lohiatoday.com

Nepal PM Visit: Repairing & Rebuilding Relations

D. K. Giri

The recent visit of Nepalese Prime Minister Sher Bahadur Deuba to India assumes unusually great significance in the current scenario. The Doklam stand-off lasting for 74 days between India and China has just been “temporarily” resolved. And Kathmandu claims to maintain “special relations” with both countries.

India’s strategic concern of being encircled by China through its neighbours is most evident in Nepal. When there was the economic blockade of Nepal on Indian borders, with ‘alleged’ support from New Delhi, Kathmandu turned to Beijing, which pumped in requisite goods and services. Kathmandu has tangibly turned to China as it was wary of South Block’s Nepal policy, especially since it abolished the monarchy and became a republic.

First, it feels India has not been supportive in the difficult transition to democracy. It was only taking up the cause of Madhesis, who were fighting for equal representation etc under the new Constitution. Second, New Delhi is micro-managing the politics in Kathmandu. Third, RSS leadership is more interested in Nepal being a Hindu Kingdom than a Secular Republic and would like the influence of Monarchy to be revived and retained which was apparently conditioned to Nepal’s Hindu profile. Fourth, Nepal would like to dip its hands into the deep pockets of China, as India’s Ambassador to Nepal Deep Kumar Upadhyay said in an IDSA seminar: “It is China who has the surplus money today and we are trying, like others, to get some of it in investment etc.”

Deuba’s five-day visit was also important as, admittedly, India-Nepal relations have become sour after the enactment of the Constitution on 20 September 2015; and the Madhesis, Nepalese with their origins from Bihar and Eastern UP, felt discriminated. They led protests in Parliament and on the streets and these were believed to have New Delhi’s tacit support. At one point, it was said that India had imposed the economic blockade, causing considerable strain to Nepal’s economy and society. Though the Indian government vehemently denied it saying the blockade was caused by internal conflicts in Nepal, it failed to convince the Nepalese.

Relations between the two plummeted for a brief period since. There was an anti-India feeling sweeping across the hills as the people in the Terai region claimed the support of Government of India. Although, in recent years there has been ebb in flow of the relationship, the two have had a very special relationship since the signing of the Friendship Treaty in 1950. Nepal is the only country which enjoys borderless access to India and Nepalese are treated at par with Indians and vice-versa.

However, with emergence of China as a big power in the neighbourhood, India’s relations with its neighbours are being influenced. Nepal is no exception. India’s neighbours play the China card whenever they are concerned about the “overlordship of India, or they seek to gain greater concessions from their big brother, India.”

India has been the biggest donor and

trade partner of Nepal. Now, China claims to have overtaken it in its trade and investment. India-Nepal relations’ survey reveals: They have historical and civilisational links; are connected through kinship and culture, both religion and language; Nepal has 1,800 km of open border with India touching five States - Bihar, UP, West Bengal, Sikkim, and Uttarakhand; there are one million Indians living in Nepal and four million-odd Nepalese residing in India; the Indian Army has 32,000 Gurkhas serving and 126,000 retired pensioners; after the One rank one pension scheme Rs 4,000 crore pension is paid to retired Nepalese.

Additionally, India is its largest trading partner. The trade between the two increased from 29 percent to 66 percent. Exports from Nepal increased from NR 230 cr to 3713.5 cr in 2013-14. Likewise, Indian exports to Nepal increased from 1525 cr in 1995-96 to 29545.6 cr in 2013-2014. India’s direct investment in Nepal amounts 40 per cent of its total FDI. In development assistance, New Delhi has extended Rs300 cr aid to Kathmandu; gives 3,000 scholarships for higher studies; has given three lines of big credit so far, US\$ 100 million in 2006-7, \$250 million in 2011-12 and \$1billion in 2013-2014. In this visit, both have inked eight MOUs of \$250 million. However, from Kathmandu’s point of view it is worried over the persistent trade deficit with India.

There is no gainsaying the fact that China is trying all means to woo Nepal. It is worried that Deuba chose to make India his first foreign visit. He is also known to be more India-inclined than

both Khadga Prasad, Sharma Oli, of the Communist Party of Nepal, and Pushpa Kamal Dahal, Chairman, Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist-centre). During the latter two PMs' tenure, Nepal joined the adventurous one-belt-one-road (OBOR) project of China. And Nepal remains neutral on the Doklam stand-off.

Deuba has to do tight-rope walking between India and China. His detractors are watching if he could get New Delhi to start some of the big projects signed. One such being the hydro project, called Mahakali Treaty signed in 1996, in his earlier stint as PM, which sadly is yet to take-off.

New Delhi has also apparently shifted its position, which is staying away from Nepal's internal

contradictions, extending help only if it is called for, and dealing with Nepal as a country. It would remain neutral to the internal contestations on the nature of the Constitution, the nature and degree of representation to different sections of people. India has to be sensitive to the deep as well as widespread political divisions across the country.

At this particular time of Nepal's painful and fractious democratic evolution, maintaining unity of perspective and opinions is difficult, exacerbating the differences is easy. India should do all it can to bring the political actors in Nepal together. At the same time, Nepal in its pursuit of national interest should not distance from its long term partner and mentor that India has been. It has done so by joining OBOR

without India and remaining neutral on Doklam. Notably, the Nepalese Ambassador in Delhi kept mum when asked whether he expected India to be neutral when Kathmandu is in trouble or in conflict with another country!

Both India and Nepal have to realise and reaffirm that their relations are more than transactional, covering whole gamut of contacts between their people. China is wary of a resurgent India and is seeking to encircle it, by buying off its neighbours. New Delhi will have to show it to Beijing that the latter may have a military and economic edge over it at present, but its success in winning lies in its display of democracy, that is viable and enduring. Kathmandu too should see that difference, as it struggles for past 11 years, since the monarchy, to stabilise its nascent democracy.

Letter to The Editor

Observations of Parliamentary Panel Crucial For GM Crop Debate

On August 25, 2017 the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Science and Technology, Environment and Forests submitted its report on Genetically Modified (GM) Crops and Their Impact on Environment. This Committee has 31 Members of Parliament from various political parties including 11 from the BJP. This report has made very strong criticism of the pro-GM lobby bias of government policies and regulations on this issue and is a wake-up call to the government to show more concern for protecting the health, environment and agriculture of the nation. This report will be remembered for long for standing up for the true national interests of the country at a time when these are very badly threatened by the very strong and resourceful lobbyists for GM crops with their reach to the topmost levels of policy making in India.

