

**READINGS ON INDIAN CONSTITUTION, SECULAR
STATE AND SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT**

SECTION 1 – INDIAN CONSTITUTION AND SECULARISM

SECTION 2 – SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT

Common Course for BA/BSc/BCom/BBA

II SEMESTER

(2011 Admission onwards)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

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UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

Study Material

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II Semester

**READINGS ON INDIAN CONSTITUTION, SECULAR
STATE & SUSTAINABLE ENVIRONMENT**

SECTION I

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Chapter 1

AMBEDKAR'S SPEECH ON 4TH NOVEMBER 1948 IN THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) understand the significance of Ambedkar's speech
- ii) get an insight into the framework of the India Constitution.
- iii) appreciate the unique nature of the Indian Constitution.

Introduction to the Author

Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar (1891-1956), the architect of the Indian Constitution is viewed as the messiah of the Dalits. He was an Indian jurist, political leader, Buddhist activist, philosopher, orator and political writer. Born into a poor Mahar (considered an untouchable caste) family he had to suffer the pangs of caste discrimination right from his childhood days. Overcoming numerous social and financial obstacles, Ambedkar studied hard and graduated in Political Science in 1912. He completed his master's Degree from the USA. After completing his doctorate, he pursued advanced researches in Economics and Political Science in London. He was awarded D. Sc. in Economics for his thesis, 'The problem of the Rupee: Its origin and its solution'. He gained wide reputation as a Scholar and practiced Law for a few years.

Ambedkar was the only Indian leader who attended all the three round Table Conferences in London. He founded the 'Independent Labour Party' in 1936 and was elected to the Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1937. He was the first Law Minister of Independent India who tried to turn the wheel of the law toward Social Justice for all.

About the passage

This is one of the speeches of Dr. Ambedkar delivered on the floors of the Constituent Assembly. The intention of this passage is to familiarize you with the unique nature of the Indian Constitution and the ways in which it stands apart from those of other countries. It also throws light on the form of government envisaged in the Constitution and also on the form of the Constitution.

Analysis of the passage (Para 1- Para 6)

Dr. Ambedkar introduces the Draft Constitution as settled by the Drafting Committee. The Drafting Committee was appointed by a resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly on 29 August 1947. The Drafting Committee was charged with the duty of preparing a Constitution in accordance with the decisions of the Constituent Assembly on the reports made by various

committees appointed by it. The Constituent Assembly had also directed that in certain matters the provisions contained in the Government of India Act 1935, should be followed.

Ambedkar describes the Draft Constitution as a formidable document because it contains 315 Articles and 8 Schedules. The Constitution of no country is so bulky as the Draft Constitution. The Draft Constitution has been before the public for eight months. So Ambedkar says that they have got more than sufficient time to express their reactions to the provisions contained in it. There are criticisms levelled against the Draft Constitution and hence Ambedkar finds it very essential to describe the special features of the Constitution.

Before he describes the salient features of the Constitution, he places on the table of the house reports of three committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly: (1) Report of the Committee on Chief Commissioner's Provinces, (2) Report of the Expert Committee on Financial Relations between the Union and the States, and (3) Report of the Advisory Committee on Tribal Areas. And he says that the Drafting Committee has seriously considered these reports while preparing the Draft Constitution.

(Para 7 -Para 12)

Ambedkar draws our attention to the two crucial matters which every Constitution has to deal with. The first thing is about the form of government that is envisaged in the Constitution and the second thing is about the form of the Constitution.

There are mainly two forms of government namely, parliamentary form of government and non-parliamentary form of government. Parliamentary system is followed in Britain. Non-Parliamentary system which is also known as the presidential system is followed in America. Of these two systems, we have adopted the parliamentary system. Ambedkar points out the distinguishing features of both these systems.

Under the Presidential system of America, the President is the chief head of the Executive. Under the Draft Constitution, the President is the head of the State but not of the Executive. He is the symbol of the nation in the sense that his position is ceremonial in nature. The cabinet ministers function under him. The president of the United States is not bound to accept the advice of his secretaries. The president of the Indian Union will be generally bound by the advice of his ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice, nor can he do anything without their advice.

The Presidential system of America is based upon the separation of the Executive and the Legislature, so that the President and his secretaries cannot be members of the congress. The ministers under the Indian Union are members of Parliament. Only members of parliament can become ministers.

A democratic Executive must satisfy two conditions: (1) it must be a stable Executive, and (2) it must be a responsible Executive. The American and the Swiss systems give more stability but less responsibility. The British system on the other hand gives more responsibility but less stability. The American Executive is a non-parliamentary Executive, which means that it is not dependant for its existence upon a majority in the congress. The British system is a parliamentary

executive, which means that is dependent upon a majority in parliament. A parliamentary government must resign the moment it loses the confidence of a majority of members of parliament, but in a non-parliamentary system, the Executive cannot be dismissed.

In a non-parliamentary system, the assessment of the responsibility of the Executive is periodical. It takes place once in two years and it is done by the electorate. In parliamentary system, the assessment of responsibility of the Executive is both daily and periodic. The daily assessment is done by members of parliament through questions, adjournment motions and no-confidence motion etc. and the periodic assessment is done by the electorate at the time of the election which is conducted every five years. The Draft Constitution, in recommending the parliamentary system of Executive, has preferred more responsibility to more stability.

(Para 13- Para 23)

There are two principal forms of Constitutions: (1) Unitary and (2) Federal. The two essential characteristics of a unitary Constitution are: (1) the supremacy of Central Polity and (2) the absence of subsidiary sovereign polities. On the other hand, a Federal Constitution is marked (1) by the existence of a Central Polity and subsidiary polities side by side, and (2) by each being sovereign in the field assigned to it. Federation means the establishment of a Dual Polity. The Draft Constitution is Federal Constitution and the Dual Polity under the Draft Constitution consists of the Union at the Centre and the States at the periphery. Each has its own sovereign powers. The Dual Polity resembles the American Constitution. Under the American Constitution the Federal Government is not a mere league of the States nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Federal Government. In this respect, the Indian Federation resembles the American Federation.

There are mainly two differences between the American Federation and the Indian Federation. In the USA, Dual polity is followed by a dual citizenship- the citizenship of USA and the citizenship of the state. But in the Indian Federation, there is only a single citizenship and that is the Indian citizenship. In the USA the Constitutions of the Federal and the state governments are loosely connected. Under the American Constitution, each State is free to make its own Constitution, provided it is in conformity with the Republican form of government. In India, there is only one Constitution for the whole of India.

(Para 24 -Para 32)

There are some other special features of the proposed Indian Federation which makes it different from all other federations. All Federal Systems, including the American system are placed in a tight mould of federalism. They cannot change their form and shape under any circumstances. They can never be Unitary. On the other hand, the Draft Constitution can be both Unitary as well as Federal, according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it works as a Federal system. But in times of war, it is designed to work as a Unitary system. Once the President issues a proclamation under the provision of the Draft Article 275 (Article 352- Proclamation of Emergency), the State becomes a Unitary State. It can take upon itself the powers to legislate upon any subject in the State List. The Union can direct the State Governments as to how they should exercise their Executive authority on any specific subject, can authorize any officer to execute powers according to its will. The Union has also the power to suspend the

financial provisions of the Constitution. Such a power of converting itself into a Unitary State is unique in the Indian Constitution.

There are two weaknesses from which a federation is alleged to suffer. One is rigidity and the other is legalism. The Australian Constitution has adopted certain means to make its federation less rigid. The Australian Constitution confers upon the Parliament of Commonwealth large powers of concurrent legislation and few powers of exclusive legislation. Some of the Articles of the Constitution have been made temporary 'until parliament otherwise provides'. In assuaging the rigours of rigidity and legalism, the Draft Constitution follows the Australian plan on a far more extensive scale than has been done in Australia. This refers to the existence of a long list of concurrent powers of legislation. Under the Australian Constitution concurrent subjects are 39. Under the Draft Constitution they are 37. With regard to the exclusive powers of legislation it extends to 91 matters whereas the Australian parliament can legislate only on three matters. In this way, the Indian Constitution has the greatest possible elasticity in its federalism. It has also added new ways of overcoming the rigidity and legalism inherent in federalism which makes it different from other Constitutions. First is the power given to parliament to legislate on exclusively provincial subjects in normal times. Parliament gets this power according to the Draft articles 226, 227 and 229. The second means is the provision for facility with which the Constitution can be amended. The provisions of the Constitution relating to the amendment of the Constitution divide the articles of the Constitution into two groups. The articles which are placed in group one require ratification by the States whereas the articles which are placed in the second group does not require ratification by the States.

(Para 33 -Para 36)

There is another special feature of the proposed Indian Federation. The Draft Constitution has sought to forge means and methods whereby the Indian constitution will have Federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all basic matters, which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The Draft Constitution has provided three means: 1) a Single Judiciary, 2) uniformity in fundamental laws, civil and criminal; and 3) a common All-India Civil Service to man important posts.

The Indian Federation, though a Dual polity, has no Dual Judiciary at all. The High Courts and the Supreme Court form one single integrated Judiciary. This is done to eliminate all diversity in all remedial procedures. In all federations there is Federal Service and a State Civil service. Though India has a Dual Civil Service, there is an All-India Civil Service recruited on an all-India basis with common qualifications and uniform scales of pay. They alone could be appointed to the strategic posts throughout the union.

Glossary

Resolution	:	a formal decision taken at a meeting by means of a vote.
Formidable	:	producing fear and respect.
Bulky	:	large

Crucial	:	extremely important
Stable	:	not likely to change
No-confidence motion	:	a motion expressing lack of trust in a government
Periphery	:	the less important part
Rigours	:	hardships
Asylum	:	place of refuge or protection
Mould	:	frame work
Effete	:	powerless
Breach	:	violation
Amend	:	make changes
Ratification	:	approval or confirmation
Eliminate	:	remove

Answer the following questions:

1. Who was the first Law Minister of Independent India?
Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar
2. The Drafting Committee was appointed on
29 August 1947
3. What is the American form of government called?
Presidential system
4. Indian Constitution is a Dual polity with acitizenship.
Single
5. Under the Australian Constitution concurrent subjects are.....
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Answer the following questions in *two* or *three* sentences each:

1. Why does Ambedkar describe the Draft Constitution as a formidable document?
Ambedkar described the Draft Constitution as a formidable document because it contains 315 Articles and 8 Schedules. The Constitution of no country is so bulky as the Draft Constitution.

2. Which are the two crucial matters the Constitution in general has to deal with?

Firstly, what is the form of the government that is envisaged in the Constitution; and secondly, what is the form of the Constitution? There are the two crucial matters the Constitution in general has to deal with.

3. In what way does parliamentary Executive differ from a non-parliamentary executive?

A parliamentary executive is dependent for its existence upon a majority in parliament and so it becomes more responsible and less stable. But, a non-parliamentary Executive is not dependent for its existence upon a majority in parliament and so it tends to be less responsible and more stable. A parliamentary government must resign the moment it loses the confidence of a majority of members of parliament, but in a non-parliamentary system, the Executive cannot be dismissed.

4. When it comes to assessment of the responsibility of the Executive, how does a parliamentary system differ from a non-parliamentary system?

In parliamentary system, the assessment of responsibility of the executive is both daily and periodic. The daily assessment is done by members of parliament, through Questions, Resolutions, Non-confidence motion, Adjournment motions and Debates on addresses. Periodic assessment is both daily and periodic. Periodic assessment is done by the electorate at the time of the election which may take place every 5 years or earlier. But, under the non-parliamentary system, the assessment of the responsibility of the Executive is only periodic.

5. What are the similarities between the Indian Federation and the American Federation?

Both the Indian Federation and the American Federation have a Dual Polity. Under the American Constitution the Federal Government is not a mere league of the States, nor are the States administrative units or agencies of the Federal Government. In this respect, the Indian Federation resembles the American Federation.

6. What are the points of difference between the American Federation and the Indian Federation?

In the USA, Dual polity is followed by a dual citizenship- the citizenship of the USA and the citizenship of the state. But in the Indian federation, there is only one citizenship for the whole of India and that is the Indian citizenship. Under the American Constitution, each state is free to make its own Constitution, provided it is in conformity with the Republican form of Government. In India, there is only one Constitution for the whole of India.

7. What are the means adopted by the Australian Constitution to make its federation less rigid?

The Australian Constitution confers upon the Parliament of Commonwealth large powers of concurrent legislation and few powers of exclusive legislation. Some of the articles of the constitution have been made temporary 'until parliament otherwise provides'. These are some of the means adopted by the Australian Constitution to make its federation less rigid.

8. What are the special provisions included in the Constitution to overcome rigidity and legalism inherent in our Federation?

In order to overcome rigidity and legalism, our Constitution has a long list of subjects for concurrent powers of legislation. With regard to the exclusive powers of legislation, it extends to 91 matters whereas the Australian Parliament can legislate only three matters. In this way the Indian Constitution has the greatest possible elasticity in its federalism.

9. What are the means adopted in the draft Constitution whereby India will have a federation and at the same time uniformity in all basic matters?

The Draft Constitution has sought to forge means and methods whereby India will have Federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all basic matters, which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The means adopted by the Draft Constitution are three: 1) a Single Judiciary 2) uniformity in fundamental laws, civil and criminal; and 3) a common All-India Civil Service to man important posts.

Paragraph questions:

1. What are the fundamental differences between the powers enjoyed by the President of the Indian Union and the President of America?

Under the Presidential system of America, the President is the chief head of the Executive. But the President of the Indian Union is the head of the state but not of the Executive. He is the symbol of the nation in the sense that his position is ceremonial in nature. The cabinet ministers function under him. The President of the United States is not bound to accept the advice of his secretaries. The President of the Indian Union will be generally bound by the advice of his ministers. He can do nothing contrary to their advice, nor can he do anything without their advice.

2. What are the special features of the Indian Federation which makes it different from all federations?

All federal systems, including the American system, are placed in a tight mould of federalism. They cannot change their form and shape under any circumstances. They can never be Unitary. On the other hand, the Indian Federation can be both Unitary as well as Federal according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times, it works as a Federal system. But, in times of war, it is designed to work as a Unitary system. Once the President issues a proclamation under the provision of the Draft Article 275 (Article 352-Proclamation of Emergency) the state becomes a Unitary State. It can take upon itself the powers to legislate upon any subject in the State List. The Union can direct the State Governments as to how they should exercise their Executive authority on any specific subject, can authorize any officer to execute powers according to its will. The Union has also the power to suspend the financial provisions of the Constitution. Such a power of converting itself into a Unitary State is unique in the Indian Constitution.

Essay question:

1. What are the special features of the Constitution of India? How does it uphold federal principles on the one hand and ensure uniformity in all basic matters on the other?

The Constitution of India is federal in character. Federation means the establishment of a Dual Polity. This Dual polity consists of the Union at the Centre and the States at the periphery, each endowed with sovereign powers to be exercised in the field assigned to them respectively by the Constitution. The Indian Constitution is not a league of States, nor are the states administrative units or agencies of the Union Government. The Indian Constitution is a Dual Polity with a single citizenship. There is only one citizenship for the whole of India. It is Indian citizenship.

All Federal systems are placed in a tight mould of federalism. No matter what the circumstances, it cannot change its form and shape. On the other hand, the Indian Constitution can be both Unitary as well as Federal, according to the requirements of time and circumstances. In normal times it works as a Federal System. But in times of war, it is designed to work as a Unitary System. Once the President issued a proclamation under the provision of Article 352, the state is transformed into a Unitary one in character. The Union can take upon itself the powers to legislate upon any subject in the State List. It can direct the State Governments as to how they should exercise their Executive authority on any specific subject, can authorize any officer to execute powers according to its will. The Union has also the power to suspend the financial provisions of the Constitution. Such a power of converting itself into a Unitary State is unique in the Indian Constitution.

There are two weaknesses from which a federation is alleged to suffer. One is rigidity and the other is legalism. In assuaging the rigours of rigidity and legalism, the Indian Constitution follows the Australian plan on a far more extensive scale than has been done in Australia. This refers to the existence of a long list of concurrent powers of legislation. The second means to avoid rigidity and legalism is the provision for amending the Constitution. The amendment does not require ratification by the States.

The Indian Constitution has sought to forge means and methods whereby India will have federation and at the same time will have uniformity in all basic matters, which are essential to maintain the unity of the country. The means adopted by the Constitution are three: 1) A Single Judiciary 2) Uniformity in fundamental laws, civil and criminal, and 3) A common All-Indian civil service to man important posts.

The Indian Federation, though a Dual Polity, has no Dual Judiciary at all. The High Courts and the Supreme Court form one single integrated Judiciary. This is done to eliminate all diversity in all remedial procedures. Care is taken to eliminate all diversity from laws, which are at the basis of civic and corporate life. The great Codes of Civil and Criminal laws, such as the Civil Procedure Code, the Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code, the Evidence Act, the Transfer of Property Act, the Laws of Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance are placed in the Concurrent List so that the necessary uniformity can always be preserved without impairing the federal system. Though India has a Dual Civil Service, there is an All – India Civil Service recruited on all –India basis with common qualifications and uniform scales of pay. They alone could be appointed to the strategic posts throughout the Union.