The Parliamentary Panel has regretted that the regulators in India are relying on data made available by the applicants of GM crops. The Panel expressed that this leaves scope for the technology developers to fudge data to suit their own requirements, and regretted that no governmental in-house study has been carried out till date to analyse the impact of GM crops on human health.

“This Committee strongly believes that unless the bio-safety and socio-economic desirability taking into consideration long run effects is evaluated by a participatory, independent and transparent process and a retrieval and accountability regime is put in place, no GM crop should be introduced in the country.”

Coming more specifically to the current debate on GM Mustard the Committee has stated that in this case there are several unanswered questions. Further the Committee observed, “The Committee has also come to know that many state governments in the country are opposed to its entry even in the form of field trials, let alone commercial cultivation.”

The Committee has noted that GM Mustard being an herbicide-tolerant GM organism, the clear evidence on the adverse impacts of such GMOs available from various parts of the world needs to be noted.

The environment ministry should examine the impact of GM crops on environment thoroughly. The Committee has regretted that the government has been painting a rosy picture of the performance of Bt cotton while the actual facts reveal very disturbing trends related to Bt cotton.

—*Bharat Dogra*, New Delhi

Remembering Balraj Puri – a true patriot

The Difference Between Patriotism and Jingoism

Ramachandra Guha

I have been thinking a great deal recently about the difference between patriotism and jingoism. The provocation - or inspiration rather - was a visit to Jammu to speak in memory of Balraj Puri - writer, social reformer and political activist - who embodied Indian democracy at its best.

There are a great many hyper-patriots active in India today who spend their days and nights abusing either Pakistan or China, and, sometimes, both. Balraj Puri expressed his love for his country in an altogether different manner. Over the course of a long life, he fought for independence from the British, for freedom from the autocratic rule of the Kashmir maharaja, for the human rights of Kashmiris and for regional autonomy for Jammu and Ladakh as well.

Balraj Puri's life as an Indian patriot started early, at the age of 14, when he started an Urdu weekly inspired by the Quit India movement. He was an active journalist for many decades thereafter, and also wrote many books in English, among them an important study of Indian Muslims, an analysis of the complicated relations between Jammu province and the Kashmir Valley, and an authoritative analysis of the origins of the insurgency in Kashmir.

Balraj Puri was admired for his writings, and for his probity and personal courage. In the 1980s and 1990s, Jammu was prone to bouts of communal violence, provoked on the one side by Hindu militants of the Ram Janmabhoomi movement and on the other by the persecution of the Pandits

by Islamists in the Valley. Contemporaries carry vivid memories of Puri, then well into his sixties, moving around his home town on a battered old scooter, seeking to calm tempers and prevent anger being converted into violence.

In a state riven by suspicion and discord, Balraj Puri was trusted in all regions and by all communities. When he died in August 2014, one obituarist wrote that "Jammu has lost the champion of its regional identity, Kashmir has lost a crusader for democracy and human rights, the State as a whole has lost a peace activist, and the nation has lost a liberal and progressive voice." Another compared Puri to India's second prime minister, Lal Bahadur Shastri; both men whose small and slight frame "concealed a human dynamo with boundless energy for all constructive causes..."

A large crowd of mourners accompanied Balraj Puri's body to the crematorium in Jammu. Among them was an elderly man crying loudly while muttering, 'This person was not up for sale,' 'This person was not up for sale.' Puri's family and friends had never before seen this grieving Jammu-ite, whose spontaneous tribute was as moving, and as just, as any offered later in print.

Within Jammu and Kashmir, Balraj Puri remains a greatly respected figure. However, outside his home state, his work remains less known than it should be. That is a pity. For now, more than ever, India needs patriots like Balraj Puri. It needs men and women whose

patriotism is expressed not in the continuous vilification of some other country, but in words and actions aimed at making our own country more tolerant, more prosperous, less unhappy, and less conflict-ridden. For perhaps the most important form of patriotism is that which seeks to give dignity to oppressed groups such as Dalits and women while simultaneously seeking to promote tolerance and mutual respect among citizens otherwise divided by language, caste or religion.

Unlike the hyper-ventilating hyper-patriots of the present time, Balraj Puri was not consumed by the desire to make India more powerful than its neighbours. Rather, he wanted to make India itself a better and safer place for its citizens. That was the first lesson of Puri's life. A second lesson is that there is no one singular patriotism; rather, there are multiple and overlapping forms of patriotism.

There is a famous saying, 'Charity begins at home.' Patriotism also begins at home. Balraj Puri loved his town and his district, but he loved his state and his country too. He was a Jammu city patriot, a Jammu province patriot, a Jammu and Kashmir patriot and an Indian patriot - all at the same time. He demonstrated by example that love for your locality and for your province could be perfectly consistent with love for your country.

Notably, Balraj Puri devoted a great deal of energy to promoting peace and self-respect in the neighbouring state of Punjab. Among the half-a-dozen

languages he himself spoke fluently was Punjabi. He urged the Hindus of Punjab to honour the mother tongue they shared with the Sikhs, rather than succumb to sanghparivar chauvinists who wanted them to promote Hindi instead. At the same time, he unequivocally opposed Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale and his band of gun-toting Sikh extremists. He was one of the first from outside the state to visit Punjab after Operation Bluestar, speaking out against violence and in favour of reconciliation.

Some would like to reduce patriotism to the worshipping of symbols. However, offering puja to the tirangajhanda ten times a day may or may not make you a better patriot. A more lasting, more constructive, form of patriotism is to endeavour to make your locality, your town, your district, your province and country a more tolerant, inclusive and democratic place.

Balraj Puri's own patriotism was substantive rather than symbolic. He did not exhibit his love for the motherland by shouting 'Mera Bharat Mahan' every now and then, interspersing this with shouts of 'Pakistan murdabad'. Rather, in how he behaved, what he wrote, and what he struggled about, he tried to make our country more worthy of the ideals of the Indian Constitution by promoting respect, honour, dignity, equality and justice in everyday life.

Balraj Puri was admirable and exemplary, but not, of course, unique. There are many such patriots active in our land, who promote the values of the Constitution while working in village, town, district, state or country. Some of these patriots are written about occasionally in the press. Others remain unknown. Not that they mind. For publicity, or at least an excess of it, can be antithetical to true patriotism and nation-building. The more you crave

publicity, the less time you can actually devote to social reform or constructive work.

Balraj Puri was a patriot, not a jingoist. Making his own country a better place was far more important to him than demonizing other countries. He recognized that patriotism begins at home, with the place one is in, yet also understood that one must have a wider view of how one's locality related to one's state and one's nation. In presenting his views, he never resorted to violence, not even to violence in language. And he worked out of passion and conviction, not for honour or reward.

There is one last aspect of Balraj

Courtesy: **The Telegraph**

The Champaran Crusade

Jawaharlal Jasthi

On 14th August, 2017 a significant event took place in Hyderabad. A small book in Telugu titled A GREAT HISTORICAL MOVEMENT – CHAMPARAN RIGHTEOUS CRUSADE was released by Sri Nayani Narasimhareddy, the Home Minister of the state of Telangana. Sri P Janardanreddy presided over the meeting. It is significant as it marks the centenary of the Champaran movement led by Gandhi. It was the movement to free the farmers of Champaran in Bihar from the suffocating grip of the colonial authorities.

It is no doubt a small book containing translations of articles by Tushar Gandhi, Irfan Habeeb and J B Kripalani. Particularly Kripalani happened to be himself a partner in the great movement and explained the troubles and travails of Gandhi in organising and conducting the movement. Added to that is a part of

Puri's life that I would like to recall. Seventy years after Independence, India remains a deeply divided society, this divisiveness stoked and encouraged by power-obsessed politicians and by a TRP-obsessed media. In this atmosphere, one of the hardest jobs in India is reconciliation. But also perhaps one of the most necessary. For India can stay united and democratic only when respect and recognition replace suspicion and animosity in relations among castes, regions, languages and religions. This reconciliation is what Balraj Puri strove for all his life, admirably following in the footsteps of that other great patriot and reconciler, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi.

Autobiography of Gandhi wherein he explains how he was drawn into the troubles of the innocent farmers. How he was discriminated against initially due to caste apprehensions, but accepted and honoured later. He was magnanimous enough to understand the influence of the traditions prevailing then and did not complain. His method was first to acquaint himself of the problem by direct contact with the indigo farmers and then infuse confidence in them to stand united against the government to get out of their predicament. It was no doubt difficult to make them understand that they could resist the onslaught of the colonial power in a non-violent way without incurring the wrath of the inhuman power.

Gandhi knows he has to defy the law if he wants to save the farmers and it will necessarily attract violent punishment from the government. He

has to be careful not to provoke the government to the extent of deploying their forces. He was tactical to respond humbly to the dictates of the authorities. When he was asked to leave the state he said politely that he came to help the innocent farmers and would leave immediately after their problems were solved. The government was forced to take note of the problems of the farmers and realise the justice in the demands of the movement. By showing his willingness to undergo the punishment for his defiance, he introduced an element of ethics into his movement. It was the first time that Gandhi had to run a movement of farmers in India after coming from South Africa. While dealing with the innocent and fearing farmers on one side and the inhuman colonial power on the other, Gandhi could find a way to success in a non-violent method. That was a big relief and he decided to apply the same method throughout the fight for freedom for the entire country. It was as if Champaran was a training ground for Gandhi to become a leader of the freedom movement and succeed without violence. In fact non-violent resistance is considered the most significant contribution of Gandhi. The foundation for it was laid in Champaran. That is the significance of that movement. Encouraged by that example agricultural movements took place later in other parts of the country.

Mr Tushar Gandhi, the great grandson of the Mahatma pleaded that the Champaran Movement shall not be considered as confined to the indigo farmers of Champaran alone. Rather, it has to be seen as an attempt to encourage and empower the weaker sections and helpless farmers. It was an effort to organise them to achieve and enjoy freedom.

Of more significance is the fact that

the Marxist intellectual Irfan Habeeb paid a glowing tribute to Gandhi for what he did in Champaran and the manner in which he did it. It was almost a lesson on how to organize a mass movement, the breathe of Marxists. Irfan referred to the way in which Gandhi reacted to the dictates of the colonial authorities and finally made them support his activities. Irfan was particularly appreciative of the manner in which Gandhi earned the confidence of the people who were strangers when he approached them. As Marxist, he might not agree to all Gandhi did. But he had the intellectual honesty to appreciate what Gandhi did as a pragmatist revolutionary, because what he did was nothing less than a revolution in Champaran. Perhaps, Irfan Habeeb felt that was what a Marxist should have done in that situation. Such an intellectual honesty is a scarcity in our present day politics. To what party he belongs is not relevant.

In spite of the significance of this movement in the history and economy of the country, it is a pity that the present generation is not aware of it. The present work brings to the notice of the young generation not only the historical importance but also the relevance of Gandhian principles to the present society. As stated by Sudhir Chandra at the end, remembering Champaran amounts to remembering Gandhi himself.

While releasing the book, the Hon'ble minister referred to the present conditions of farmers and took the opportunity to explain the various schemes of his government to ameliorate the conditions of farmers. The pity is that the conditions of farmers are the same as were in Champaran a century ago. The troubles of farmers are the same. But the social situation has worsened. Earlier there was cohesion in the

society. Neighbours used to share the burden of each other. But now in the name of progress the society is atomized and farmers feel helpless in time of trouble. Suicides have become the order of the day.

Mr K Pratap Reddy, a senior advocate, emphasised the relevance of Gandhian principles at the present juncture to solve the problems. The path shown by Gandhi is valid even 70 years after his death, he said.

Prof G R S Rao explained the social significance of the movement started by Gandhi and its impact on the various aspects in development. He also emphasized the way the movement was conducted which gave results without much of violence. He lamented that the leaders now are wary of going to the level of the people to understand their problems but they want to lead them. They naturally fail to get dedicated followers. There will be no mass movements.