Chapter - 2

CONCLUDING SPEECH OF Dr. BHIMRAO AMBEDKAR -DELIVERED ON 25TH NOVEMBER 1949

About the passage

This is the concluding speech of Ambedkar delivered on the floors of the Constituent Assembly. In this speech, Ambedkar expresses his gratitude to all those who contributed to the framing of the Constitution. He gives answers to the criticisms levelled against the Draft Constitution in convincing terms. The speech reflects his personality, his deep sense of national pride and his knowledge and expertise. He also expresses his anxiety and concern over the future of India and proposes a number of steps to sustain our valuable democratic traditions.

Analysis of the Passage (Para 1- Para 5)

Ambedkar, as the chairman of the Drafting Committee, addresses Dr. Rajendra Prasad who chairs the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly first met on the 9th of December 1946. Since then it has altogether held eleven sessions. Out of these eleven sessions, the first six were spent in passing the Objectives Resolution and for the consideration of the Reports of various Committees. The last five sessions were devoted to the consideration of the Draft Constitution. The Drafting Committee was elected by the Constituent Assembly on 29th August 1947. It held its first meeting on 30 August. Since August 30, it spent 141 days for the preparation of the Draft Constitution. The Draft Constitution, as prepared by the Constitutional Advisor as a test for the Drafting Committee to work upon consisted of 243 Articles and 13 Schedules. The first Draft Constitution as presented by the Drafting Committee contained 315 Articles and 8 Schedules. At the end of the consideration stage, the number of articles increased to 386. In its final form, the Draft Constitution contains 395 articles and 8 Schedules. The total number of amendments to the Draft Constitution were 2,473.

He has mentioned all these facts because at one stage it was being said that the Assembly had misused time and public money in the name of making the Constitution. Refuting the charge that there has been inordinate delay in the drafting of the Constitution, Ambedkar refers to the size of the Constitution of America, Canada, Australia and South Africa which are much smaller than the Indian Constitution. Our Constitution contains 395 Articles, while the American Constitution has just 7 Articles, the Canadian Constitution has 147, the Australian Constitution has 128 and the South African Constitution has 153 Sections. The second thing is that the makers of the Constitutions of America, Canada, Australia and South Africa did not have to face the problem of amendments. They were passed as moved. On the other hand the Constituent Assembly of India had to deal with as many as 2,473 amendments.

Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad has condemned the Drafting Committee by saying that the work done by the Drafting Committee is not only not worthy of commendation, but is positively below par. Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad has coined a new name for the Drafting Committee to show his contempt for it. He calls it a 'Drifting Committee'. Ambedkar replies to the charge of Mr.

Naziruddin by pointing out that the committee was never drifting without mastery over the situation. It knew its business well. To be in search of something better is not the same as drifting.

(Para 6-Para 11)

Ambedkar expresses his deepest gratitude to the members of the Constituent Assembly and the members of the Drafting Committee for the work done by them in shaping the Constitution. He says that he came into the Constituent Assembly with a view to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes. He was greatly surprised when the Assembly elected him to the Drafting Committee. He was more than surprised when the Drafting Committee elected him to be its chairman. He praises Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and such eminent people who were members of the Committee and the Assembly. He says that he is grateful to the Constituent Assembly and the Drafting Committee for reposing in him so much trust and confidence and in giving him an opportunity to serve the country.

The credit does not wholly belong to him. It belongs partly to Sir. B.N. Rao, the Constitutional Advisor to the Constituent Assembly and to the members of the Drafting Committee. A much greater share of credit must go to Mr. S.N. Mukherjee, the Chief Draftsman of the Constitution. Ambedkar also praises the work done by the members of the staff working under Mr. Mukherjee. There were also rebels in the Constituent Assembly and they were Mr. Kamath, Dr. P.S. Deshmukh, Mr. Sidhva, Prof. Saksena, Padit Thakur Das Bhargava, Prof. K.T. Shah and Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru. Ambedkar is grateful to these rebels because their suggestions were valuable and served to enliven the proceedings of the Assembly. Finally he expresses his gratitude to Dr. Rajendra Prasad for his wholehearted support.

Ambedkar feels that however good a Constitution may be it is sure to turn out bad if those who are called to work it, happens to be a bad lot. On the other hand, a bad Constitution will turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happens to be a good lot. Thus the working of the Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution. A Constitution can provide only the organs of the State, such as the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The factors on which the working of these organs of the State depend are the people and the political parties they set up as their instruments to carry out their wishes and their politics.

(Para 12-Para 15)

The condemnation of the Constitution largely comes from two quarters, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The Communist Party wants a Constitution based upon the principles of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. They condemn the Constitution because it is based upon Parliamentary Democracy. The Socialists want two things. The first thing they want is that if they come to power, the Constitution must give them the freedom to nationalize all private property without payment of compensation. The second thing that they want is that the fundamental rights mentioned in the Constitution must be absolute and without any limitations so that they would have the unlimited freedom to overthrow the state if they fail to come to power.

Ambedkar does not say that the principal of Parliamentary Democracy is the only ideal form of political democracy. As a reply to these condemnations, he only says that the principles

embodied in the Constitution are the views of the present generation. Jefferson, the great American Statesman who played a great part in the making of the American Constitution, has said, 'we may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of the majority, to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country' . The Assembly has refrained from putting a seal of finality and infallibility upon this Constitution by denying to the people the right to amend the Constitution. He challenges the critics of the Constitution to prove that any Constituent Assembly in the world has, in the circumstances in which this country finds itself, provided such a facile procedure for the amendment of the Constitution. *If those who are dissatisfied with the Constitution have only to obtain a two-thirds majority and if they cannot obtain a two-thirds majority in the Parliament elected on adult franchise in their favour, their dissatisfaction with the Constitution cannot be deemed to be shared by the general public.*

(Para 16-Para 18)

Another serious complaint is made on the ground that there is too much of centralization and that the states have been reduced to municipalities. To this charge, Ambedkar says that this view is not only an exaggeration, but is also founded on a misunderstanding of the provisions of the Constitution. The basic principle of Federalism is that the Legislative and Executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States, by the Constitution itself. The States are not in any way dependent upon the Centre for their legislative and executive authority. The Centre and the States are co-equal in this matter. The Centre cannot alter this partition, nor can the Judiciary. Courts can modify, but cannot replace. They can exercise earlier interpretations on new arguments, but there are certain barriers they cannot pass.

Another charge is that the Centre has been given the power to override the states. But Ambedkar points out that these overriding powers do not form the normal feature of the Constitution. The Centre enjoys such powers in emergencies only. The residual loyalty of the citizen in an emergency must be to the Centre and not to the constituent States. It is because only the Centre can work for a common end for the general interests of the country as a whole. Besides, in an emergency, they should take into consideration, alongside their own local interests, the opinions and interests of the Nation as a whole.

(Para 19-Para 23)

Ambedkar expresses his anxiety and concern over the future of India. On 26 January 1950, India will be an Independent Country. Ambedkar expresses his apprehensions whether India will be able to keep up her independence or will she lose it once again? Once India lost her independence by the infidelity and treachery of some of her own people. The invasions of Sind by Mohammed Bin-Kasim, Mohammed Ghorri and the Moghul emperors were facilitated by Indian Chieftains. Again in 1857, when a large part of India had declared a war of independence against the British, some stood and watched the event as mere spectators. In the place of these traitors, the Independent India has so many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds. He is certain that if the parties place creed above the country, there is danger of our new-born Republic giving place to dictatorship. So he says that we must be determined to defend our Independence with the last drop of our blood.

Ambedkar further points out that India had been a democracy in the past. There was a time when India was studded with Republics. There were monarchies either elected or limited. They were never absolute. India was familiar with parliaments or parliamentary procedure. A story of the Buddhist Bhikshu Sanghas reveals that the Sanghas were nothing but Parliaments. They knew and observed all the rules of parliamentary procedure known to modern times. They had rules regarding seating arrangements, rules regarding Motions, Resolutions, Quorum, Whip, Counting of Votes, Voting by Ballot, Censure Motions, Regularization, Res Judicata, etc. Although these rules of Parliamentary procedure were applied by the Buddha to the meetings of the Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the Political Assemblies functioning in the country in his time. He is not sure that whether India can maintain its democracy.

(Para 24-Para 28)

Ambedkar proposes a number of steps so that we can maintain our democracy. The first thing that we must do is to hold fast to Constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. We must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. It means that we must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and satyagraha. As there are Constitutional methods to achieve our goals, there is no justification for resorting to unConstitutional means. These methods are nothing but the 'grammar of anarchy'.

The second thing we have to do is to give up the tendency to indulge in political hero-worship. There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great men who have rendered lifelong services to the country. But there are limits to gratefulness. The Irish patriot, Daniel O'Connell has said that no man can be grateful at the cost of his honour, no woman can be grateful at the cost of her chastity and no nation can be grateful at the cost of its liberty. This caution is far more necessary in the case of India than in the case of any other country. *Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in politics, bhakti or hero worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.*

The third thing is, we must not be content with mere political democracy. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot last unless it is supported by social democracy. It recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These tenets form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things.

There is complete absence of two things in Indian society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principles of graded inequality. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth while the majority live in abject poverty. In politics we have equality and in social and economic life we have inequality. *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.*

We must also develop a sense of common brotherhood of all Indians. It is the principle which gives unity and solidarity to social life.

(Para 29-Para 31)

Ambedkar says that we must realise the necessity of becoming a Nation and seriously think of ways and means to realise the goal. The most formidable barrier in attaining this goal is the existence of caste system. The castes are anti-national. They bring about separation in social life. They generate jealousy and antipathy between caste and caste. But we must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a Nation in reality.

The political power in India has too long been the monopoly of a few and the many are not only beasts of burden, but also beasts of prey. The down trodden classes are tired of being governed. They are impatient to government themselves.

He concludes his speech by saying that we must preserve our Constitution in which we have sought to enshrine the principle of Government of the people, for the people and by the people. This can only be done by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life.

Glossary

Dilatoriness	: delay
Condemn	: blame
Commendation	: praise
Below par	: below average
Drifting	: being carried along by currents
Dereliction	: neglect
Consensus	: general agreement
Safeguard	: protect
Chaos	: complete absence of order
Proletariat	: working class people
Nationalise	: bring private property to the control of the state.
Unfettered	: unrestrained
Embodied	: included
Gratuitously	: disapprovingly
Inculcate	: fix ideas firmly in one's mind by repetition
Facile	: easily done or obtained
Reallocate	: redistribute
Confined	: limited
Override	: stretch one's authority too far
Allegiance	: loyalty

Infidelity	: unfaithfulness
Jeopardy	: danger
Abandon	: give up
Abject	: worthless
Delusion	: false impression
Monopoly	: complete possession
Devolve	: transfer
Tardy	: delay

Answer the following questions:

1. How many articles does the Indian Constitution contain?
395
2. The total number of amendments to the Draft Constitution was.....
24, 73
3. Who was the Constitutional Advisor to the Constituent Assembly who prepared a rough draft of the Constitution for the consideration of the Drafting Committee?
B.N. Rau
4. Who was the Chief Draftsmen of the Constitution?
S.N. Mukherjee

Answer the following questions in *two* or *three* sentences each:

1. How does Ambedkar answer to the complaint that there has been inordinate delay in the drafting of the Constitution?
Ambedkar refers to the size of the Constitutions of America, Canada, South Africa and Australia which are much smaller than the Indian Constitution. These countries did not have to face the problem of amendments. They were passed as moved. But the Constituent Assembly of India had to deal with about 2,473 amendments. In this way, Ambedkar answers to the complaint that there has been inordinate delay in the drafting of the Constitution.
2. How does he reply to the charge that the Drafting Committee was a 'Drifting Committee'?
Ambedkar replies to the charge of Mr. Nazinruddin Ahmad that the Drafting Committee was a Drifting Committee by pointing out that the committee was never drifting without mastery over the situation. It knew its business well. To be in search of something better is not the same as drifting.

3. What were the factors that helped the task of the Drafting Committee easier?

The task of the Drafting Committee was made easier because of the wholehearted support and hard work rendered by great scholars like Sir. B.N. Rau and the member of the Drafting Committee and Mr. S.N. Mukherjee, the Chief Draftsmen of the Constitution.

4. Who were the rebels in the Constituent Assembly? Why is Ambedkar grateful to them?

The rebels in the Constituent Assembly were Mr. Kamath, Dr. P.S. Deshmukh, Mr. Sidhva, Prof. Saksena, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava, Prof. K.T. Shah and Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru. Ambedkar is grateful to them for their valuable suggestions.

5. Why does Ambedkar Say ‘I shall not therefore enter into the merits of the Constitution’?

Ambedkar feels that however good a Constitution may be it is sure to turnout bad because those who are called to work it, happen to be a bad lot. On the other hand, a bad Constitution will turn out to be good if those who are called to work it, happen to be a good lot. Thus the working of the Constitution does not depend wholly upon the nature of the Constitution.

6. What are the main grounds on which the Constitution is being condemned?

The condemnation of the Constitution largely comes from two quarters, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. The Communist Party wants a Constitution based upon the principles of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. They condemn the Constitution because it is based upon Parliamentary Democracy. The Socialists condemn it because they want the authority to nationalise all private property without payment of compensation. They also want the Constitution absolute and without any limitations so that they would have unlimited freedom to overthrow the State if they fail to come to power.

7. What are Ambedkar’s justifications for giving the Centre certain overriding powers to be used in an emergency?

The residual loyalty of the citizen in an emergency must be to the Centre and not to the constituent States. It is because only the Centre can work for a common end for the general interests of the country as a whole. Besides, in an emergency, they should take into consideration, alongside their own local interests, the opinions and interests of the Nation as a whole.

Paragraph questions:

1. How does Ambedkar express his gratitude to the compliments showered upon him?

Dr. Ambedkar expresses his deepest gratitude to the members of the Constituent Assembly and the members of the Drafting Committee for the work they have rendered in making the Constitution. He came to the Assembly with a view to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled castes. He was surprised to see that he was elected to the Drafting Committee and that he was elected to be its Chairman. He praises Sir. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar and such eminent personalities who were members of the committee and the Assembly. He feels grateful to the

Constituent Assembly and the Drafting Committee for reposing in him so much trust and confidence and in giving him an opportunity to serve the country. The credit does not wholly belong to him. It belongs partly to Sir. B.N Rau, the Constitutional Adviser to the assembly and to the members of the Drafting Committee. He admits that greater share of the credit is to Mr. S.N. Mukherjee, the Chief Draftsman of the Constitution.

2. What was Ambedkar's reply to the charge that there was too much centralization and the states have been reduced to municipalities?

In reply to the charge that there was too much centralization and the states have been reduced to municipalities, Ambedkar says that this view is not only an exaggeration, but is also founded on a misunderstanding of the provisions of the Constitution. The basic principle of Federalism is that the legislative and executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States by the Constitution itself. The States are not in any way dependent upon the Centre for their legislative and executive authority. The Centre and the States are co-equal in this matter. The Centre cannot alter this partition, nor can the Judiciary. Courts can modify, but cannot replace. They can revise earlier interpretations on new evidences and arguments, but there are certain barriers they cannot pass. The charge that the Centre has been given overriding powers is also unfounded, because the Centre enjoys such powers in emergencies only.

3. What were Ambedkar's apprehensions about the future of India?

Ambedkar expresses his anxiety and concern over the future of India. On 26 January 1950, India will be an Independent country. Ambedkar expresses his apprehensions whether India will be able to keep up her Independence or will she lose it once again? Once India lost it by the infidelity and treachery of some of her own people. The invasions of Sind by Mohammed Bin-Kasim, Mohammed Ghori and the Moghul Emperors were facilitated by Indian chieftains. Again in 1857, when a large part of India had declared a war of independence against the British, some stood and watched the event as silent spectators. In the place of these traitors, Independent India has many political parties with diverse and opposing political creeds. He is certain that if the parties place creed above the country, there is danger of our new-born Republic giving place to dictatorship.

4. What are the speaker's views on India's democratic tradition?

Dr. Ambedkar points out that India had been a democracy in the past. There was a time when India was studded with Republics. There were monarchies either elected or limited in India. They were never absolute. India was familiar with parliaments or parliamentary procedure. A study of the Buddhist Bhiskhu Sanghas reveals that the Sanghas were nothing but Parliaments. They knew and observed all the rules of parliamentary procedure known to modern times. They had rules regarding seating arrangements, rules regarding Motions, Resolutions, Quorum, whip, Counting of Votes, Voting by Ballot, Censure Motions, Regularization, Res Judicata, etc. Although these rules of Parliamentary procedure were applied by the Buddha to the meetings of the Sanghas, he must have borrowed them from the rules of the political assemblies functioning in the country in his time.

Essay question:

1. According to Ambedkar, what all must be done to sustain democracy in India safeguarding the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity?

Dr. Ambedkar proposes a number of steps in order to maintain democracy. Democracy must be maintained not merely in form, but also in fact. The first thing we must do is to hold fast to Constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. It means, we must abandon the bloody methods of revolution. We must abandon the method of civil disobedience, non-cooperation and satyagraha. As there are Constitutional means to achieve our goals, there is no justification for resorting to unconstitutional means. These methods are nothing but the 'grammar of anarchy'.

The second thing we must do is not to indulge in political hero-worship. There is nothing wrong in being grateful to great men who have rendered lifelong services to the country. But there are limits to gratefulness. *Bhakti in religion may be a road to the salvation of the soul. But in politics, bhakti or hero worship is a sure road to degradation and to eventual dictatorship.*

The third thing is, we must not be content with mere political democracy. We must make our political democracy a social democracy as well. Political democracy cannot succeed if it is not supported by social democracy. It recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. These principles are not to be treated as separate items in a trinity. They form a union of trinity in the sense that to divorce one from the other is to defeat the very purpose of democracy. Without equality, liberty would produce the supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things.

There is complete absence of two things in Indian society. One of these is equality. On the social plane, we have in India a society based on the principles of graded inequality. On the economic plane, we have a society in which there are some who have immense wealth as against many who live in abject poverty. In politics we have one man one vote and one vote one value. So in politics, we have equality and in social and economic life we have inequality. *We must remove this contradiction at the earliest possible moment, or suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy...* The second is the absence of fraternity. So the next point is the inculcation of national feeling in Indians.

In India there are castes. The castes are anti-national. They bring about separation in social life. We must overcome all these difficulties if we wish to become a Nation in reality. The political power in India has long been in the hands of a few. The many are not only beasts of burden but also beasts of prey. The down trodden classes are tired of being governed. This must change. We must maintain our democracy. This can only be possible by the establishment of equality and fraternity in all spheres of life.

Chapter - 3

SECULARISM IN INDIA

ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) get an insight into the healthy secular traditions of India
- ii) become familiar with the author
- iii) understand the importance of communal harmony

Introduction to the author

Asghar Ali Engineer (1939) is an Indian Muslim and Islamic Scholar, reformist writer and activist. He is known for his work on liberation theology in Islam, and those against communalism and communal and ethnic violence in India and South-east Asia. He is the leader of the progressive Dawoodi Bohra Movement. Presently he is the head of Institute of Islamic Studies and Centre for Study of Society and Secularism, both of which he founded in 1980 and 1993 respectively. He also contributes to *The Good Contention*, a website comparing and contrasting various world views. He is the recipient of the Dalmia Award for communal harmony in 1990, the Communal Harmony Award in 1997 and the Right Livelihood Award in 2004 (along with Swami Agnivesh) for his 'strong commitment to promote values of co-existence and tolerance'. Asghar Ali Engineer was conferred Honorary D. Litt. by the University of Calcutta in 1993. Some of his works include- *Origin and Development of Islam: An Essay on Its Socio-Economic Growth*, *The Islamic State*, *Islam and Its Relevance to Our Age*, *On Developing Theory of Communal Riots*, *Islam and Revolution*, *Islam and Muslims*, *Islam in South and South-east Asia*, *Indian Muslims: A study of Minority Problems in India*, *Communalism in India*, *The Role of Minorities in Freedom Struggle*, and *Problems of Muslim Women in India*.

About the Passage

The passage presents the author's reflections on secularism. He quotes from religious scriptures in order to make us understand how different religions coexisted in India in harmony and peace. The healthy secular traditions suffered a setback with the advent of the British rule. Their policy of divide and rule, distortion of medieval history, economic and political competitions among religions, all these led to the development of communal disharmony and intolerance tearing our social fabric. Asghar Ali Engineer points out that secularism in India is more a political than a philosophical phenomenon.

Analysis of the Passage

(Para 1-Para 6)

Secularism has got different meanings in different contexts. In the Indian context, secularism is used in an entirely different sense. It means that no religion has any place in state

affairs. The state should not favour or discriminate against any religion. In the Western countries, secularism is used in the sense of atheism. India is a country where religion plays a major role in the life of people. India's age-old philosophy is *sarva dharma samabhavana* which means equal respect for all religions-as expounded in *Upanishads*. This refers to the fact that India has never been a mono-religious country. Even before the Aryan invasion India was not a mono-religious country. There existed before Aryan invasion numerous tribal cults from north-western India to Kanya Kumari most of whom happened to be Dravidians. Aryans brought new religion based on Vedas and Brahmins dominated intellectual life of north India. But a section of Brahmins also migrated to South and evolved new cults. Christianity and Islam also added more religious traditions to existing Indian traditions. Thus it is correct to say that India is a bewilderingly diverse country in every respect-religious, cultural, ethnic and caste.

India is one country where caste rigidity and concept of untouchability evolved and still plays a major role in religious, social and cultural matters. Since most of the conversions to Christianity and Islam took place among lower caste Hindus, these two world religions also developed caste structure. There are lower caste churches and mosques in several places.

(Para 7-Para 12)

In order to show the inter-religious harmony in India he points out many instances from history. Even under feudalism there were no interreligious competitions. There never took place bloodshed in the name of religion. The policies of kings like Ashoka the Great and Akbar the Great contributed much to the fostering of religious harmony. Ashoka's edicts clearly spell out the policy of religious tolerance and Akbar used to hold inter-religious dialogue among followers of different religions. Akbar followed the policy of tolerance and even withdrew the jizya tax on Hindus.

The Sufi and Bhakti traditions in Islam and Hinduism respectively were based on respect for different religions. These two traditions attracted the poorer and lower caste Hindus to their fold. They were highly tolerant and open to the truth in other faiths. They never involved in power struggles. Nizamuddin Awliya, the great Sufi saint of 13-14th century saw the times of five Sultans, but never stooped before any of them. He refused the request of the last sultan of his life to come to the court. Dara Shikoh, the heir apparent to Shajahan, was also a great scholar of Islam and Hinduism. He wrote a book *Majmaul Bahrayn (Co-mingling of Two Oceans-Islam and Hinduism)*. Quoting from Hindu and Islamic scriptures he showed how both religions have similar teachings. The difference was of languages (Arabic and Sanskrit) and not teachings. Most of the conversions to Islam and Christianity took place through Sufis and missionaries with a spirit of devotion.

Emergence of competitive Politics

(Para 13-Para 18)

With the advent of the British rule in 19th century the entire social, economic and political scenario underwent a drastic change. The British rulers adopted the policy of divide and rule, distorted medieval Indian history to make Muslim rulers appear as tyrants to the Hindu elite. This distorted history was taught in the new school system, which was established by the British rulers.

There were also communal tensions because of the economic and political competition between Hindu and Muslim elite. When the Hindu elite quickly adjusted to modern education system and commerce and industries, the Muslim ruling elite resisted the new education system and could not take to commerce and industry. They were thus left far behind in the race for progress.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan understood the importance of modern education system and founded Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College (MAO College). But the orthodox Ulama, vehemently opposed modern secular education and declared Syed Ahmad Khan as Kafir (unbeliever). Though Syed Ahmad Khan emphasized Hindu-Muslim unity, there emerged communal tensions because of the competitive nature of political and economic power. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885, it adopted secularism as its anchor sheet in view of the multi religious nature of Indian society.

India was not a Hindu country. There were also Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains. However, Hindu society was a highly fragmented society. The dalits refused to call themselves as Hindus and subsequently their leader B.R. Ambedkar adopted Buddhism in protest. The Hindu Elite was more confident than the Muslim elite in the emerging new power-structure and felt more secure. Muslim elite felt less secure and they hitched their wagon with the British rulers. They wanted to share power-sharing arrangement before the British left the country.

(Para 19-Para 25)

Secularism in India was more a political than philosophical phenomenon. The Muslim ruling class could not come to terms with the power sharing arrangement and this resulted in the partition of the country. India was divided into two-India and Pakistan. While India remained secular, Pakistan adopted Islam as its state religion. In India, right from the British period, the main contradiction was between secularism and communalism. The communal forces from among Hindus and Muslims fought for a share in power though they used their respective religions for their struggle for power.

Jawahar Lal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India was a great champion of secularism and secular politics. It was due to Mahatma Gandhi, Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and B.R. Ambedkar that India committed itself to secularism and its Constitution was drafted on secular lines. Secularism in India meant equal respect for all religions and cultures and non-interference of religion in government affairs. Also, according to the Indian Constitution no discrimination will be made on the basis of caste, creed, gender and class. Similarly all citizens of India have the right to vote. According to Articles 14 to 21, all will enjoy the same rights without any discrimination on any ground. According to Article 25, all those who reside in India are free to confess, practice and propagate religion of one's choice subject to social health and law and order. Thus conversion to any religion of one's choice is a fundamental right.

Secular and Unsecular people (Para 26-Para 32)

In a multi-religious country like India, the religious secularism is a must. It is seen that a majoring of people are religious but tolerate and respect other religions. And so they are 'secular' in the Indian context. Even Sufis and Bhakthi saints are secular in that sense.

There are some rationalists and secularists who reject religion in its entirety but such people are extremely few. There are also extremely orthodox people who exhibit rigidity and intolerance towards other faiths but they too are a miniscule minority. The wide prevalence of religious tolerance in India can be attributed to the influence of the ancient Indian doctrine that truth is one but is manifested in different forms. The Sufi doctrine of Wahdat-al-Wujud (Real Being is one) implies that there is only one real Being and all of us are mere manifestations of that Real Being. The ancient Hindu doctrine and the Sufi doctrine leads to inclusiveness and peaceful coexistence. There is another Sufi doctrine of Sulh-i-kul, i.e., total peace and peace with all which is very important.

The real spirit of secularism in India is all inclusiveness, religious pluralism and peaceful co-existence. It is politics, which proved to be divisive and not religion. Politicians are tempted to appeal to primordial identities rather than to solve problems. The medieval society in India was more religiously tolerant as it was non-competitive. The modern Indian society, on the other hand, has proved to be more divisive as it is based on competition. Thus in the case of India one can say that it is secular in as much as it is religiously plural and tolerant but there are politically divisive forces quite active which create communal tensions and widen the gap between religious communities thus bringing Indian secularism under threat.

Glossary

Harmony	: concord
Coexisted	: existed side by side
Advent	: arrival
Distort	: deform; pervert
Expound	: explain by giving details
Invasion	: intrusion
Dominate	: have commanding influence over
Bewilderingly	: confusingly
Conversion	: changing of side, religion etc.
Edicts	: an official order
Withdrew	: drew back
Vlama	: a community of legal scholars of Islam and the Sharia
Hospice	: a hospital for the dying
Fulcrum	: prop: support
Monolithic	: huge
Propagate	: spread, diffuse
Tolerate	: bear; endure
Primordial	: ancient

Answer the following questions:

1. Problems of Muslim women in India is written by
Asghar Ali Engineer
2. Jizya Tax on Hindus was withdrawn by.....
Akbar the Great
3. Who wrote the book *Majmaul Bahrayn*?
Dara Shikoh
4.founded Mohammedan Anglo Oriental college.
Sir Syed Ahmad Khan
5. Indian National Congress was formed in.....
1885
6. According to Article.....all those who reside in India are free to confess, practice and propagate religion of one's choice.
25
7. Which Hindu scriptures expounded the philosophy of *sarva dharma samabhavana*?
Upanishad

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each:

1. What does the word secularism imply in the Indian context?
In the Indian context, the word secularism implies all inclusiveness, religious pluralism and peaceful co-existence. It is *sarva dharma samabhavana* which means equal respect for all religions expounded in Upanishads.
2. Why was there bloodshed in the name of religion under the feudal system?
Under the feudal system, there was no bloodshed in the name of religion because there was no competition between different religions. They co-existed in peace and harmony though at times inter-religious controversies did arise.
3. State the reason why Ashoka and Akbar have place of great significance in the religious life of India?
Ashoka's edicts clearly spell out the policy of religious tolerance and Akbar used to hold inter-religious dialogue among followers of different religions. He followed the policy of tolerance and even withdrew the jizya tax on Hindus.
4. What was the approach of Sufis and Saints to the power structure of their time?
The Sufi and Bhakti saints were highly tolerant and open to the truth in other faiths. They never adopted sectarian attitudes and were never involved in power struggles.

5. What was Dara Shikoh's contribution to enriching religious harmony in India?

Dara Shikoh who was a great scholar of Islam and Hinduism, wrote a book *Majmaul Bahrayn (Co-mingling of Two oceans – Islam and Hinduism)*. Quoting from Hindu and Islamic scriptures he showed that both religions had similar teachings. The difference was of languages (Arabic and Sanskrit) and not teachings. Thus he contributed richly to inter-religious harmony in India.

6. How did the British succeed in sowing the seeds of religious hatred in India?

The British rulers adopted the policy of divide and rule and distorted medieval Indian history to make Muslim rulers appear as tyrants to the Hindu elite. This distorted history was taught in the new school system. Thus they succeeded in sowing the seeds of religious hatred in India.

7. Why according to the author were the Muslims left far behind in the race for progress?

The Muslim ruling elite resisted the new secular education system and also could not take to commerce and industry. Thus the Muslims in India were left far behind in the race for progress.

8. Why, according to the author, did the Muslims hitch their wagon with the British rulers?

The Muslim elite felt less secure in the emerging power structure than the Hindu elite. So they hitched their wagon with the British rulers.

9. What do the Articles 14 to 21 and 25 of our Constitution uphold?

According to Articles 14 to 21, all will enjoy same rights without any discrimination on any ground. According to Article 25, all those who reside in India are free to confess, practice and propagate religion of one's choice subject to social health and law and order. Thus conversion to any religion of one's choice is a fundamental right.

10. What are the factors that have contributed to the wide prevalence of religious tolerance among people of all religions in India?

The wide prevalence of religious tolerance in India can be attributed to the influence of ancient Indian doctrine that truth is one, but is manifested in different forms. The Sufi doctrine of wahdat-al-wujud (Real Being is one) implies that there is only one Real Being and all of us are mere manifestations of that Real Being.

Paragraph questions:

1. Religious tolerance in the medieval society.

There was a tradition of tolerance in the medieval society due to state policies of Ashoka and Akbar. Ashoka's edicts clearly spell out the policy of religious tolerance and Akbar used to hold inter-religious dialogue among followers of different religions and he also followed the policy of tolerance and withdrew the jizya tax on Hindus. Also, India had Sufi and Bhakti traditions in Islam and Hinduism respectively. Both these traditions were based

on respect for different religions. The Sufi and Bhakti saints were highly tolerant and open to the truth in other faiths. They never adopted sectarian attitudes and were never involved in power struggles. Nizamuddin Awliya, the great Sufi saint of 13-14th century saw the times of five sultans, but never stooped before any of them. He refused the request of the last sultan of his life to come to the court. Dara Shikoh, the heir apparent to Shajahan, was also a great scholar of Islam and Hinduism. He wrote a book *Majmaul Bahrayn (Comingling of Two oceans-Islam and Hinduism)*. Quoting from Hindu and Islamic scriptures he showed how both religions have similar teachings.

2. Comment on the unholy alliance between politics and religion?

In India religion plays a quintessential role in the day to day life and is a major influence on the Indian population and culture. Religion covers every aspect of the life of the Indian people. It also plays an important role in the politics of India. Religion and politics have been mixed together in Indian society for so long that it is senseless to talk about them separately today. A major threat to secularism is the mingling of religion and politics. Religious groups, both of majority and minority, organize themselves into political parties with a view to grab political power as a means of economic power. It is politics, which proved to be decisive and not religion. It is politicians who divide people with the help of a minority of religious leaders. They seek to mobilise votes on grounds of primordial identities like religion, caste and ethnicity. This unholy alliance between politics and religion has attained prevalence threatening to shatter the very fabric of secularism in India.

Essay question:

1. What are the author's observations on Indian secularism? What is the present threat to communal harmony and peace?

Asghar Ali Engineer, in his essay *Secularism in India* examines the nature of secularism in India. Secularism in India has very different meanings and implications. Secularism in India has been totally different from what it has been in the West. In the West it means atheism.

India is a country where religion is very central to the life of people. India's age-old philosophy as expounded in Hindu Scriptures called Upanishads is *sarva dharma samabhavana* which means equal respect for all religions. This points to the fact that India has never been a mono-religious country. Alien religions like Islam and Christianity co-existed with Hinduism, the main religion of India, in peace and harmony. India is one country where caste rigidity and the concept of untouchability evolved and still plays a major role in religious, social and cultural matters.

Under the feudal system there was no competition between different religious traditions. There never took place bloodshed in the name of religion. There was also a tradition of tolerance among religions due to the state policies of Ashoka and Akbar. Also, India has Sufi and Bhakti traditions in Islam and Hinduism respectively. Both these traditions were based on respect for different religions. The poorer and lower caste Hindus and Muslims were greatly influenced by these traditions. They never adopted sectarian attitudes and were never involved in power struggles.

This healthy secular tradition suffered a setback with the advent of the British rule in the 19th century. The British rulers adopted the policy of divide and rule, distorted medieval Indian history to make Muslim rulers appear as tyrants to the Hindu elite. Also there developed economic and political competition between Hindu and Muslim elite leading to communal tensions. When the Hindu elite quickly adjusted to modern education system and commerce and industries, the Muslim ruling elite resisted the new education system and could not take to commerce and industry.

Secularism in India was more a political than philosophical phenomenon. The Muslim ruling class could not come to terms with the power sharing arrangement and this resulted in the partition of the country. The country was divided into two independent states of India and Pakistan. In India right from the British period the main struggle was between secularism and communalism. In fact in India, an overwhelming majority of people are religious but tolerate and respect other religions and are thus 'secular' in the Indian context. Even Sufis and Bhakti Saints are considered quite secular in that sense.

A major threat to secularism is from the mingling of religion and politics. Religious groups, both of majority and minority, organise themselves into political parties with a view to grabbing political power as a means of economic power. It is politics, which proved to be divisive and not religion. It is politicians who seek to mobilise votes on grounds of primordial identities like religion, caste and ethnicity. Thus we can say that India is secular in as much as it is religiously plural and tolerant but there were politically divisive forces quite active which create communal pressure and widen the gap between religious communities thus bringing Indian secularism under threat.