The book is compiled by Sri P Janardan Reddy, ex-MLA and the doyen of socialist movement in this part of the country. He was assisted by Sri Ravela Somayya in compilation and in organizing the function successfully. The translation from English was done by Mr "Gourav", an established writer in Telugu, who is eager to propagate progressive ideas, without bearing any "ism" on his sleeves. The translations run smoothly bringing out the flow and cohesion in the original essays.

The book is published by the Hyderabad Writers, Printers and Publishers Cooperative Society. There is dearth of non-fiction books in Telugu and the publishers are filling that vacuum now. We can expect more books like this from them and enrich the Telugu literature.

Needless Controversy about the Battle of Haldighati

Bharat Dogra

It is both sad and surprising that an entirely needless controversy is being whipped up in Rajasthan to somehow show that Rana Pratap won the battle of Haldighati and then somehow get this included in text books. This is really surprising because history is supposed to have moved beyond battle winning kings and warriors a long time back, but it is clear that some people despite their long experience and despite occupying senior positions are not aware of this. What is even more worrying that sometimes this kind of narrow thinking is only a precursor to later giving a dangerous communal twist to the entire issue. In such efforts describing the virtues of Rana is necessarily accompanied by unwarranted criticisms of Akbar. Why should not admirers of Rana Pratap concentrate on the very real courage and other virtues of the Rana while avoiding needless downgrading of Akbar whose several memorable achievements have been well documented by historians.

Maharana Pratap is one of the most courageous heroes of India's history. Pratap defended his much smaller kingdom of Mewar very bravely against the much more powerful forces sent by Akbar, the great Mughal emperor in the famous battle of Haldighati. Later he continued his struggles from forests and hills with guerilla warfare type tactics, and by the time of his death he was able to reclaim some of his territory and forts.

However we should at the same time remember that in the battle of

Haldighati the brave resistance offered by Maharana Pratap was led to a considerable extent by his brave commander Hakim Khan Sur (or Suri) and his Muslim soldiers. This aspect that Maharana Pratap was greatly helped by Muslim soldiers is often deliberately suppressed, even though people of Mewar still remember the great courage of Hakim Khan Sur and his soldiers with great respect and a memorial has also been erected to pay respect to Hakim Khan Sur.

Side by side another related fact that has been suppressed is that Pratap had good relations with Muslim rulers like Taj Khan of Jalaur. He had given jagirs to Sindhi Muslims. He extended encouragement to Muslim artists who achieved a lot of accomplishments during his rule.

What is most important is to remember that while Hakim Khan Sur was a main commander of Maharana Pratap in the famous battle of Haldighati, Akbar's forces were led by Raja Mansingh, a highly respected Hindu general of Akbar who was time and again given the most crucial responsibilities by him. Thus there is absolutely no justification for calling this a fight between Hindus and Muslims, even though such distortions have been repeated time and again.

It may also be noted here that Akbar's rule was identified mainly with policies of social harmony and unity of all religions. Due to this he faced anger of Muslim religious fundamentalists and to suppress this

revolt he sent armies led by Mansingh and Todarmal! So to call these medieval battles Hindu-Muslim battles is absolute junk.

Another neglected aspect of Rana Pratap's role is the respect he gave to adivasis. As a result during his years of exile the adivasis became his most trusted soldiers. They were also most capable of handling guerilla warfare type tactics needed by Pratap during his years of exile in forests and hills. So the great thing about Rana Pratap is that he could build a wider unity of Hindus, Muslims and Adivasis as he believed in respect for all communities. This was the real strength of his great struggles.

Books by Surendra Mohan

1. **Vikas Ka Rasta: Nai Arthik Neetiyon ka vishleshan..** Price 600 rupees.
2. **Samajwad, Dharma Nirapekshata aur Samajik Nyaya** Reissued as second edition; Price 500 rupees
3. **Vartaman Rajneeti ki Jwalant Chunautiyan.** Price 400 rupees.
4. **Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia ki Neetiyan:** (This booklet was published late last year.) Price 25 rupees.

Published by Anamika Publishers and Distributors. Ansari Road, New Delhi 110002

Imagining India

Visions of Swaraj and the Democratic Journey- IV

Anand Kumar

a. Black Money and Corruption:

Black money is result of all that income generated through illegal activities and corruption is abuse of public authority for private gains. It is said that the two are like twins in the Indian political economy inherited from the British Raj. They are patronized and promoted by unholy alliance of dishonest businessmen, powerful politicians, and bureaucrats at senior posts in the government system. Economists tell us that the size of black economy is a measure of illegality prevailing in the economy and it has been growing rapidly in the Indian economy in the recent decades. The figure of 50 per cent of GDP is one of the lowest estimates available from experts who may be considered conservative. It is asserted that the failure of India's public institutions to keep pace with the dramatic political, economic, and social transformations under way has led to severe gap in governance. The end result of this disjuncture has been a proliferation of grand corruption – a malaise made up of a diverse array of regulatory, extractive, and political rent-seeking activities. (Vaishnav: 2017, 25-69)

Arun Kumar points out that some argue that black economy is not a problem since it exists in all nations or that it recycles incomes within the country and generate employment. But, in reality, the black economy is the single biggest cause of most of the macro and micro problems confronted by the economy since 1970s. While it generates some employment, a large part of it is related to criminal activities

or to violation of laws, which then result in a large expansion of law and order and enforcement and intelligence apparatus, all of which is unproductive employment. The result is a waste of the nation's resources akin to digging holes and filling holes – there is activity without productivity. The economic potential of the country declines when investment goes into unproductive channels, such as holding gold, speculating in real estate, or if capital is spirited out of the country. All these activities are associated with black economy and the absolute size of the black economy in 2010 was estimated to be around Rs. 50 lakh crore. No aspect of the citizen's lives is untouched by the black economy and no sector is clean. These black incomes are concentrated in the hands of 3 per cent of the population. They are also elite of our society who are able to influence the opinion makers and policy makers. What is the way out? Right to information to introduce transparency in governance, electoral reforms and audit of party accounts, judicial reforms for accountability, business watch dogs and tax reforms, and political will are needed to act together to bring dynamism in economy and institutional health in the polity of the 21st century India. (Ibid: 2013, 417 – 457)

b. Criminalization of Politics: The realities of crime-politics nexus entered into public discourse with the observations of N. N. Vohra Committee Report. It can be called 'the pathologist's report' about power and governance. It underlined the