Chapter - 4

THE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

ANDRE BÉTEILLE

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) understand the role of the Executive and the Judiciary in a democracy.
- ii) become familiar with the author.

Introduction to the Author

Andre Béteille was born in Chandannagore. His father was the Mayor of the Chandannagore Municipality. He graduated from St. Xavier's College, Calcutta. Andre Béteille, the winner of Padma Bhusan in 2005, is a well known professor of Sociology at the Delhi School of Economics at the University of Delhi. He has been professor of Emeritus of Sociology since 2003. He is particularly known for his studies on the caste system in South India. In 2005 he was appointed a member of the Prime Minister's National Knowledge Commission. But he quit the post in 2006 in protest against a proposal to increase the caste-based reservations to the backward communities.

About the Passage

The passage points out the functions of the Executive and Judiciary, the two Strong pillars that support the democratic system of government. There has been an increased criticism of the way the Executive functions in our country. The Judiciary also is not free from attack. There is the need to build up public awareness, the need to ensure people's participation and the need to adopt measures for transparency in administration to realise the aims and objectives of these two estates. However even if there is more trust on the Judiciary of India, the main work of the governance has to be performed by the Executive. The Judiciary is to supervise and correct the functioning of the Executive and Legislature. The personnel of Executive and Judiciary come from similar backgrounds. The personnel of Executive has more scope to fall prey to malpractices. This comes under public scrutiny very easily. If Judiciary does not protect its integrity and the autonomous position that it enjoys, it is bound to come under the same scanner and it will not be able to defend itself.

Analysis of the Passage

(Para 1 – Para 4)

There has been a growing concern over the failure of governance recently because lack of development is attributed more to failure of governance than to the scarcity of resources. When people point to the failures of governance, they have in mind the executive government which is responsible for formulation as well as the implementation of policy. Sometimes, the policy itself

may be wanting, but more often it is the inadequate, half - hearted and one - sided implementation of it that comes under attack.

The term 'executive' is used to include both the political and the administrative executive, i.e., the ministry and civil service. The division of tasks between the two is complex as it is very difficult to fix their functions in accurate terms. In principle, the Secretary is subordinate to his Minister, but this does not mean that he is dispensable or can be treated lightly. The Minister can certainly overrule the advice of his secretary, but in a healthy democracy the reason for doing so has to be recorded in the file.

Open and regular criticism of the functions of the establishment by the intellectuals provides a safety valve against the accumulation of secret and subterranean resentment with its incalculable destructive potential for state and civil society. But too much of criticism becomes counterproductive as it demoralizes the civil servants.

(Para 5- Para 6)

The executive is largely responsible for the low esteem in which it is held by the public. There has been a steady decline in the ability and integrity of our ministers. Many Ministers, like the nabobs under the East India Company, amass great wealth and lead lives of conspicuous luxury. Not all Ministers are irresponsible but there are enough of those to put the political executive as a whole under a shadow.

Even the best among the civil servants find it extremely difficult to work with the kind of ministers we now have. The administrative works in an adverse environment and still they do not resist it in the public interest. The relationship between the political and administrative executives is fraught with tension. It should be remembered that there exists an unholy alliance between ministers and civil servants which results in the fall of the latter's self- esteem.

(Para 7- Para 9)

Of the various organs of the state, it is the Judiciary which is held in high esteem by the public. Ordinary people look up to judges in a way in which they no longer look up to legislators, ministers or civil servants. They may fear the executive, particularly for its capacity to do harm, but they do not respect it as they respect the Judiciary. Judges, particularly of the higher courts are by and large believed to be learned, high minded, independent, dutiful and upright, qualities that are no longer associates with either ministers or their secretaries.

In a democracy like India, the role of the Judiciary is very significant. People turn to it for remedies for the ills suffered by society. Two important indicators of the increasing reliance on the courts are, 1) proliferation of public interest litigation and 2) the tendency to formulate economic and social problems as matters of right rather than policy. Increase in public interest litigation has been accompanied by the growing importance of nongovernmental organizations. It has also exposed the weaknesses and defaults of the executive government and made citizens aware of the importance of their rights. Whereas universal elementary education was earlier treated as a matter of policy, it will become a matter of right through a proposed amendment of the Constitution. The

failure of the policy is a failure of the executive whereas if something becomes a right it will acquire a greater measure of urgency. And if the administration fails to implement the policy, the courts may be trusted to see that the right is enforced.

(Para 10-Para 12)

Judges with an activist inclination will perhaps welcome a more central role in social engineering than was envisaged in the Constitution. Justice Ahmadi, then Chief Justice of India, had said in 1996 that the phenomenon of judicial activism in its aggressive role will have to be a temporary one. If judicial activism leads to the further demoralization of the Executive, it will not be a good thing for either the Executive or the Judiciary. In India, the main work of governance has to be done by the Executive.

Our judges and our civil servants have come from the same social background, and have had the same kind of education. What applies to the civil service applies by and large to the Judiciary as well. The dignity, probity and rectitude we associate with the judges of high courts and Supreme Court is due to the greater autonomy they enjoy in comparison with the Civil Service personnel. If judges do not pay the price that their autonomy demands, their character and conduct will come under the same public scrutiny to which the executive is subjected.

Glossary

Scrutiny	: through and detailed examination
Decade	: period of ten years
Squander	: to spend wastefully
Scarcity	: lack
Implementation	: putting into practice
Precision	: accuracy
Dispensable	: not necessary
Expose	: uncover
Accumulation	: heap up
Augur	: foretell
Amass	: pile up
Profligate	: very extravagant
Fraught	: Causing extreme anxiety
Reliance	: dependence
Public interest litigation	: filing of case in a court of law in public interest

Proliferation	: multiplication
Uncanny	: strange or mysterious
Probity	: honesty
Rectitude	: moral behavior

Answer the following questions:

1. The term 'Executive' stands for.....
The Ministry as well as the Civil Service
2.and.....are the two pillars of a democratic system of government?
The Executive and the Judiciary
3. Which of the various organs of the state has maintained its dignity in the public eye most effectively?
The Judiciary
4. In.....Professor B eteille received the Pama Bhushan as a mark of recognition for his work in the field of sociology?
2005

Answer the following questions in *two* or *three* sentences each:

1. Why has there been a growing concern over the failure of governance recently?
There has been a growing concern over the failure of governance recently because lack of development is attributed more to failure of governance than to the scarcity of resources. The country has vast resources, human as well as material, but poor governance has caused them to be squandered or kept idle.
2. Why, according to the author, does no public intellectual speak in praise of the executive government of the present?
When people point to the failures of governance, they have in mind the executive government which is responsible for formulation as well as the implementation of policy. Sometimes, the policy itself may be wanting, but more often it is the inadequate, halfhearted and onesided implementation of it that comes under attack.
3. How does the author view open and regular criticism of the establishment by the public?
Open and regular criticism of the functions of the establishment by the public is good because it is the essence of democracy and it keeps the establishment under scrutiny. It provides a safety valve against the accumulation of secret and subterranean resentment with its incalculable destructive potential for state and civil society.

4. Why is the Executive held in low esteem by the people?

The executive itself is largely responsible for the low esteem in which it is held by the public. There has been a steady decline in the ability and integrity of our ministers. Many ministers, like the Nabobs under the East India Company amassed great wealth and led lives of conspicuous luxury.

5. Why is it said that the administrative executive works in an adverse environment?

Even the best of civil servants find it hard to contend with the kinds of ministers we now have. The relationship between the political and the administrative executives, though close and intimate is fraught with tension.

6. What is the attitude of the public towards the Judiciary? State two indicators of the increased reliance on the system?

Judges, particularly of the higher courts, are believed to be learned, high-minded, independent, dutiful and upright. The two important indicators of the increased reliance on the courts are, 1) the proliferation of public interest litigation and 2) the tendency to formulate economic and social problems as matters of right rather than policy.

7. What has contributed to the people's increased dependence on courts of law?

Proliferation of public interest litigation has been accompanied by the growing importance of non-governmental organisations. It has exposed the weaknesses and faults of the Executive and made citizens aware of the importance of their rights for which they approach courts of law.

8. Why does the author feel that too much of judicial activism will be counterproductive?

Too much of judicial activism will be counterproductive, if it leads to the further demoralization of the Executive. It will not be a good thing for either the Executive or the Judiciary.

Paragraph Questions:

1. State the difference in attitude of the people towards the Executive and Judiciary.

When people point to the failures of governance, they have in mind the executive government which is responsible for the formulation as well as the implementation of policy. Sometimes, the policy itself may be wanting, but more often it is the inadequate, half-hearted and one-sided implementation of it that comes under attack. The executive itself is largely responsible for the low esteem in which it is held by the public. There has been a steady decline in the ability and integrity of ministers. On the other hand, the Judiciary is held in high esteem by the public, especially the judges of higher courts. Ordinary people look up to judges in a way totally different from the way they view the ministers, legislators and civil servants. They may fear the Executive particularly for its capacity to do harm, but they do not respect it as they respect the Judiciary. Judges, particularly of the higher courts, are believed to be learned, high-minded,

independent, dutiful and upright. But people do not attribute these qualities to the members of the Executive, especially the political executive.

2. How does the author highlight the responsibility of the judiciary? Discuss.

Of the various organs of the state, it is the Judiciary which has maintained its dignity in the public eye most effectively. The high esteem enjoyed by the Judiciary leads people to turn to it for remedies for the many ills suffered by society. There are two important indicators of the increasing reliance on the courts and they are, 1) the proliferation of public interest litigation and 2) the tendency to formulate economic and social problems as matters of right rather than policy. This has been accompanied by the growing importance of non-governmental organisations. It has exposed the weaknesses and defaults of the executive government and made citizens aware of the importance of their rights. The dignity, probity and rectitude that one associates with judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts demand that they are not victims of corruption that is prevalent in the Civil Service. If judges do not pay the price that their autonomy demands, their character and conduct will come under public scrutiny.

Essay question:

1. Discuss the role of the Executive and the Judiciary in a democracy. Account for the high esteem enjoyed by the Judiciary in India?

The Executive and the Judiciary are the two strong pillars that support a democratic system of government. There has been an increased criticism of the way the Executive functions in our country. However, even if there is more trust on the judges at higher levels and the Judiciary of India, the main work of the governance has to be performed by the Executive. If Judiciary does not protect its integrity and the autonomous position that it enjoys, it is bound to come under the same scanner and it will not be able to defend itself.

As far as India is concerned, it is not the lack of resources, both human and material, that affects the country's progress and development. The poor governance has caused the resources to be squandered or kept idle.

The term 'executive' is used to include both the political and administrative executive, i.e., the ministry and the civil service. The division of tasks between the two is complex and cannot be fixed with any degree of precision. In principle, the secretary is subordinate to his minister, but this does not mean that he is dispensable or can be treated lightly. The minister can certainly overrule the advice of his secretary, but in a healthy democracy the reason should be noted in the file.

Open and regular criticism provides a safety valve against the accumulation of secret and subterranean resentment with its incalculable destructive potential for state and civil society. But criticism of any organ of society becomes counterproductive when it leads to a steady demoralization of its members. The Executive itself is largely responsible for the low esteem in which it is held by the public. There has been a steady decline in the ability and integrity of our ministers. Not all ministers are profligate or irresponsible but there are enough of those to put

the political executive as a whole under a shadow. The relationship between the political and the administrative executives, though close and intimate, is fraught with tension.

Of the various organs of the state, it is the Judiciary which has maintained its dignity in the public eye most effectively. Ordinary people look up to judges in a way in which they no longer look up to legislators, ministers or civil servants. They may fear the Executive, particularly for its capacity to do harm, but they do not respect it as they respect the Judiciary. The increased importance of the Judiciary in India is proved by two indicators: the proliferation of public interest litigation and the tendency to formulate economic and social problems as matters of right rather than policy. Another factor is the increased instances of judicial activism. If judicial activism leads to the further demoralization of the executive, it will not be a good thing for either the Executive or the Judiciary.

The dignity, probity and rectitude the judges of High Courts and Supreme Court enjoy demand that they are not victims of corruption that is prevalent in the civil service. If judges do not pay the price that their autonomy demands, their character and conduct will come under the same public scrutiny to which the Executive is subjected. And the Judiciary has far fewer resources than the Executive for defending itself in the face of public discontent.

Chapter -5

SIGN OF CHANGE

S. VISWANATHAN

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) understand how democratic decentralization has contributed to Dalit empowerment.
- ii) understand the sufferings of Dalits in Tamil Nadu in the name of caste.

Introduction to the Author

S. Viswanathan is a correspondent with *Frontline*, a fortnightly published by the Hindu group of newspapers. He has chronicled the different dimensions of the Dalit Situation in the state of Tamil Nadu. The articles written by him on these issues have been put together as a book, *Dalits in Dravidian Land* by Navayana Publishing in Chennai.

S. Viswanathan has been reporting for *Frontline* since 1993. He had worked with the *Indian Express* for 32 years in Madurai and Madras.

About the Passage

The passage tells us how democratic decentralization, power to the people, goes a long way in tackling corruption and cementing communal harmony. The 73rd amendment to the Constitution is an important landmark in the democratic decentralization process. The Act provides for statutory reservations of elected posts for women, besides the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes in local bodies. S. Viswanathan tells how caste came in the way of Dalit empowerment in Tamil Nadu.

Analysis of the Passage (Para 1-Para 4)

When parliament enacted the Constitution (73rd) Amendment Act in 1993, the move was hailed as a breakthrough in bringing about a vibrant system of participatory democracy at the grassroots level and a paradigm shift in the process of development. The Act, which contains guidelines for the states to put in place three-tier Panchayati raj institutions, generated a lot of hope about empowering the weaker sections. The Tamil Nadu Panchayat Raj Act was passed in 1994 under the provisions of the Constitution (73rd) Amendment Act. But there were apprehensions that elections to local bodies might add to the tensions in those parts of rural Tamil Nadu where Dalits were victims of caste-related violence of the worst order in the mid-1990s. Caste Hindu leaders in Tamil Nadu challenged the reservation of elected offices in local bodies for Dalits. They even objected to the delimitation of village constituencies by the State Election commission.

In the elections, Dalits were prevented from filing nominations in several villages where panchayat presidentships were reserved for them. In five such villages elections could not be held for the full five-year term (1996-2001). Even though elections were held in two of them in 2002,

the elected panchayat presidents had to resign within days of assuming charge under pressure from caste-Hindus. A large number of elected Dalit and women panchayat Presidents suffered humiliation at the hands of caste Hindu vice-presidents, co-members, and government officials. Dalit presidents were forced to take orders from caste Hindu leaders and a good number of women presidents were mere proxies for their husbands or other male members of their family. The provision in the Act that the president and the vice-president should sign cheques jointly was often used by the vice-presidents to put pressure on the presidents. In fact, in 1997, caste-Hindu hostility led to the massacre of six Dalits, including Murugesan, president of the Melavalavu village Panchayat in Madurai district. Caste-Hindu panchayat presidents who were sympathetic to Dalit causes were also not spared. One such panchayat president was hacked to death in Coimbatore district.

(Para 5-Para 8)

It was a very difficult task for the rural women and Dalits, who were elected to the posts of Panchayat presidents for the first time. They even abstained from conveying the mandatory Grama Sabha meetings because of the fear of caste-Hindu hostility. The police and the administrative machinery did not assist them. The only redeeming factor was that some departments of the Central and State governments and numerous non-governmental and inter-governmental agencies, besides the Left parties and Dalit/Women's organizations helped them through workshops and training and capacity –building programmes. The Left parties have consistently mobilized support for them. Six years after the panchayati raj institutions were introduced, the ground situation with regard to the empowerment of Dalits and women started showing signs of improvement. This positive change is visible especially in the southern districts of Tirunelveli and Madurai, which constitute the epicentre of caste-based atrocities against Dalits. There is a perceptible rise in the level of Dalit assertion. Many Dalit and women panchayat presidents today speak with greater confidence than they did years ago. They are more aware of their rights and responsibilities.

People from the dominant caste-Hindu communities and from the village orthodoxy have also shown a considerable change in their mindset. These people might have realised the fact that continued hostility to Dalits will be an obstacle in the process of development. There has emerged a significant change of attitude in the revenue administration department and other government departments. The elected representatives have changed their opinion about the caste-Hindu people because they realised the futility of complaining and built some working arrangements with the officials.

(Para 9-para 11)

Even though there are some signs of positive changes it does not mean that all is well in Tamil Nadu. For instance, in 2000, the Dalit president of Maruthankudi Panchayat, V. Nagar, had to run for his life since he did not yield to pressure from Caste-Hindus with whose support he was elected. The non-Dalit consolidation was evident at that time. However, this time around, Maruthan Mayakrishnan, the Panchayat president, who threatened to resign under pressure from a section of Caste-Hindus, appeared to have many well-wishers among Caste-Hindus. Many caste Hindu elders in the village did not want him to resign his post since they did not want to deny the village the development one could expect. K. Murugesan, a former president of the cooperative

milk society, who belongs to the upper-caste Marava Community and his friends had persuaded Mayakrishnan not to resign. Another favourable factor for Mayakrishnan was the local leadership of the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK).