phenomenon of state losing its grip and emergence of 'parallel authority of a nexus of criminals-police and politicians' in some significant states including the National Capital Region (NCR) (1993) and became more and more explicit in the electoral system and government machinery with the passage of time. First the report has narrated the context of the emergence of the crime syndicate and Mafia in small towns, port cities and the bigger cities. Then it has cited patterns of crime-politics nexus with eye-opening examples. According to the Vohra Committee Report, "3.2: An organized crime Syndicate/Mafia generally commences its activities by indulging in petty crime at the local level, mostly relating to illicit distillation/gambling/organized Satta and prostitution in the larger towns. In port towns, their activities involve smuggling and sale of imported goods and progressively graduate to narcotics and drug trafficking. In the bigger cities, the main source of income relates to real estate – forcibly occupying lands/buildings, procuring such properties at cheap rates by forcing out the existing occupants/tenants, etc. Over time, the money power thus acquired is used for building up contacts with bureaucrats and politicians and expansion of activities with impunity. The money power is used to develop a network of muscle-power which is also used by the politicians during elections."

It is followed by details of the growing inter-dependence between the crime-Syndicates and bureaucrats, politicians and police on the basis the

information from Central Bureau of Investigation and other intelligence services. According to the Report (1993), “6.2: Like the Director, CBI, the IDB has also stated that there has been a rapid spread and growth of criminal gangs, armed Senas, drug Mafias, smuggling gangs, and economic lobbies in the country, which have, over the years, developed an extensive network of contacts with the bureaucrats/government functionaries at the local levels, politicians, media persons and strategically located individuals in the non-state sector. Some of these Syndicates also have international linkages including the foreign intelligence agencies.”

Then this pathological report provides some glaring examples of degeneration of the political elite, governance system, economic and financial spheres, preventive and detective systems, and the Indian electoral process as the following:

“In this context the IDB has given the following examples: 6.2.i. In certain states like Bihar, Haryana and U.P., these gangs enjoy the patronage of local level politicians, cutting across party lines and the protection of governmental functionaries. Some political leaders become leaders of these gangs/Armed Senas and, over the years, get themselves elected to local bodies, state assemblies, and the national parliament. Resultantly, such elements have acquired considerable political clout seriously jeopardizing the smooth functioning of the administration and the safety of life and property of common man, causing a sense of despair and alienation among the people.”

“6.2.ii. The big smuggling Syndicates, having international linkages, have spread into and infected the various economic and financial activities, including Havala transactions,

circulation of Black money and operations of vicious parallel economy causing serious damage to the economic fibre of the country. The Syndicates have acquired substantial financial and muscle-power and social respectability and have successfully corrupted the government machinery at all the levels and wield enough influences to make the task of investigating and prosecuting agencies extremely difficult. Even the members of the judicial system have not escaped the embrace of the Mafia.”

“6.2.iii. Certain elements of the Mafia have shifted to narcotics, drugs and weapon smuggling and established narco-terrorism networks, especially in the states of Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The cost of contesting elections has thrown the politicians into lap of these elements and led to a grave compromise by officials of preventive/detective systems. The virus has spread to almost all the centres in the country; the coastal and border states have been particularly affected.”

“6.2.iv. The Bombay bomb blast case and the communal riots in Surat and Ahmedabad have demonstrated how the Indian underworld has been exploited by the Pak ISI and latter’s network in UAE (United Arab Emirate) to cause sabotage, subversion and communal tensions in various parts of the country. The investigation into the Bombay blast cases has revealed the extensive linkages of the underworld in the various governmental agencies, political circles, business sector and the film world.”

c. Indian Political Class after the Vohra Committee Report: It is relevant to check if there was any change in the state of affairs during the years after this report? We have a reflective assessment after 10 years of the coming

out of the Vohra Committee Report in 1993 by an ‘insider’ (a former Cabinet Secretary of the Government of India who had also been the Chief Secretary of Uttar Pradesh), and a comparative picture of crime-politics nexus from the top of the Indian parliamentary order – the characteristics of the members of Lok Sabha who got elected by the voters in 2009 and 2014 on the basis of a research report of a non-partisan body of concerned citizens. According to T. S. R. Subramanian in ‘Journeys through Babudom and NetaLand (2004), “The bottom third of our population is invisible when the curtains are drawn, counted out in all calculations: it does not exist in India for all practical purposes. All the policy initiatives and development actions are taken by the top half of the population, for their own benefit; and all the moves are driven by the group interests of the major players: the politicians, bureaucrats, businessmen, professionals, and the judiciary. There is an unspoken conspiracy that India belongs to the ruling class, with the middle classes being the beneficiaries of the leftovers. And the poorest one-third left behind. This is the post-Independence Dharma of India.” (Ibid: Preface) Subramanian argues further that “If an explanation must be found for the present rot, it can be argued that the success and efficiency of the British system of administration was in the context of a colonial state and a subject people, outside the democratic framework. Our society had its primordial loyalties to the family, caste, clan or faith and furthermore, the ground reality was that of a deeply hierarchical society with skewed distribution of wealth and privileges. This was an inheritance from many centuries. The kinds of checks and balances and accountability needed to anchor a modern administration within a democratic framework were just not in place after independence. So, in this view, the developments in the fifty-five

years since Independence are simply an inevitable unfolding of an inherent structural weakness. But such analysis can become an endless and arid zone of debate, secondary to the sheer immediacy of the quiet drama that is being executed in India.”(2004: Preface)

Two decades after the Vohra Committee Report (1993) and a decade after the Subramanian reflections (2004), the situation has become more disappointing according to the study of Association for Democratic Reforms (ADR). It has found that there were 158 or 30 per cent of total Lok Sabha members elected in 2009 with criminal charges pending against them. At least 77 new M.P.s, or 15 per cent, had serious criminal charges like murder, kidnapping and loot. In economic terms, 300, or 58 per cent reported to be multi-millionaires (‘Crorepati’). There were 57 women members (11 per cent) in the Lok Sabha of 2009–2014. In the elections of 2014, the number of M.P.s with criminal charges increased to 185, or 34 per cent, including 112, or 21 per cent, with serious criminal charges. There were 2 with charge of crime against women, 10 with murder charges, and 16 with charges of involvement in acts of communal disharmony. The number of multi-millionaire members (‘Crorepati’) has increased to 443 or 82 per cent while the number of women members remained 62, or 11 per cent. In terms of the educational qualifications, 126 M.P.s (23%) reported to have education up to Standard 10+2 or less and 495 (75%) had studied till Graduation or above. The age profile of 2014–19 Lok Sabha included 207 (37%) members between 25–50 years, 298 (55%) members between 50 and 70 years and 41 (8%) members above 70 years of age.(2014)

d. Nepotism and dynastic democracy: Nepotism (‘Parivarwad’ in Hindi) in Indian party system and political processes is a growing concern of political sociologists. It is also termed as ‘Family politics’ (French, 2011) or ‘democratic dynasties’ (Chandra, 2016). It has been another grave issue in the political culture of the second cycle of Indian democratic nation-building since 1977. It has been expanding in the 1990s as a major phenomenon causing grave crisis in the deepening of democracy through the multi-party system. Like the menace of criminalization of politics, nepotism or dynastic democracy has contributed towards growth of ‘neo-feudal’ layer which has the potential of neutralizing the dividends of expanding of social base and opening of new spaces for the, so far, under-represented in the domains of democratic governance.

According to an analysis of the members of the fifteenth Lok Sabha (2009-2014) (Patrick French: 2011), 28.6 per cent of M.P.s had a hereditary connection. Every M.P. under thirty years of age had inherited a seat through ‘family connection’. It was disappointing that nearly 70 per cent of women were with hereditary link. At the same time there were exceptions of effective leaders like Mayawati, Jayalalitha and Mamta Banerjee who were self-made women leaders. In party terms, the Rashtriya Lok Dal ranked first with 5 out of 5 M.P.s with hereditary links. The second was Nationalist Congress Party with 7 out of 9 hereditary M.P.s. The Biju Janata Dal was the third with 6 out of 14, the Indian National Congress fourth with 78 out of 208. There were a number of regional parties with in-between ranking from 33 per cent to 19 per cent like Bahujan Samaj Party (33%), Dravida Munetra Kazhgam (33%), Samajwadi Party (27%), Communist

Party of India (Marxist) (25%), Janata Dal(United) (20%) and Bharatiya Janata party (19%). On the other hand there were two parties without a single hereditary M.P.s – All India Anna Dravid Munetra Kazhgan (0 out of 9 M.P.s) and Telugu Desam Party (0 out of M.P.s).

In regional terms, family politics appeared to be strongest in the north Indian states from Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab to Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Bihar. The tendency to turn politics into a family business was being emulated at state level, with legislatures nominating children and spouses. It was found that there was concentration of ‘hyper-hereditary’ M.P.s in four states– Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, Punjab and Haryana.

It may be relevant to ask if the Indian parliament is increasingly changing from Lok Sabha to ‘Vansh Sabha’ – from peoples’ house to house of dynasties. Is this the expected result of the efforts of Indian Constituent Assembly which was led by Nehru, Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Kripalani, Sarojini Naidu, Ambedkar, and Maulana Azad, among others, to make it sure that heredity and dynasty were knocked aside as a criterion for rule? (French: 2011, 91-123)

e. ‘Casteism’ after decades of democratization: If caste and religion were considered as two major hurdles before the leaders of the Indian national movement for independence, these two social institutions were found to be two major puzzles in the discourse of democratic nation-building. As the Indian Constitution provided a three layered frame for the democratic reconstruction of the Indian polity in the post-colonial era, there was significance of the local, including the dominant castes, in conjunction with the

provincial and the national levels of power configurations, institutions and elites. The substantialization of caste contributed by the Census of India between 1881 and 1831 was furthered through constitutionally sanctioned corporate identities like the Other Backward Classes and the Scheduled Castes. There was a wave of social change since independence due to ‘enhanced’ togetherness of a) new education, b) new associations, and c) new occupations which had already originated since the last decades of the 19th century. It was different from the trajectories of the Western democratic nation-states. According to Subrat Mitra, “The contrast of the Indian case with stable Western democracies could not be more striking. In the West, the local, the minority, and the poor were violently cleansed prior to the introduction of modern, democratic institutions (Moore 1966; Tilly 1975; Gilmour 1992). India at independence faced a different and difficult scenario. The constitutional guarantee of the right to participation, the judiciary and other watchdog institutions protecting citizens’ rights, and competitive politics enjoined upon the national leadership

to induct the local and marginal as partners in governance. Unlike their tragic European counterparts during the period of the transition to industrial society, these vulnerable social groups and local level of politics acquired a new lease of life.”(2001, 106)

Susan Bayly (1999) has remarked that, “Despite the fact that the ideas about the power and reality of caste pollution and untouchability are so widely shared in Indian society, ‘caste society’ should not be seen as static, unchanging and harmonious. Quite the contrary: without subscribing to a simplistic idea of India as a domain of universal high-caste oppression and ‘Dalit resistance’, one can see that in the India of 1990s a significant proportion of regional and pan-Indian economic and social conflict has come to be bound up with claims of caste-based solidarity and moral mandate.(Ibid: 340-41)

Recognizing the role of open and secular bodies in Indian nation-building like the universities, legal and medical professions, new civic bodies like the Indian National Congress, Beteille

argues that citizenship-building has been a product of history and the Constitution. It was promoted by spread of science, technology, business, enterprises and voluntary action. But the Indian democracy has survived not by adhering strictly to the ideal of a constitutional democracy but by moving away from it towards a more populist form. He argues that such a setting has simultaneously weakened and strengthened the caste system in the post-Independence decades (See: Table 2). How? There has been togetherness of two patterns of representation of India as a society – 1. India as a society of castes and communities, and 2.A nation of citizens. (2012: Ch. 6)

Performance of Indians as nation-builders and democratic citizens

But how has been the performance of the Indians from the perspective of establishing a representative democracy and building a post-colonial nation? What is the proportion of representation and participation at the levels of local, provincial and national processes and institutions of democracy? How far it is

Table 2 –Changes in the Caste System since Independence

Weakening of Castes	Strengthening of Castes
Purity and Pollution	Caste identity consciousness
Food and water exchange	Democratic politics
Agriculture and ritual cycles	Reservations system
Link between caste and occupations	Caste associations
Educational barriers	Social capital
Individual mobility	Socio-cultural traditions
Rules of marriage	Social justice