(Para 11-Para 13)

The panchayat elections have thrown up some Dalits and women with more than average courage and determination. One of them is I. Elavarasan, the Dalit president of Shenbagaraman Nallur in Tirunelveli district. Many panchayat presidents had suffered for having confronted poachers, encroachers, the sand mine mafia and liquor barons, among others. Elavarasan successfully fought a caste-Hindu encroacher. K. Parvathy was elected for a second term as president of the Moolaikaraippatti town panchayat in 2001. During her first term she had to confront a hostile and influential vice-president from the dominant Marava Community. Even though most of the 15 members of the panchayat council were strong supporters of the Vice-President, Parvathi refused to fall in line. The members prevented her from conducting the council meeting and so she had to seek the help of police to evict them from the venue of the meeting. When she was re-elected, she said that her election was due to the co-operation she received from caste Hindus and Dalits alike. Her experience as a social worker attached to the Rural Uplift centre proved useful in discharging her panchayat duties. She also said that her own Dalit community did not support her fully in the 2001 elections because she belongs to the minority Vathiriyar sect among Dalits. The same is the case with K. Chellappan of Thadiyanpatti Village in Tirunelveli district. He claimed that he won for a second time only because of the support that he got from both Dalit and non-Dalit communities. However, a section of Dalits alleged that all benefits went to non-Dalits and the minority Dalit sect to which the president belonged. They also alleged that Chellappan was under the control of Caste-Hindus, with whose support he won. It is clear that no Dalit can win the election without the support of at least a section of non-Dalits. With Dalits coming to power, differences among them have surfaced in several places.

In Shenbagaraman Nallur, Elavarasan who belongs to the minority Parayar Caste, is cold-shouldered by the majority Pallars. Caste-Hindus take advantage of such divisions. Despite all these caste-based problems, S. Viswanathan optimistically says 'Dalits will soon realise that their strength lies in their unity'.

Glossary

Hailed	: greeted
Breakthrough	: solution
Vibrant	: thrilling
Paradigm	: model
Three tier Panchayati Raj institutions	: institutions at the levels of Grama panchayat, Block Panchayat, and District panchayat
Statutory	: required by law
Apprehensions	: fears

Delimitation	: marking the boundaries
Proxy	: person authorised to act for another
Hostility	: enmity, opposition
Massacre	: indiscriminate killing
Mandatory	: compulsory
Redeeming	: compensating
Mobilised	: collected together
Albeit	: although
Epicentre	: central point
Futility	: uselessness
Boycott	: excommunicate
Hurdles	: obstacles
Encroacher	: one who enters another's property without permission
Fall in line with	: be in agreement with
Disrupt	: to prevent a system from continuing as usual
Cold-shouldered	: neglected deliberately

Answer the following questions:

1. The 73rd amendment to the Constitution provides more power to.....
The Panchayats
2. The Tamil Nadu Panchayat Raj Act was passed in
1994
3. Name the Dalit woman president of the Molaikaraippatt town panchayat who got reelected in the 2001 with the co-operation of caste- Hindus the Dalits alike?
K. Parvathi
4. *Dalits in Dravidian Land* is a book which contains the articles written by.....?
S. Viswanathan

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each:

1. What hope did the 73rd Amendment to the Constitution bring to the states in India?
The 73rd Amendment to the Constitution was a breakthrough in bringing about a vibrant system of participatory democracy at the grass roots level. The Act, which contains guidelines for the states to put in place three-tier Panchayati raj institutions, generated a lot of hope about empowering the weaker sections.

2. How did the Caste-Hindus react when the Tamil Nadu Panchayat Act was passed in 1994? Quote instances from the text in support of your answer?
Caste-Hindu leaders challenged the reservation of elected offices in local bodies for Dalits. They also objected to the delimitation of village constituencies by the State Election Commission.
3. What were the problems faced by the Dalits after they were elected to the Panchayats?
A large number of elected Dalit and Women Panchayat presidents suffered humiliation at the hands of Caste-Hindu vice-presidents, co-members and government officials. Dalit presidents were forced to take orders from Caste-Hindu leaders and a good number of women presidents were mere proxies for their husbands or other male members of their family.
4. What were the factors that contributed to the empowerment of Dalit women presidents in Tamil Nadu?
Some departments of Central and State Governments and numerous non-governmental and inter-governmental agencies, besides the Left parties and Dalit/Women's organizations helped them through workshops and training and capacity-building programmes. The Left parties have consistently mobilised support for them.

Paragraph questions:

1. Write your views on empowerment of Dalit women in Tamil Nadu as a part of democratic decentralization:
Six years after the three-tier Panchayati raj institutions were introduced, the ground situation with regard to the empowerment of Dalits and women started showing signs for the better. This positive change is visible especially in the southern districts of Tirunelveli and Madurai, the epicentre of caste-based atrocities against Dalits. There is a perceptible rise in the level of Dalit Assertion. Many Dalit and women panchayat presidents today speak with greater confidence than was the case a few years ago. They are more aware of their rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, people from the dominant caste-Hindu communities and from the village orthodoxy have also indicated a change in their mindset. They might have realised that continued hostility will be an obstacle in the process of development. There has emerged a significant change of attitude in the revenue administration and other government departments. But this does not mean that all is well in Tamil Nadu in the case of Dalits and women local body presidents and members.
2. Comment on the approach of the Caste-Hindus to the Dalits in power?
Administration was an uphill task for the Dalits in power. For instance, in 2000, the Dalit president of Maruthankudi Panchayat in Madurai district had to run for his life since he did not yield to pressure from Caste-Hindus with whose support he was elected. The non-Dalit consolidation was evident at that time. However, this time around, Maruthan Mayakrishnan, the panchayat President, who threatened to resign under pressure from a section of Caste-Hindus, has many well-wishers among the Caste-Hindus. Many caste-Hindu elders in the village did not want Mayakrishnan to resign his post since they did not want to deny the

village the development one could expect. Another source of strength for Mayakrishnan was the support he got from the All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Party. K. Parvathi had to face the opposition of Caste-Hindus in the 2001 election. When she was reelected, she said that her election was due to the co-operation she received from Caste-Hindus and Dalits alike. The same is the case of K. Chellppan too. K. Chellappan claimed that he won only because he had been fair to both Dalit and non-Dalit communities in distributing development schemes. The fact, however, remains that no Dalit can expect to win without the support of at least a section of non-Dalits.

Essay question:

1. Discuss the signs of change visible in Tamil Nadu village subsequent to the introduction of three-tier Panchayat Raj?

The 73rd amendment to the Constitution is an important landmark in the democratic decentralization process. The Act provides for statutory reservations of elected posts for women, besides the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in local bodies. S. Viswanathan tells the story how caste came in the way of Dalit empowerment in Tamil Nadu.

The Tamil Nadu Panchayat Raj Act was passed in 1994. Caste Hindu leaders challenged the reservation of elected offices in local bodies for Dalits. They objected in vain to the delimitation of village constituencies. In the elections, Dalits were prevented from filing nominations in several villages where panchayat presidentships were reserved for them. However, after some years, elections were held in those villages but the elected panchayat presidents resigned within days of assuming charge under pressure from Caste-Hindus.

Six years after Panchayat Raj Institutions were introduced, the ground situation with regard to the empowerment of Dalits and women started showing signs of improvement. This positive sign is visible especially in the southern districts of Tirunelveli and Madurai, the epicentre of caste based atrocities against Dalits. There is a perceptible rise in the level of Dalit assertion. Many Dalit women panchayat presidents express themselves with great confidence. They are more aware of their rights and responsibilities. On the other hand, people from the dominant caste-Hindu communities and from the village orthodoxy have also indicated a change in their mindset. There has emerged a salutary change of attitude in the revenue administration and other government departments. All this does not mean that all is well in Tamil Nadu in the case of Dalits and women local body presidents and members.

For rural women and Dalits in power for the first time, it was an uphill task. In 2000, the Dalit president of Maruthankudi Panchayat had to run for his life since he did not yield to pressure from caste-Hindus. The non-Dalit consolidation was evident at that time. But, this time Maruthan Mayakrishnan, the Panchayat president, who threatened to resign under pressure from a section of Caste-Hindus, appeared to have many well-wishers among Caste-Hindus. Many caste-Hindu elders in the village do not want Mayakrishnan to resign his post

because they do not want to deny the village the development one could expect. Another favourable factor for Mayakrishnan was the support he got from the AIADMK party. K. Parvathy had to face the opposition Caste-Hindus in the 2001 election. When she was re-elected she said that it was due to the co-operation she received from Caste-Hindus and Dalits alike. The same is the experience of another Dalit Panchayat president, K. Chellppan. It is a fact that no Dalit can expect to win without the support of at least a section of non-Dalits.

The remote villages of Tamil Nadu which were once centres of caste prejudice and torture of Dalits have now started to realise the reality. They have realised that continued hostility will not help, and fear that their villages will be left out in the process of development. The elected Dalits also have realised the futility of complaining and have built some working arrangement with the officials.

Chapter - 6
DEEP ROOTS
J. B KRIPALANI

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) know the proud secular tradition that prevailed in our multicultural society, before the advent of the British rule.
- ii) become familiar with the author.

Introduction to the Author

Acharya Jivatram Bhagwandas Kripalani (1888-1982) was a Gandhian socialist, environmentalist, mystic and freedom fighter noted for his honesty and determination. Patriot and intellectual, he was a vehement critic of the establishment, speaking and writing with bitter sarcasm and biting irony. He has authored a number of books including an authoritative biography of Mahatma Gandhi. He became the President of the Congress in 1946, steering the organization through those days of the transfer of power with great skill. Later he resigned from the Congress and founded Karshale Mazdoor Praja Party. He was deeply involved in the non-cooperation movement, in the organization of Salt Satyagraha and in the Quit India Movement. He has served in the Constituent Assembly and also in the interim government of India.

About the Passage

Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely. In this passage, Acharya Kripalani traces the roots of corruption to those who exercise power over the people. The evil has spread like cancer damaging the fabric our political system, thus undermining the values of a democracy.

Analysis of the Passage

(Para 1- Para 5)

One of the main causes of political upheavals throughout history has been the widespread prevalence of corruption and nepotism among the holders of political power, whether they be kings, princes and oligarchs or politicians in a democracy and administrators in general. This is illustrated by recent political upheavals in the erstwhile colonial countries. The Chiang Kai-Shek regime in China failed because of the widespread corruption and nepotism among both politicians and administrators. The democratic regime in Egypt gave place to a military dictatorship because of political and administrative corruption. The same has been the case in Indonesia and Pakistan. The recent trouble in Burma and Ceylon are also due to the prevalence of corruption among the politicians. That is why every revolution, whether it be democratic or totalitarian, tackles the problem of corruption first, so as to gain the confidence of the people.

Under British rule, corruption in India had two distinct faces. The first face of corruption was that of one nation ruling over another and exploiting it. The other was the ordinary corruption in administration. When John Company established its rule, it systematized and sanctioned administrative corruption by allowing officials of the company to supplement their incredibly low salaries by getting or extracting compulsory levies from people. When the administration was transferred from the John Company to the Crown, the higher services managed by the British received emoluments out of all proportion to the functions they performed or the capacity of the Indian People to pay. The result was a top heavy administration and it was condemned by Congress in all its annual sessions. Salaries to high officers successfully induced a certain degree of honesty. In the lower grades of the administration, corruption continued owing to custom and the low salaries of the employees.

(Para 6 – Para 11)

There was some considerable change in this pattern after the two world wars. War always provides opportunities for corruption. It also undermines moral and conventional restrictions. After World War I the British were able to clean the administrations of much of the wartime corruption, but after World War II, the task became more difficult. The uncertainty about the future political set-up, and the Hindu-Muslim rioting and blood - bath that followed, afforded fresh opportunities for corruption. With independence, power was transferred from British Government to the Indian hands. And it was expected that the politicians in power, who had always denounced corruption under the British, would take stringent measures to suppress this evil. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru who had eloquently talked against corruption did not do anything positive to control corruption.

J. B. Kripalani attributes three reasons to the failure of the government to go hard against corruption. They are, 1) The Congress Government did not relish the idea of adding more problems by increasing discontent in the civil services, 2) The politicians and the members of the services often came from the same strata of society, from the same castes and families. And 3) members of the services had powerful connections among the new holders of power. Whatever the reasons, no effort was made to clean the administration of undesirable elements. The situation was all the more worsened because of the prolonged retention of war-time controls and the issue of lucrative import permits. Corruption in all spheres of life has grown with the years. Political corruption has been added to administrative corruption. There is a Persian proverb which says that if a king takes grain of salt from his subjects without payment his officers will rob the people of their entire possessions. Corruption has gone to such an extent that nothing can be get done unless some payment is made or there is a note of recommendation from the concerned political party. This widespread corruption has led to inefficiency in the administration and to inordinate delays in the transaction of business.

(Para 12– Para 14)

J. B. Kripalani always voiced his protest against corruption. One of the reasons for his resignation as President of the Congress was the prevalence of corruption and an open black - market. In parliament, year after year, he has denounced this evil. Annoyed at his criticism, the Prime Minister once replied that corruption is created by those who incessantly talk of it. But

Kripalani answered that we were not living in the age of Aesop's Fables where a wolf appeared because the shepherd-boy had raised the cry 'Wolf ! Wolf !'. After some time, owing to universal complaint the existence of corruption was admitted, but only in the lower ranks of the services. Kripalani is of the opinion that the Prime Minister seems to be oblivious of the corroding effect of industrialization when he wants to industrialize the country and make it modern. Corruption has the tendency of turning the average citizen, who is not made in the heroic mould, dishonest.

(Para 15- Para 18)

Kripalani points out many instances to show that corruption is widely prevalent in the society. Often people approach the black-market for medicine instead of going to the open market. Similarly, merchants bribe the officials if their business is likely to suffer. Often the giver of the bribe gives it out of necessity. Sometime he gives it to get undue advantages. But in no case is the government employee obliged to take it. His only motive is to make profit immorally and illegally. And by doing so, he is undermining the social fabric. The average citizen is neither honest nor dishonest. We become one or the other according to social circumstances. Kripalani relates his own experience as the Director of Gandhi Ashram which produces Khadi. The Ashram has a branch in Bengal producing silk. The goods produced have to be distributed. But the goods brought to the railway station were not booked by railway clerks in time nor would they load them. The goods deteriorated. The Ashram had to suffer losses. Kripalani brought the matter to the notice of higher authorities. But all was in vain. In order to protect the workers from losing their income, he asked them to gratify the officials. He promised to take upon himself the responsibility. Then he related this story in parliament. This shocked the house. The minister said that he would look into the matter. Kripalani had telephone calls from railway officers, assuring him that the matter would be attended to. But there was no effect. He sent a formal letter of complaint to the minister and also wrote to the Prime Minister. Some effective action was taken when he threatened that he would take steps to close down the branch in Bengal.

(Para 19-Para 20)

All these incidents show how deep corruption has gone into our political system. The pity of it is that even complaints of corruption in political and administrative circles by highly placed leaders, who were once in government, receive no adequate response from the authorities. This makes the situation appear hopeless. Gandhiji had his own method of dealing with corruption in high places. He would call the man, place the evidence before him and ask him to retire from public life or be exposed.

Today, instead of any remedial measures being taken, the general impression is that the authorities make every effort to see that corruption at the higher levels is not exposed. It is no use saying that public opinion is wrong. In politics and administration it is not enough that the authorities be right and correct. The public must also feel that they are so.

Glossary

Interim	: temporary
Nepotism	: favoritism
Upheaval	: great and sudden change
Oligarch	: member of an oligarchy
Erstwhile	: previous; formerly
Regime	: system of government
Chiang Kai-shek	: (1888-1975) head of nationalist government in Taiwan. He fled from China following the people's revolution under Mao in 1949.
Tackle	: deal with
John company	: English East India Company
Supplement	: make an addition to
Manned	: managed
Emolument	: payment for work done
Induced	: persuaded
Undermine	: weaken
Denounced	: declared to be wrong
Harassed	: troubled
Retention	: keeping or continuing to hold
Incessantly	: continually
Juggler	: person who does tricks, to amuse people
Oblivious	: unaware
Gratification	: giving what is required please
Manhandled	: attacked

Answer the following questions:

1. J.B. Kripalani became the president of the Congress in
1946
2. Who was the founder of Karshale Mazdoor Praja Party?
J.H. Kripalani
3. What does the author mean by 'John Company'?
The English East India Company

Answer the following questions in *two* or *three* sentences each:

1. What are the two faces of corruption that prevailed in India under the British rule?

Under British rule, corruption in India had two faces. One was the fundamental corruption consequent upon one nation ruling over another and exploiting it. The other was the ordinary corruption in administration.

2. How did the John Company systematise and sanction administrative corruption?

The John Company systematised and sanctioned administrative corruption by allowing officials of the company to supplement their incredibly low salaries by getting or extracting compulsory levies from the people.

3. Why was the task of cleansing the administration proving difficult after the Second World War?

After the Second World War the British government had no time to clear the administration of corruption. The uncertainty about the future political set-up, and the Hindu-Muslim rioting and blood-bath that followed, afforded fresh opportunities for corruption.

4. What reasons does J.B. Kripalani attribute to the failure of the government to go hard against corruption after the transfer of powers?

J.B. Kripalani attributes three reasons for the failure of the government to go hard against corruption. They are, 1) the Congress government did not relish the idea of adding more problems by increasing discontent in the services. 2) the politicians and the members of the services often came from the same strata of society, from the same castes and families, and 3) members of the services had powerful connections among the new holders of power.

5. How did Kripalani voice his protest against corruption?

Kripalani voiced his protest against corruption by resigning as President of the Congress. Year after year, he had denounced this evil in parliament.

6. Why does Kripalani call a corrupt public official a public danger and a public enemy?

The sole motive of the government employee taking bribe from the people is to make profit immorally and illegally. In this process, he undermines the social fabric. Hence he is a public danger and a public enemy.

7. How did Gandhiji deal with corruption in high places?

Gandhiji had his own method of dealing with corruption in high places. He would call the man, place the evidence before him and ask him to retire from public life or be exposed. The offending politician chose to retire from public life.

Paragraph question:

1. Describe J.B. Kripalani's encounter with corruption as the Director of the Gandhi Ashram?

J.B. Kripalani was the Director of the Gandhi Ashram which produces Khadi. The Ashram had a branch in Bengal producing silk. The goods produced had to be distributed. But the railway clerks would not book them in time. When booked they would not load them in time. The goods deteriorated. The Ashram had to suffer losses. Kripalani brought the matter to the notice of high authorities. But all was in vain. In order to protect the workers from losing their income, he asked them to gratify the officials. He promised to take upon himself the responsibility. Then he related this story in parliament. This shocked the house. The minister said that he would look into the matter. Kripalani had telephone calls from railway officers, assuring him that the matter would be attended to. But there was no effect. He sent a formal complaint to the minister and also wrote to the Prime Minister. Effective action was taken when he threatened that he would take steps to close down the branch in Bengal.

Essay question:

1. Corruption has taken deep roots at all spheres of our national life undermining the social fabric. Critically examine the views expressed by J.B. Kripalani?

Power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely. Going through the annals of history J.B. Kripalani traces the roots of corruption to those who exercise power over the people. The evil has spread like cancer damaging the fabric of our political system, thus undermining all the values that democracy stands for.

One of the main causes of political upheavals throughout history has been the widespread prevalence of corruption and nepotism among the holders of political power. Under British rule, corruption in India had two distinct faces. One was the fundamental corruption consequent upon one nation ruling over another and exploiting it. The other was the ordinary corruption in administration. The second one was widespread and it affected those who came into contact with the civil administration. The English East India Company paid very low salaries to their lower rank officials compelling them to extract money from the public. Things did not change even after the British Emperor took over the government of India. The pre-partition political situation was very uncertain which prevented the authorities from taking stringent measures against the prevailing corruption.

When political power was transferred from British government to the Indian hands, it was expected that the politicians in power would immediately take stringent measures to suppress this evil. But no perceptible change could be seen in the area of corruption. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, who had eloquently talked publicly against corruption, did not do anything positive to control corruption. J.B. Kripalani tried his best raising his voice against corruption and black market. Often the giver of the bribe gives it out of necessity. But in no case is the government employee obliged to take it. His sole motive is to make profit immorally and in the process, to undermine the social fabric. He is a public danger and a public enemy.

Kripalani relates his own experience as the Director of Gandhi Ashram. The Ashram had a branch in Bengal producing silk. The goods brought to the railway station were not booked by railway clerks in time nor would they load them. The goods deteriorated. The Ashram suffered losses. Kripalani brought the matter to the notice of higher authorities. But all was in vain. The political leadership also turned a deaf ear to Kripalani's appeals. This shows how deep corruption has gone into our political system. The pity of it is that even complaints of corruption in political and administrative circles by highly placed leaders, who were once in government, receive no adequate response from the authorities. This is what makes the situation appear hopeless.

Today, instead of any remedial measures being taken, the general impression is that the authorities make every effort to see that corruption at the higher levels is not exposed. In politics and administration it is not enough that the authorities be right and correct. The public must also feel that they are so.

Chapter - 7

WHEN THE PRESS FAILS IN ITS DUTY

AJIT BATTACHARJEA

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. understand the importance of freedom of the press in a democracy like India.
- ii. understand the role of the editor in upholding the freedom of the press.

Introduction to the Author

Born in Shimla in 1924, Ajit Battacharjea did his B.A. and M.A from St. Stephen's College in Delhi and began his journalistic career in 1946 as an apprentice, sub-editor and reporter with the Hindustan Times. Battacharjea joined the Statesman, New Delhi, in 1951, and 10 years later returned to the Hindustan Times as its correspondent in Washington and the United Nations. In 1971, he moved to Bombay as Resident Editor of the Times of India. He became a close associate of Jayaprakash Narayan and in 1975 quit the Times of India to edit Jayaprakash Narayan's weekly *Everyman's*. Battacharjea edited, and wrote several books which include *Kashmir: The Wounded Valley*, *Countdown to Partition*, *Tragic Hero of Kashmir* and *Jayaprakash Narayan: A political Biography*.

About the passage

This passage is about the integrity and credibility of the press in which the role of the editor is supreme. An editor should not stand in the way of the freedom of the press, thus keeping his work ethics aside and supporting the proprietor for business interest. One such case was that of Mr. H.K. Dua of *The Times of India*, who complained to the press council against the late Ashok Jain, chairman of Bennett Coleman and Co. (Owners of *The Times of India*). In spite of being a well known journalist and an eminent personality in the field, the verdict of the press council regarding the case was not published in most of the dailies. If the editors are under pressure, it will weaken the credibility of the paper. The case against Mr. Dua highlighted the fact that an editor can never be dismissed from his post on the interest of the proprietor.

Analysis of the Passage (Para 1-Para 5)

The Press Council of India announced that it has censured *The Times of India* in the strongest terms for trying to misuse the services of an editor for the personal benefit of the proprietor of the paper. It praised the journalist concerned, Mr. H.K. Dua, for resisting the pressure though the refusal cost him his job. He had complained to the press council. Since such a charge was leveled against the oldest English language daily in the country, it undeniably made news. The journalist victimized was well-known in the profession. He had served as Editor-in-Chief of *The Hindustan Times* and *The Indian Express* before joining the *Times of India*. And the issues raised in the detailed, 69 –page judgement of the Council concern the independence of the editor and the

credibility of the Press, matters of considerable public interest. Though the verdict of the press council was sent to every English newspaper published from Delhi, none of them chose to publish it. It was ignored by *The Times of India* though papers censured by the Press Council are expected to publish findings against them to guard against repetition of such offences. Only *The Hindu* of Chennai, *Deccan Herald* of Bangalore, *Deccan Chronicle* of Hyderabad and *Tribune* of Chandigarh published a summary.

Such an attitude on the part of the major national newspapers is more disturbing than the misdemeanour of an individual paper. It was a kind of self imposed censorship. The press has a major role in a democracy. The society has the right to know whether editors are subject to pressures that could affect the credibility of the paper. Blacking out the issue suggests that the paper is out to keep the news away from the public gaze. Self-censorship hurts the credibility of the press more grievously than externally-imposed censorship.

(Para 6-Para 10)

Credibility is the oxygen of the press. The press can maintain its credibility by exposing those among them guilty of misusing their powers. They should also expose misuses of political and bureaucratic authority. It means that they should publish the verdicts of the Press Council. The council has no weapon other than public opinion with which to correct the misdoings of the press. The relationship between the editor of a newspaper and its owner is very delicate. It is the responsibility of the editor to maintain the credibility and social objectives of a newspaper. The owner acting through the management is interested in getting a return on his investment. The owner has the right to lay down the broad policy of the paper which the editor accepts when he accepts the job. But this is a matter of approach and interpretation. It does not justify blacking out news of public importance even if unfavorable to the paper. It also does not justify asking the editor to campaign for the personal benefit of the owner.

The case with Mr. Dua was that he was asked to protect the late Ashok Jain, Chairman of Bennett Coleman and Co. (Owners of *The Times of India*) in the FERA cases against him. He was asked to lobby with political leaders, and to write articles in the paper supporting his proprietor. On his refusal, he was dismissed, though the management had no reason to complain against him. The owner had the right to dismiss the editor for incompetence. The editor has no equivalent right, he has only his reputation to protect him against wrongful dismissal. The verdict of Dua case states: 'To require an editor to cater to the personal interests of the proprietor is not only to demean the office of the editor but also to encroach upon his status as a trustee of the society in respect of the contents of the paper'. The Press Council points out that the manner of Mr. Dua's dismissal threatens the freedom of the press and the integrity of journalists. If newspapers do not publish its findings, the public is left in the dark and the council denied its constituency.

(Para 11-Para 15)

Even before Mr. Dua's case, the diminishing role of the editor has been a matter of concern. There were some observations made by the two Press Commissions regarding the role of an editor of a newspaper. The report of the first Press Commission (1954) observed that the editor is solely

responsible for all that is printed and is also placed in a position to act independently. It would not be possible for the editor to resist such pressures which generally act contrary to public interest. It also insisted that 'the editor has to be made independent of the persons responsible for the economic administration of the paper, i.e., the proprietor or his representative, the managing director or the general manager'. Endorsing this view, the second Press Commission stated that editorial functioning should be insulated from proprietorial pressure irrespective of whether such pressure is exerted on behalf of the private business interest or on behalf of the governmental authorities.

The Times of India is not the only paper owned by Bennett Coleman to face erosion of the office of the editor in 1998, the National Union of Journalists complained to the Press Council that editors of *Navbharat Times* had been instructed to 'take guidance' from brand managers (advertisement executives) in assigning work. The council disapproved of the practice of taking guidance from brand managers and termed it as encroaching upon the freedom of the editor and journalist. The editors of other newspapers must take notice of the sustained Bennett Coleman agenda of devaluing editors and making them subservient to proprietary and business interests because they may have to face the same fate. The loss to the public and the democratic system will be greater, the distinction between information provided by professional journalist and sponsored publicity will disappear.

Glossary

Integrity	: honesty
Credibility	: trust
Censured	: criticised unfavourably
Proprietor	: owner
Verdict	: judgement
Blacking out	: hiding from public notice
Misdemeanour	: misdeed
Sweeping	: far reaching
Grievously	: severely
Viability	: Capable of being put into practice
FERA	: Foreign Exchange Regulation Act
Lobby (v)	: influence the members of a law-making body
Arbitrary	: autocratic
Demean	: humiliate
Endorsed	: approved
Diminution	: to make less
Subservient	: subordinate place

Answer the following questions:

1. Name the editor of The Times of India who complained to the Press Council of India, against the proprietor for trying to misuse the services of an editor for the personal benefit of the proprietor of the paper?

H.K. Dua

2.is the oxygen of the press?

Credibility

3. Who was the owner of The Times of India?

Ashok Jain

4.hurts the credibility of the press more grievously than extremely-imposed censorship?

Self-censorship

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each:

1. What were the circumstances that led to the Press Council's censorship of *The Times of India*?

The Press Council censured *The Times of India* for trying to misuse the services of an editor for the personal benefit of the proprietor of the paper. The editor Mr. H.K. Dua resisted the pressure and the management dismissed him.

2. How did the English language newspapers including *The Times of India* react to the judgement of the Press Council?

Not a single major English –language newspaper with headquarters in Delhi has printed a line of the Press Council's verdict, though it was sent to them and the news agencies distributed a summary. It was ignored by *The Times of India* too. Only *The Hindu* of Chennai, *Deccan Herald* Bangalore, *Deccan Chronicle* of Hyderabad and *Tribune* of Chandigarh published a summary.

3. What is the role the press is expected to perform in a democracy?

In a democracy, the press is expected to tell the society if it has the right to know when editors are subject to pressures that could affect the credibility of the paper. Blacking out the issue suggests that the paper is out to keep the news away from the public gaze.

4. How can the press maintain its credibility?

Credibility is the oxygen of the press. It can be maintained only if newspapers are seen to be as anxious to expose those among them guilty of misusing their powers as they are to expose misuse of political and bureaucratic authority.

5. What is the role an editor is expected to perform in a newspaper as opposed to that of the owner?

The editor is responsible for maintaining the credibility and social objectives of a newspaper. The owner acting through the management is concerned with getting a return on his investment.

6. What were the circumstances that compelled the editor of *The Times of India* to approach the Press council of India for redressal?

Mr. H.K. Dua, the editor of *The Times of India* was asked to protect Ashok Jain, chairman of Bennett Coleman and Co. in the FERA cases against him. He was asked to lobby with political leaders and to write articles in the paper supporting his proprietor. On his refusal, he was dismissed. This led him to approach the Press Council.

7. What were the observations made by the council with regard to freedom of the press in Mr. H.K. Dua's case?

The Press Council points out that the manner of Mr. Dua's dismissal threatens the freedom of the press and the integrity of the journalist. If newspapers do not publish its findings, the public is left in the dark and the council denied its constituency.

8. What were the observations made by the two press commissions regarding the role of an editor of a newspaper?

The first Press Commission (1954) observes that the editor is solely responsible for all that is printed and is also placed in the position to act independently. It would not be possible for the editor to resist such pressures which generally act contrary to public interest. Endorsing this view, the second Press Commission stated that editorial functioning should be insulated from proprietorial pressure.

9. What did the National Union of Journalists complain to the Press council of India in 1998? What was the comment of the council?

In 1998, the National Union of Journalists complained to the Press Council that editors of *Navbharat Times* has been instructed to 'take guidance' from brand managers in assigning work. The Council disapproved of this practice of the executives or administrators branch encroaching upon the freedom of the editor and journalist.

Paragraph questions:

1. Why is it said that credibility is the oxygen of the press?

The press which is described as the Fourth Estate has a major role in keeping the public informed of news, without bias or prejudice. Credibility is the oxygen of the press. It can be maintained only if newspapers are seen to be as anxious to expose those among them guilty of misusing their powers as they are to expose misuse of political and bureaucratic authority. It means that they should publish the verdicts of the Press Council. The Council has no weapon other than public opinion with which to correct the misdoings of the press. Here lies the

responsibility of the editor. It is the responsibility of the editor to maintain the credibility and social objectives of a newspaper. The owner acting through the management is concerned with getting a return on his investment.

2. What do you think will happen the day the press fails in its duty?

The role of press in any country is quite significant since it is the people's voice. The press raises issues relating to public interest and publicises the grievances of the common people for the knowledge of the government and seeks remedies. In a democratic country like ours, the role of press is all the more important. The function of the press is essential for a civil society. And so if the press fails in its duty, it will badly affect the people and they will be left in the dark. The press has to maintain its integrity and credibility before the public and for that the press must be anxious to expose those among them guilty of misusing their powers as they are to expose misuse of political and bureaucratic authority. And if the press cannot function properly, the loss to the public and the democratic system will be greater, the distinction between information provided by professional journalists and sponsored publicity will disappear.

3. Write your views on the role of the editor in upholding the freedom of the press.

The role of the editor is very supreme as far as the credibility and integrity of the press are concerned. There should be a healthy relationship between the editor and owner for the smooth functioning of the press. It is the responsibility of the editor to maintain the credibility and social objectives of a paper. The owner acting through the management is concerned with getting a return on his investment. The present day reality that is seen far and wide across the world is that the proprietors of the press dictate terms to the editors. It spoils the spirit of free journalism. If the editor refuses to fall in line with the proprietor, he will be eased out as it happened in the case of Mr. M.K. Dua. 'The editor has to be made independent of the persons responsible for the economic administration of the paper, i.e. the proprietor or his representative the managing director or his representative the managing director or the general manager', as the first Press Commission (1954) report says.

Essay questions:

1. When does the press fail in its duty? Explain with reference to the circumstances that led to the dismissal of the editor of *The Times of India*?

The essay *When the Press Fails in its Duty* by Ajit Bhattacharjea, is about the integrity and credibility of the press in which the role of the editor is supreme. An editor should not stand in the way of the freedom of the press, thus keeping his work ethics aside and supporting the proprietor for business interest. One such case was that of Mr. H.K. Dua of *The Times of India* who complained to the Press Council against Ashok Jain, Chairman of Bennett Coleman and Co., owner of *The Times of India*. He was dismissed from his post because he refused to protect the Chairman in the FERA cases against him. In spite of being a well known journalist and an eminent personality in the field, the verdict of the press council regarding the case was not published in *The Times of India* and many other newspapers. Such self-censorship by the major national newspapers is more disturbing than the misdemeanor of an individual paper. If the press is to perform the role expected of it in a democracy, society has the right to know whether

editors are subject to pressures that could affect the credibility of the paper. Self-censorship hurts the credibility of the press more grievously than externally imposed censorship.

Credibility is the oxygen of the press. It can be maintained only if newspapers are seen to be as anxious to expose those among them guilty of misusing their powers as they are to expose misuse of political and bureaucratic authority. The relationship between editor and owner is delicate. The owner has the right to lay down the broad policy of the paper which the editor accepts when he accepts the job. But this is a matter of approach and interpretation. It does not justify blacking out news of public importance, even if unfavourable to the paper. A socially conscious manager will never interfere with the editor's duty. On the other hand, if it happens that the editor is incompetent, the manager has the right to dismiss him. But Mr. Dua's case is different. Mr. Dua was eased out, though the management had no reason to complain that he had harmed the circulation or reputation of *The Times of India*, which had done well under his editorial supervision. The verdict states: "To require an editor to cater to the personal interests of the proprietor is not only to demean the office of the editor but also to encroach upon his status as a trustee of the society in respect of the contents of the paper".

The Press Council makes the general point that the manner of Mr. Dua's dismissal threatens the freedom of the press and the integrity of journalists. If newspapers do not publish its findings, the public is left in the dark and the council denied its constituency. The first Press Commission (1954) observes that the editor is solely responsible for all that is printed and is also placed in a position to act independently. Anything contrary to this would be against public interest. Endorsing this view, the second Press Commission stated that editorial functioning should be insulated from proprietorial pressure.