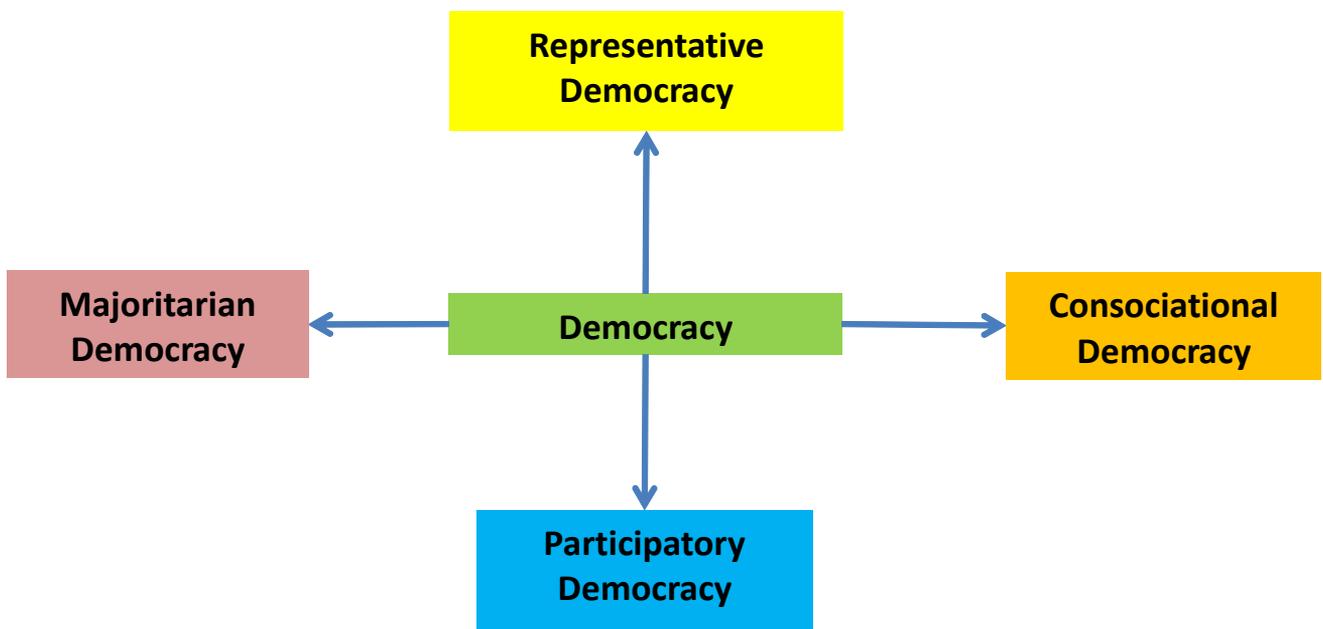
growing as a consociational and how much of it appears to be a majoritarian democracy? (See: Fig. 6) What are the characteristics of India as a post-colonial nation after half a century of constitutional reconstructions and consequential reforms to promote triple justice based unity and fraternity among the citizens? (See: Table 3) It will be helpful to have a look at some of the most divergent evaluative over-views representing different conclusions (See:

Fig. 6).

First, the perspective of Khilnani who has summarized the overall process of evolution of the democratic Indian nation-state, with a comparative view, in the following words: “(T)he history of independent India can be seen, most narrowly but also most sharply, as the history of a state: one of the first, largest and poorest of the many created by the

ebb of European empire after the end of the Second World War.....Rather more expansively, the period of Indian history since 1947 might be seen as the adventure of a political idea: democracy. From this perspective, the history of independent India appears as the third moment in the great democratic experiment launched at the end of the eighteenth century by the American and French revolutions.”(2003, 3-4)

Fig. 7 –Dimensions of democracy



Interestingly, Rajni Kothari (2004), the proponent of dominant party democracy (‘the Congress system’) approach, appears quite disenchanted as he provides details of his specific doubts and disappointments as the following: “I particularly think that we may be reaching the limits of representative democracy and its capacity to promote social change. Elections are no doubt still an instrument of effecting changes in government but the changes that are taking place are increasingly losing any relevance for fundamental social change, whether it is restructuring of the social base of the polity or the ushering in the of regimes of social

justice. There is an emerging hiatus, it seems to me, between the two types of changes – changes in replacing one government by another and changes desired by large masses of people as well as thinking intellectuals – in respect of achieving fundamental social justice and political transformation. This emerging hiatus is sought to be filled by two opposite pursuits. One is of the Mandal and post-Mandal type meant to empower the marginalized strata. The other is the Mandir type, shifting attention from secular re-fashioning to communal and religious revamping, of late further reinforced by militarized and chauvinistic appeals.” (Ibid: 46-47)

Is it such a deep seated systemic crisis? Or we must look, more carefully, at the changing role of the Indian state in the Indian political economy to make sense of the challenges and opportunities. According to Lloyd Rudolph and Susan Rudolph, “After 1989 both the planned economy and the centralized state have gradually given way to a regulatory state more suited to coalition governments in a multiparty system, to economic decentralization, and to more independent and competitive federal states. Judicial activism and an independent president and Election Commission have filled the space partially vacated by a less ambitious,

less capable, and more constrained parliamentary executive. Our analysis of India's emergent constitutional design reveals how a relatively centralized, interventionist, and tutelary state is being replaced by a relatively regulatory state willing to rely on, but not surrender to, a market economy and self-reliant (and sometimes self-destructive) civil society." (2001: 162)

A number of scholars have gone further as they point out to the growing togetherness of increase in institutional erosions causing violence and decline in democratic nation-building (Misra: 2013; Kumar: 2013; Sundar, 2017). They find two problems at this juncture. Firstly, violence, direct or indirect, is in the air. The growth process is itself based on violence of various kinds. Politicians and businessman have increasingly cornered resources (land, water, and so on) using violence against people and nature – destroying the environment, displacing people, creating greater inequality and damaging the idea of a nation. Systems have become unresponsive to the people and their plight, so that they are also forced to respond with aggression leading to a vicious cycle of escalating violence. Secondly, the right of the marginals to develop at their own pace is denied, marketization by itself is proving to be inadequate to force people to give up their customary rights to their resources for paltry sum of money. economic conditions are being created so that they give them up through coercion; this is jeopardizing their future. With rampant corruption, the weight of the official machinery – political, bureaucratic and judicial – has been brought to bear on the people to let go off their hold over their resources. This is supplemented through private pressures and strong arm tactics, which the official machinery connives to overlook (as in POSCO and Singur).