The Times of India is not the only paper owned by Bennett Coleman to face erosion of the office of the editor. In 1998, the National Union of Journalists complained to the Press Council that editors of *Navbharat Times* had been instructed to take guidance from brand managers in assigning work. The council disapproved of this practice of the executives of administrator's branch encroaching upon the freedom of the editor and journalist.

If the press does not function properly the loss to the public and the public and the democratic system will be greater, the distinction between information provided by professional journalists and sponsored publicity will disappear.

Chapter - 8

THE CHOICE BEFORE US

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i. get a brief idea of pre-independent India.
- ii. understand the true face of imperialism and fascism.

Introduction to the Author

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) was the first Prime Minister of independent India. Educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, he later qualified as a barrister at the inner Temple. On returning to India, he became involved in the struggle for freedom. As a member of the Indian National Congress, he participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement (1919-22). He was imprisoned in 1921 and spent a long period in jail.

Nehru was a prolific writer. His important works are *Glimpses Of World History* (1935) *Autobiography* (1936) and *Discovery of India* (1946). Although influenced by Gandhian ideals, Nehru believed in the modernisation of India. He introduced science and technology education and started the process of industrialization in the country. Nehru was strongly influenced by the Soviet model of centralised planning and established the Planning Commission (1950) which oversaw the development and the implementation of the Five - Year Plans.

About the Passage

This article appeared in the *National Herald* in 1938 before the commencement of the Second World War. Nehru expresses his resentment over the British supporting the Nazi regime in Germany and the consequent attack of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Nehru believed that democracy was the need of the hour and a war would only increase the miseries of the country. India refused to align in the fight. Nehru said that the Congress was fighting against two ideologies - imperialism and racism: represented by the British and Nazis respectively.

Analysis of the Passage (Para 1 –Para 3)

Nehru points out that in this grave hour when the fates of various nations hang in the balance and world war threatens humanity, the people of India cannot remain passive spectators to the march of historic events. He also says that it is the people of India who have to decide how to serve the cause of freedom that is dear to them. The Congress has laid down the principle which must govern our action in times of world crisis and war. Indians must stand by those principles. The time is fast approaching for the application of those principles in the light of events and recent developments. A negative attitude of protest or mere enunciation of a principle is not enough when a policy and constructive action become necessary. According to Nehru, India's freedom struggle

long ago passed the stage of protest and took to constructive action. In foreign affairs also India is passing that purely agitational stage and India's voice counts today and is listened to with attention in international gatherings. Therefore, Nehru believes that it is time to shape our policy and link our national struggle with that policy.

Struggling for national freedom, we have become anti-imperialists and have resisted not only foreign domination of India, but imperialism itself. Imperialism and fascism are twin brothers which crushed freedom and prevented peace and progress. We realised that the conflict between fascism and imperialism on the one side and freedom and democracy on the other was world-wide and we lined up with the forces of progress and freedom. In Abyssinia, Spain and China we condemned imperialist and fascist aggression.

(Para 4)

Fascism crushed all progressive elements and set up new standards in cruelty and inhumanity. It openly aimed at war. Imperialist powers talked in terms of democracy but aided and abetted fascism and helped it to grow. All these led to the decay of international morality and gangsterism among nations which brought world war very nearer. It was very clear that only by collective action could the aggressor be stayed and peace maintained. A surrender to violence and aggression was no basis for peace. It was very easy to ensure peace if those powers who believed in peace acted together because their strength was much greater than that of the fascist aggressor. But many of these very powers who talked of peace and democracy were imperialist and they supported fascism and encouraged it.

(Para 5-Para 8)

Nehru very firmly says that the British Government has a special responsibility for the growth of fascism. He points out many instances to justify his statement. The British government tolerated aggression in Manchuria, took part in the betrayal of Abyssinia, and indirectly aided the fascist rebels in Spain. They always encouraged fascism and Nazism. They did not succeed in Spain because the people of Spain refused to fall in line with their wishes and fought with unsurpassed courage and determination for their freedom. The incredible happenings in Czechoslovakia have shown how the British and French Governments tried to aid the dismemberment of that country. Such an act of gross betrayal and dishonour on the side of these countries has brought us to the threshold of war. Yet peace was to be had for the asking by building up a joint peace front between England, France, and Russia and other powers, which would have been too powerful for Nazi Germany to dare to challenge. They ignored Russia in all their negotiations and worked in alliance with Hitler for the crushing of Czechoslovakia. They preferred the risk of making Hitler dominant in Europe to cooperation with Russia in the cause of peace.

The British government cannot be trusted, because there is not a marked change in their pro-fascist policy. If war comes, they will talk of democracy, but if they continue as governments they will act in the imperialist fascist way. Nehru says that the fate of Czechoslovakia is a vital matter to all countries who stand for democracy and freedom. The result of the momentous struggle between fascism and anti-fascism must have far-reaching consequences. India must be vitally interested in it for it affects her own future.

(Para 9-Para 13)

Nehru gives a strong advice that Indians have to cast their full weight on the side of democracy, serving thereby the cause of freedom. He says that everybody should realise the dangers with an imperialist and reactionary government exploiting for its own purposes in war-time the slogan of democracy. He asks whether we can forget the phrases and slogans used by the British Government during the First World War. Obviously we cannot be taken in by phrases again and allow ourselves to be exploited for imperialist purposes. Their very memory of the past will cling to us and be a constant reminder to us of what we should not do. There is a greater realisation of the issue today, a vaster mass consciousness, a greater vigilance among the people. The existence of the Soviet Union itself and the astonishing fight for democracy in Spain are significant. And yet nobody can say that people will not be misled again and their courage and sacrifice and idealism not exploited for base ends, thus paving way to imperialism and fascism.

How to avoid this terrible danger and yet how not to be mere spectator when the most vital issues are at stake? It is a question most difficult to answer for every person who cares for freedom and democracy and world peace and order. Nehru says that we have to stand by the people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle for freedom. It will help the cause of freedom and democracy throughout the world. We want to combat fascism. But we will not permit ourselves to be exploited by imperialism, we will not have war imposed upon us by outside authority, we will not sacrifice to preserve the old injustices to maintain an order that is based on them. Of course there were fine promises before us in the past, but they were always broken. It is futile to fight for democracy on somebody's demand when that democracy is denied to us. We must not permit vague slogans to divert us from our objective. What we want is the liquidation of fascism and imperialism.

(Para 14-Para 17)

Nehru says that if he were an English man he would not trust the present British Government in war or peace, and he would not like to commit himself to their care to be used and exploited as they wish. Their talk of peace and democracy has been pure bluff. They could have ensured peace by cooperating with France, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America, and as for democracy, they have done their utmost to slay it in central Europe. For all these reasons Nehru wants the British to leave India for ever.

It is time that the problem of our independence was faced and settled finally. There is no other way of settling this question except by recognition of our right to independence, and through a Constituent Assembly. More and more people, including those in England, have come to realise that it is both good politics and good sense to have a friendly and free India by their side rather than a hostile India ever giving them trouble and weakening them in times of crisis. But we are in the midst of a crisis and intricate schemes cannot be evolved in a day. India's right to independence must be recognised. A committee consisting of representatives of the people should be set up to work out the details for the election of this assembly. With this background, questions of trade and economic relations between India and England will be considered in a friendly spirit. An India with her freedom assured to her, and working for establishment of a democratic state, will be a pillar of strength to freedom and democracy elsewhere. Then India and England, if England also pursues the paths of freedom and justice will cooperate together for peace and the good of humanity.

Glossary

Commencement	: starting
Align	: arrange in line
Grave hour	: serious time
Enunciation	: expressing clearly
Agitational	: of social or political unrest
Striving	: struggling
Domination	: control; authority
Aggression	: an unprovoked attack
Crushed	: break to small pieces
Brutality	: cruelty
Abet	: encourage crime
Unabashed	: shameless
Coercion	: using force
Dismemberment	: break up
Gallant	: brave
Grope betrayal	: complete deception
Precipice	: overhanging cliff
Retreat	: withdrawal
Slogan	: watch word
Vigilance	: caution
Holocaust	: a huge slaughter or destruction of life
At stake	: at risk of losing money, hopes etc.
Combat	: fight
Herald	: to give notice of
Liquidation	: putting an end to
Bluff	: deception
Slay	: Kill
Confine	: keep within limits
Intricate	: complicated
Do away with	: get rid of

Answer the following questions:

1. Who was the first Prime Minister of Independent India?
Jawaharlal Nehru
2. *Discovery of India* is written by.....
Jawaharlal Nehru
3. The Planning Commission was established in.....
1950
4. The article *The Choice Before Us* by Jawaharlal Nehru appeared in.....
The National Herald
5. “We looked upon the two as twin brothers which crushed freedom and prevented peace and progress”. What are referred to as twin brothers?
Fascism and Imperialism

Answer the following question in two or three sentences each:

1. Why does Nehru believe that it is time to shape our policy and link our national struggle with that policy?

According to Nehru, India's freedom struggle long ago passed the state of protest and took to constructive action. In foreign affairs also India is passing that purely agitational stage and India's voice counts today and is listened to with attention in international gatherings. Therefore Nehru believes that it is time to shape our policy and link our national struggle with that policy.

2. According to Nehru, what is the Indian approach to both imperialism and fascism?

According to Nehru, imperialism and fascism are twin brothers which crushed freedom and prevented peace and progress. The conflict between fascism and imperialism on the one side and freedom and democracy on the other was world-wide, and India lined up with the forces of progress and freedom.

3. How does Nehru establish that both imperialists and fascists are to be blamed for bringing the world war nearer?

Fascism crushed all progressive elements and set up new standards in cruelty and inhumanity. It openly aimed at war. Imperialist powers talked in terms of democracy but aided and abetted fascism and helped it to grow. All these led to the decay of international morality and gangsterism among nations which brought world war very nearer.

4. Why does Nehru say that the British Government has a special responsibility for the growth of Fascism?

The British government tolerated aggression in Manchuria, took part in the betrayal of Abyssinia, and indirectly aided the fascist rebels in Spain. Their general policy was one of constitutently encouraging fascism and Nazism.

5. Why does Nehru think that England is responsible for making Hitler dominant?

The British government ignored Russia in all their negotiations and worked in alliance with Hitler for the crushing of Czechoslovakia. They preferred the risk of making Hitler dominant in Europe to cooperation with Russia in the cause of peace.

6. Why does Nehru believe that the present British Government Cannot be trusted in war or peace?

The British government cannot be trusted, because there is no marked change in their pro fascist policy. If war comes, they will talk of democracy, but if they continue as governments they will act in the imperialist-fascist way. Their talk of peace and democracy has been pure bluff.

Paragraph questions:

1. How is imperialism and fascism a threat to world peace?

Imperialism and fascism are twin brothers which crushed freedom and prevented peace and progress. The conflict between fascism and imperialism on the one side and freedom and democracy on the other was world-wide, and gradually, we ranged ourselves with the forces of progress and freedom. In Abyssinia, Spain and China, there was imperialist and fascist aggression. Fascism crushes all progressive elements and sets up new standards in cruelty and inhumanity. It glories in brutality and openly aims at war. Imperialist powers talk in terms of democracy but aids and abets fascism and helps it to grow. All these leads to the decay of international morality and gansterism among nations which bring world war very nearer.

2. Why does Nehru say that we should not trust the war time slogan of democracy raised by the British Government?

Nehru wants the people of India not to be misled by vague slogans of peace by the British imperialists. We do not want imperialist settlement. What we want is the liquidation of imperialism itself. Nehru says that the present British Government could not be trusted. Their talk of peace and democracy has been pure bluff. They could have ensured peace by cooperating with France, the Soviet Union, and the United States of America. But they have done their utmost to slay peace and democracy in central Europe. In the case of India, it is time that India was given freedom from British rule. More and more people, even in England, have come to realise that it is both good politics and good sense to have a friendly and free India by their side rather than a hostile India ever giving trouble and weakening them in times of crisis.

Essay question:

1. What does Nehru believe is the choice before us with the British supporting fascism on the one hand and raising the war time slogan of democracy on the other in addition to inviting the Indian people to align in the fight?

The article *The choice before Us* by Jawaharlal Nehru appeared in the *National Herald* in 1938 before the commencement of the Second World War. Nehru expresses his resentment over the British supporting the Nazi regime in Germany and the consequent attack

of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Nehru believed that democracy was the need of the hour and a war would only increase the miseries of the country. India refused to align in the fight. Nehru said that the Congress was fighting against two ideologies -imperialism and racism: represented by the British and the Nazis respectively.

Nehru says that the people of India cannot remain passive spectators of the march of historic events, when world war threatens humanity. The time demanded a positive policy and constructive action. According to Nehru, the Congress party, which was spear heading the independence struggle, should fashion India's policy and link our national struggle with that policy. Striving for national freedom, we have resisted not only foreign domination of India, but imperialism itself. Imperialism and Fascism are twin brothers which crushed freedom and prevented peace and progress.

The British government has a special responsibility for the growth of fascism and thus for bringing war nearer. They tolerated aggression in Manchuria, took part in the betrayal of Abyssinia, and indirectly aided the fascist rebels in Spain. Their general policy was one of consistently encouraging fascism and Nazism. Referring to the incredible happenings in Czechoslovakia, Nehru says that there is not even a marked change in the Pro-fascist policy pursued by the British Government. The British Government refused to line up with Russia and made Hitler believe that he could deal with Czechoslovakia singly, with England and other powers looking on. They ignored Russia in all their negotiations and worked in alliance with Hitler for the crushing of Czechoslovakia. They preferred the risk of making Hitler dominant in Europe to cooperation with Russia in the cause of peace.

The British government cannot be trusted at any time. If war comes they will talk of democracy, but if they continue as governments they will still act in the imperialist-fascist way and betray that very democracy if they have the chance to do so. We should realise the obvious dangers with an imperialist and reactionary government exploiting for its own purposes in war-time, the slogan of democracy. We should not forget the fine slogans and phrases used by the British government before the First World War in order to get the support of the Indians and their leaders. As soon as the war was over, they forgot their promise and continued with their policy of oppression and exploitation.

Nehru warns his fellow citizens not to be misled by the vague slogans of peace by the British imperialists. We want to combat fascism. But we will not permit ourselves to be exploited by imperialism, Of course there were fine promises before us in the past, but they were always broken. It is futile to fight for democracy when that democracy is denied to us. We want the liquidation of imperialism itself.

Nehru says it is time that India was given freedom from British rule. They should recognize our right to independence. More and more people, including those in England, have come to realise that it is both good politics and good sense to have a friendly and free India by their side rather than a hostile India ever giving them trouble and weakening them in times of crisis.

Chapter -9

A DIALOGUE ON DEMOCRACY

A.S. HORNBY

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should :

- i) become familiar with democracy and its instruments.
- ii) grasp the meaning of democracy in all its contradictions.

Introduction to the Author

A.S. Hornby was born in Chester in 1898. He was educated at the University College London, Where he took a degree in English Language and Literature in 1922. The following year, he was recruited to teach English in a small Provincial College in Japan. He was originally employed to teach English Literature, but was quickly drawn into the teaching of language, an interest which brought him into contact with the Tokyo Institute for Research in English Teaching (IRET), and its director Harold. E. Palmer in 1931. Hornby was invited by Palmer to join him in his programme of vocabulary research. Hornby is chiefly remembered for the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*. He was made a Fellow of University College London and Master of Arts of the University of Oxford. Shortly before his death in 1978, the volume *In Honour of A.S. Hornby*, with contributions by many of his friends and former colleagues, was presented to him to mark his eightieth birthday.

About the Passage

A Dialogue on Democracy is a fine attempt to go deep into the meaning of the democracy and find out what the term stands for. The author exposes the inner contradictions and paradoxes, involved in the term. Democracy assumes different meanings in different contexts. Democratic values are also subject to dispute. The discussion ends exclaiming how difficult it is to get a definition for this word.

The text explains the idea of democracy through a dialogue between Jack and Anne, both young and planning to marry in a couple of years when they can afford to. They discuss a lot of problems in life seriously-inequality, the need for educated voters etc.

Analysis of the Passage

Section I

In this section, Jack and Annie discuss Thomas Jefferson's statement that all men are created equal. Annie does not believe in Jefferson's statement and says that a child with strong and healthy parents is likely to be stronger and healthier than a child with weak and unhealthy parents. A child with clever and intelligent parents will probably do better at school and college than a child with dull and stupid parents. Then Jack says that Annie is a good example of that kind since she has got

intelligent parents. Jack says that perhaps Jefferson meant that everybody should have equal opportunities. But Annie says that there are many children who are clever enough to go to the university but who do not go. Their parents want them to leave school and start earning money as soon as they are fifteen or sixteen even when the child has the chance of going to the university free. Jack also agrees with Annie and says that it is a great disadvantage to have stupid parents. He makes a funny statement that it is a pity children cannot choose their parents. Both of them say that they are lucky that they have got sensible and intelligent parents.

Section II

This section attempts to examine the meaning and scope of democracy in various contexts and countries. Annie says that they are lucky to live in a democratic country. Through their dialogue, the author exposes the inner contradictions and paradoxes, involved in the term 'Democracy'. Democracy assumes different meanings in different contexts. It was Abraham Lincoln who defined democracy as a 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' in his Gettysburg speech. Jack and Annie points out the difference between British Parliamentary system and the American presidential system. In the British system the Prime Minister and his council of Ministers are created by the Parliament and hence answerable to parliament. But in American system, the President is not answerable to the American Congress. Even the Direct Democracy that was started in Athens some two thousand years ago did not represent the whole people. There were large slave populations in the ancient city states of Greece and they were denied of the right to vote. Jack says that the idea of slave population in a democracy seems very strange today.