This violence is provoking a reaction. The trend of growing violence, alienation and marginalization are making the present path unsustainable in the long run. Hence, there is a need for alternative(s). (Kumar: 2013, 737)

It may be also useful to refer to the 'conclusions' of Achin Vanaik about changes in the class configurations sustaining democracy in India, "It is impossible to avoid concluding that the rich peasantry has imposed (and will continue to impose) a decisive stamp on Indian bourgeois democracy. It has had a vested interest in sustaining a system of elections and of voting procedures at various levels, and strengthening a democratic-functional system of power sharing. It was responsible for institutionalizing Congress electoral support up to the mid-sixties, and subsequently for helping to de-institutionalize it. It resorts increasingly to extra-parliamentary mass agitations even as its influence in state assemblies, state governments and regional parties grows. It fights the industrial bourgeoisie for a greater share of centrally allocated resources but has no fundamental opposition to the extension of industry. Indeed, it seeks to benefit from the growing integration of town and country, industry and agriculture and to enter the expanding small-scale industrial sector, whether agro-based or not. Along with their petty-bourgeois allies, the rich farmers oppose the mores of the urban middle class and extol the virtues of farming life, though they are certainly immune to the consumerist culture that dominates much of urban middle-class life. This rural block accuses the centre and state governments of being biased in favour of urban India but seeks places for its non-farming members in the state bureaucracies, where its influence has grown steadily." (1990: 80)

Let us summarize this discussion with help of Francine Frankel's evaluation sheet about India's performance. Her 'Introduction' (2000) to 'Transforming India' – a remarkable inter-disciplinary collection of evaluative essays by a group of 15 international experts marking half a century of the Indian project of democratization – gives a different version but similar conclusions, including concurrence with one of the key postulates of this study that in these several decades India has become a 'democracy of caste groups'. Of course, it is not the same as saying that there has been a dominant caste democracy since 1970s. To quote Frankel, "Democratic institutions and practices, adapted to the Indian historical and social context, have had a transforming effect. They have undermined the legitimacy of the hierarchical social structure, and destroyed the historical capability of the upper castes to enforce unequal status and power relations as the basis of stability in the society. Rather, democratization has unleashed an upsurge of participation from among the poor and the illiterate of the lower social strata, and a 'democracy of caste groups', which has dramatically increased their representation in elected institutions of governance. Similarly, reservations in educational institutions and the civil services for Dalits and the Other Backward Classes have provided more opportunities for social mobility among the top layers of the disadvantaged. Democracy has not, however, accomplished an overall increase of equality in social and economic life. Rather, after five decades of competitive politics, caste and communal conflicts have intensified in a struggle to control the scarce resources of the state. Most of all, the second democratic upsurge, concentrated in the traditional northern heartland of the ancient Sanskrit culture, threatens to finally end the

domination of the upper castes and upper classes in the bureaucracy, as well as in parliamentary institutions of government, once their impregnable strongholds. Meanwhile, the rapidly growing urban middle classes, as the major beneficiaries of the economic reforms, seek protection from the corruption and political disorder that threaten the opportunities for further gains. Democratization has fragmented political parties along state, sub-regional, caste and religious lines, crafting unstable coalition governments, paralyzed from within, without the capacity to carry out unfinished

reforms. Apprehension that political stability will indefinitely remain elusive because of shifting tactical calculations by rival groups in local arenas has raised the question of whether the parliamentary system has run its course in India.”(Ibid: 20-21)

In other words, there is need to recognize the constitutional metamorphosis of the Indian social formation through democratization in these seven decades. Today, more than ever before, India and the citizens of India cannot be understood by any single lens – be it caste, class, religion,

or region. Constitutionally, there are four asymmetric groups of citizens whose presence is uneven in different states due to historical reasons. Socio-economically, none of them is a monolith. Each one of them has presence of cleavages of caste, class, and gender among other factors. The process of internal differentiation is making them subject to intersectionalities of caste-class-gender-faith-interest groups which need to be recognized for nation-building through democratic values, institutions and processes.(See: Fig. 7; and Table - 3)

Table 3 – Social Re-construction of Indian Nation

RELIGION	Scheduled Castes (%)	Scheduled Tribes (%)	Other Backward Classes (%)	Others (%)
Hindu	22.2	9.1	42.8	26
Muslim	0.8	0.5	39.2	59.5
Christian	9	32.8	24.8	33.3
Sikh	30.7	0.9	22.4	46.1
Jain	0	2.6	3.0	94.3
Buddhists	89.5	7.4	0.4	2.7
Zorastrians	0	15.9	13.7	70.4
The Others	2.6	82.5	6.2	8.7
TOTAL	19.5	8.7	41.1	30.8

Source: Sachar Report (2006: 7)

(Concluded)

Footprints of A Crusader (The Life Story of Mrunal Gore)

by

Rohini Gawankar

Published by

Kamalakar Subhedar,

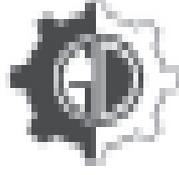
Secretary, Samata Shikshan Sanstha, Pareira Wadi, Mohili Village, Sakinaka, Ghatkopar(W), Mumbai 400072.

Mobile: 9820092255 / Contribution: Rs.300+

Postal Registration No. MCW/275/2015-2017.

License to Post without prepayment WPP License No. MR/Tech/WPP-210/West/2017

Published on Sunday, September 3, 2017 & Posted on Wednesday September 6, 2017 at Mumbai Patrika Channel, Mumbai GPO-1



GANNON DUNKERLEY & CO., LTD.

An infrastructure company established since 1924

REGD. OFFICE

New Excelsior Building, (3rd Floor),

A. K. Nayak Marg, Fort, Mumbai 400 001.

Tel.: 022 2205 1231 Fax: 022-2205 1232

Office : Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Kolkata, Mumbai & New Delhi