Section III

Annie points out her father's opinion that they are governed in England by the Civil Service and the permanent officials are the people who have the real power today. Hearing this Jack wants to know whether Annie has the same opinion. She says that she does not agree with her father's opinion. Civil servants have to do what the leaders of the government decide. Civil servants advise, but their advice need not be taken. Annie also says that an ordinary M.P. is required to speak and vote in Parliament as his party required him to do. He cannot make any decisions himself. There is question hour in the House of Commons which provides an opportunity for an M.P. to see that ordinary people are treated justly and that the Government is not making a wrong use of its authority. Jack is of the opinion that the really important decisions are made by the Prime Minister. But Annie says that the Prime Minister is not a dictator and she is very much aware of her right as a citizen. If the public do not like what the Government does, they can vote against that party at the next election and get new leaders. Now Jack points out the necessity to have educated voters because they have to think seriously about the problem of foreign affairs, the economic position of the position of the country etc. Voters should be able to think and decide about the big promises made by political parties before they exercise their franchise.

Section IV

Jack says that some countries call themselves the People's Democracies. But Annie says that they use that name to show that all the land, the forests, the mineral wealth, all the railways, shipping, factories etc. belong to the people. Jack does not like the term 'nationalise' and he opines that all these are state owned and the state is only a machine where there is no competition. Annie thinks

that private ownership is better than state ownership. In Jack's view, competition is a good thing since competition ensures fair charges. But Annie does not agree with Jack's opinion and says that even if there is no competition, Parliament would see that the charges are fair and reasonable.

Section V

This section deals with the definitions of democracy. It is very difficult to define the term. In Western Europe it is perhaps the kind of government that allows all its citizens to discuss politics freely. There must be rule by the majority, but respect for the rights of minorities. A citizen must share in the government by electing the right sort of men to represent him in parliament. He must use his vote intelligently. Australians and Americans would say that a democracy is a country where citizens treat each other as equals, even though they are not equals. Women have got the right to vote, but they have not got equal pay for equal work in all the professions yet. Considering this, Anne says that their country is not a democracy yet. When the Australian says his country is democratic, he is not thinking of government at all. When a workman in Australia meets his employer, he will not say 'Good morning sir'. He will say 'Good morning, Joe'. The discussion ends exclaiming how difficult it is to get a definition for the word 'democracy'.

Glossary

Expose	: disclose; make bare
Paradox	: that which is contrary to received opinion
Dispute	: oppose by argument
Thomas Jefferson	: (1743-1826) was the third President of the United States (1801-1809), the principal author of the <i>Declaration of Independence</i> (1776), and one of the most influential founding fathers for his promotion of the ideals of republicanism in the United States.
Lincoln	: Abraham Lincoln, American Statesman and President (1809-65)
The House of Lords	: the Upper house in the British Parliament equivalent to our Rajya Sabha
Nationalise	: transfer from private to state ownership

Answer the following questions:

1. Who was it that said all men are created equal?
Thomas Jefferson
2. Where did democracy start first?
Athens
3. Who said, 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'?
Abraham Lincoln

4. *A Dialogue on Democracy* is written by.....
A.S. Hornby

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each:

1. How does Annie dispute Jefferson statement that all men are created equal?

Annie says that a child with strong and healthy parents is likely to be stronger and healthier than a child with weak and unhealthy parents. A child with clever and intelligent parents will probably do better at school and college than a child with dull and stupid parents. So the Jefferson statement is wrong.

2. Why does Jack say it is a great disadvantage to have stupid parents?

It is a great disadvantage to have stupid parents. Stupid parents want their children to leave school and start earning money as soon as they are fifteen or sixteen even when the child has the chance of going to the university free.

3. Why is it said that the American President is more powerful than anyone in the country?

The American President has much more power than the British prime minister. The prime minister can be questioned in the House. The US President does not sit in congress and so is not questioned by congress. Only the Press can question him but here, he can choose not to answer.

4. How are educated voters important in a democracy?

Educated voters are necessary in a democracy because they have to think seriously about the problem of foreign affairs, the economic position of the country etc. Voters should be able to think about the big promises made by political parties before they exercise their franchise.

5. Why is the term 'Peoples Democracies' meaningless?

The term 'Peoples Democracies' is used to show that all the land, the forests, the mineral wealth, all the railways, shipping, factories etc. belong to the people. Actually all these are state owned and the state is only a machine where there is no competition. Competition ensures fair charges.

Paragraph Questions:

1. How does Hornby try to prove that democracy is not the government of the people?

It was Abraham Lincoln, who in his Gettysburg speech defined democracy as a government of the people, by the people, for the people. But the author questions this concept by citing examples of British democracy and American democracy. In the Parliamentary system, the government is guided by the party and not by the people. In America, there is Presidential system and in such a system, the President is all powerful because he is not answerable to the people. Even the democracy that was started in Athens some two thousand years ago did not represent the whole people. There were large slave populations and they were denied the right to vote. All these prove that democracy is not the government of the people.

2. Why is it difficult to get a definition for the word 'Democracy'?

A.S. Hornby says that it is very difficult to get a definition for the word 'democracy'. It assumes different meanings in different contexts. In Western Europe it is perhaps the kind of government that allows all its citizens to discuss politics quite freely. There must be rule by the majority, but respect for the rights of minorities. A citizen must share in the government by electing the right sort of men to represent him in Parliament. He must use his vote intelligently. Australians and Americans would say that a democracy is a country where citizens treat each other as equals, even though they are not equals. Women have got the right to vote, but they have not got equal pay for equal work in all the professions yet. When the Australian says his country is democratic, he is not thinking of government at all. When a workman in Australia meets his employer, he will not say 'Good morning Sir'. He will say 'Good morning, Joe'. All these point to the difficulty in defining the word 'Democracy'.

Essay Question:

1. How does A.S. Hornby prove that any attempt to define democracy is a futile exercise?

Dialogue on Democracy by A.S. Hornby is an attempt to go deep into the meaning of democracy and find out what the term stands for. By doing so, the author exposes the inner contradictions and paradoxes, involved in the term. Democracy assumes different meanings in different contexts. Through the means of a dialogue, the author brings out the deficiencies in the system.

The term 'democracy' has different meanings in different countries. The Author quotes Abraham Lincoln who defined democracy as a 'government of the people, by the people, for the people'. This is one definition of democracy. However, there is criticism against the sort of democracy that America follows. The President of the United States is all powerful because he is not answerable to American Congress. Democracy as a system of government was started in Athens some two thousand years ago. But it should be remembered that a large section of its population belonged to the class of slaves who had no right to vote or participate in the assemblies. Such a system cannot be called a democracy at all.

There are some countries that call themselves the People's Democracies. They use that name to show that all the land, the forests, the mineral wealth, all the railways, shipping, factories, etc. belong to the people. Actually they belong to the state. Hornby says that state is a kind of machine.

In Western Europe it is perhaps the kind of government that allows all its citizens to discuss politics freely. There must be rule by the majority, but respect for the rights of minorities. A citizen has a share in the government by electing the right sort of men to represent him in the parliament. He must use his vote intelligently. It is true that there are men and women members of Parliament. It is said that a democracy is a country where citizens treat each other as equals., even though they are not equals. Women have got the right to vote, but they haven't got equal pay for equal work in all the professions yet. When the Australian says his country is democratic, he is not thinking of government at all. When a workman in Australia meets his employer, he will not say 'Good morning sir'. He will say 'Good morning, Joe'. All these point to the difficulty in defining the word 'Democracy'.

Chapter-10

DEMOCRATIC MODEL FOR INDIA

SUBHASH C. KASHYAP

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) analyse the Indian Situation after fifty years of independence.
- ii) be understand the democratic underpinnings of the constitution.

Introduction to the Author

Prof. Subhash C. Kashyap was born on November 18, 1945 in Quetta (Baluchistan). He received his Master's degree in physics in 1966 from B.I.T.S., Pilani (India) and Doctoral degree in 1973 from IIT Delhi. He received the Bursary Award of Agra University and Mombusho (Monbukagakusho) award of Government of Japan. Prof. Kashyap has published over 130 research papers in International) National Journals and conference proceedings.

About the passage

Prof. Kashyap critically analyses the Constitution and examines whether the promises made as a part of the framework could be kept. He reflects on the present Indian scenario and raises the question how far we could stand up to the aims and objectives and democratic values enshrined in our Constitution.

Analysis of the Passage

(Para 1-Para 4)

The achievement of Independence on the midnight of 14-15 August 1957 was for India the beginning of a long and arduous journey. Kashyap says that we complete 50 years of independence on the 14th of August this year. This is not a very long period to take stock of the achievements and failures of its political system. But much has happened during these years. The Constitution has already been amended 78 times, on an average more than one-and-a-half times every year. At the level of the States, it has been formally acknowledged by the President more than 100 times. All the amendments point to the fact that the Constitution has failed to meet the aspirations of its founding fathers and that it has been rendered dysfunctional.

One way of evaluating the working of the Constitution would be to find out the aims and objectives which the founding fathers had set out to achieve at the time of framing the Constitution, and to what extent these were fulfilled in practice. The vision of the founding fathers is enshrined in the Preamble, Fundamental Rights and Directive principles of State Policy. These represent the soul of the Constitution. The Preamble highlights ten Constitutional values : 1) Sovereignty, 2) Socialism, 3) Secularism, 4) Democracy, 5) Justice, 6) Liberty, 7) Equality, 8) Fraternity, 9) Individual dignity and 10) Unity and Integrity of the nation. These values have been further reinforced and elaborated under the enforceable fundamental rights and unenforceable directive principles.

Sovereignty

(Para 5-Para 6)

Our whole struggle for independence was against foreign domination and economic exploitation of the country. The Constitution placed sovereignty as the highest value. In the present context of our dependence on the World Bank and International Monetary fund and the failure of the new economic order, we cannot claim that sovereignty of the country has been preserved. The emerging global village inevitably has its global masters who determine the economies and policies of all developing countries. The other aspect of sovereignty implies vesting of power in the people. But the highest functionaries of the state do not consider themselves to be creatures of the people or servants of the people except perhaps at the time of elections. In the scheme of priorities with our rulers and politicians, the well-being of the people occupies the last priority even though they are expected to serve the people.

Socialism and Justice

(Para 7-Para 11)

The term 'socialist' was added to the Preamble by the 42nd Amendment to the Constitution. The Preamble also records the resolve of securing to all citizens 'equality of status and opportunity'. The Directive Principles specifically speak of the state securing a social order in which 'justice, social, economic and political' shall inform all institutions of the national life, striving to minimize inequalities in income, ensuring distribution of ownership and control of material resources, preventing concentration of wealth and means of productions, providing equal wages for equal work, providing equal wages for equal work, providing for right to work and education, and such other principles from the book of 'Socialism'. The founding fathers were conscious of the fact that mere political democracy, i.e., getting the right to vote once in five years or so was meaningless, unless it was accompanied by social and economic democracy. Right to vote for a hungry and illiterate man without clothing and shelter meant little.

The Constitution was viewed as a means of social engineering, for bringing about, along with political rights, socio-economic justice which would fulfill the basic needs of the common man, where all without any discrimination could enjoy fundamental human freedoms and equality of opportunity. Gandhiji had hoped for a better humanity. According to Nehru, the first task of the Constituent Assembly shall be 'to free India through a Constitution, to feed the starving people, to clothe the naked masses, to give every Indian the complete opportunity to develop himself according to his capacity. A Constitution not able to solve the problems of 'the poor and the starving' was merely a 'paper Constitution-useless and purposeless'. 'Socialism', 'Garibi Hatao' etc. became merely political party slogans without any content. They were symbols of populism and hypocrisy in our public life. Despite all these slogans and programmes, nearly forty per cent of our population today is living below poverty line. Instead of inequalities being reduced, we see the gap between the rich and poor widened. Even after fifty years of independence, our problems of poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, over population, shortage of food and drinking water are still the same as they were in 1947. Lakhs of children of tender age are subject to high levels of pollution,

and to work in sub-human condition. Unemployment has assumed alarming proportions. Illiteracy has increased. As a result of the new economic policy of liberalization and globalization, the rich have grown richer and the poor have become poorer. The happiest have been the big business houses and the industrial lobbies even though the multinationals may soon transform our entrepreneurs into mere employees and commission agents.

(Para 12-15)

In whatever manner we define 'Socialism', it must be admitted that the openly pro-private sector policies of liberalization, free market economy, deregulation and privatization, throwing the door ajar for foreign capital, investment by multinational, heavy borrowing, etc, cannot be considered 'Socialist'. Mountebanks may coin terms like market socialism but there can hardly be any marriage between free play of market forces and concepts of social planning and social engineering. The policies followed for the last seven years are an admission of the fact that 'Socialism' has failed. So Prof. Kashyap says that it is time we give up all hypocrisy and efforts at make-believe, regarding our having made no departures from the Constitutional principles or Nehruvian model etc. The Constitutional values held dear thus far stand debunked and a wholesale review is called for, the Preamble needs to be changed, the socialist jargon must be given up, the fundamental right to property should be restored and property laws, rent laws and labour laws should be remodelled on the lines of the free world countries.

Secularism

(Para 16-Para 19)

The Constitution of India did not recognise any state religion. It embodied the principles of non-discrimination on grounds of religion among the fundamental rights vide Articles 14,15,16 and 19. By Article 25 it guaranteed that all persons were 'equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice and propagate religion'. Every religious denomination was free to manage its religious affairs (Art.26). No one could be compelled to pay for promotion or maintenance of any religion or to take part in any religious instruction; wholly state-funded educational institutions were barred from imparting any religious, instruction (Arts. 27 & 28). The language script and culture of minorities were protected and no citizen was to be denied admission to any educational institution on the ground only of religion etc. (Art. 29). Also Article 30 ensured the right of minorities to establish and administer their own educational institutions. Thus, the Constitution established a secular order under which the dominant religion or the majority of the population did not enjoy any special privileges at the hand of the state and the religious rights of the minorities were protected in different ways. However, the Constitution was amended to allow discrimination on communal/caste grounds. Nehru had said in the Constituent Assembly that a nation does not live merely by material things, 'especially a nation like India with an immemorial past, lives by other things also, the things of spirit'. Dr. Radhakrishnan spoke of the Ashoka wheel as the wheel of Dharma and said, truth can be gained only by the pursuit of the path of Dharma'. 'Truth – Satya, Virtue-Dharma, these ought to be the controlling principles of all those who work under this flag'. Md. Saadulla, who was later a member of the Constitution Drafting Committee said: India is very well noted for her spiritual attainments. Everywhere it is admitted that India has

got a great spiritual message to send out to the different countries of the world. The saffron, as is well known, is the colour of all those people who live the spiritual life not only among Hindus but also among Muslims. Therefore, the saffron colour should remind us that we should keep ourselves on that high place of renunciation which has been the realm of Sadhus and Saints, Pirs and Pandits... (By the *Dharma Chakra*) We should be reminded at all times that we are here not only for our material prosperity but also for our spiritual advancement. This chakra was a religious emblem and we cannot dissociate our social life from our religious environments.

(Para 20-Para 22)

The ideals of secularism have suffered under the present democratic polity. We are changing our definition of secularism to suit compulsions of power politics and vote mathematics. The slogans both of religion and of secularism are not matters of genuine faith or commitment for any major party. These are mere battle cries for winning votes. Every party accuses the others of being communal or pseudo-secular and every party considers itself to be genuinely secular. What is involved is not any high principle but sheer political convenience. People are fooled in the name of mosque or temple, religion or secularism. At least twice in the Constituent Assembly, efforts were made through amendments to make a specific mention of the principle of secularism in the Constitution. All such amendments were summarily rejected by Dr. Ambedkar. Later, while speaking on the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament, he made it amply clear that he did not believe that our Constitution was secular because it allowed different treatment of various communities and the legislatures could frame separate laws for different communities. It was later in 1977, during the promulgation of Emergency that the word 'secular' was added to the preamble.

(Para 23-Para 24)

The Constitution recognizes various religions and religious organizations. It can also extend financial assistance to religious institutions, change, regulate and end certain religious practices. It legitimatises distinctions on the basis of community and caste in the matter of services under the state and allows public celebration of religious functions of various religions. The high level officials and political dignitaries participate in such celebrations. They visit religious places and pay obeisance. They honour religious leaders like Imams, Bishops, Munis, Sadhus and Swamis at open public gatherings. Judged by all this demonstration of religiosity, we declare ourselves that we are one of the most religious states on the globe. What 'Secularism' means for us is entirely different from its dictionary meaning. Religion and politics have become more interlocked than ever before. All parties look at the caste and community composition of constituencies while giving tickets for elections. We all claim to be secular but our political and social behaviour is coloured by communal and caste consideration in almost all parties.

Where there is discrimination between man and man on the grounds of religion, where there are separate laws and codes for different communities, where the administration of places of worship can be entrusted to government officers, where even the fundamental rights are demanded and conceded on grounds of communities, it is a cruel joke to talk of secularism.

Fraternity, Unity and Integrity on the Nation

(Para 25-Para 27)

The Preamble makes it clear that the values of justice, liberty and equality were important for promoting among all the citizens a feeling of brotherhood and for developing a pride in Indian identity. The highest value in the minds of the framers of the Constitution was to build a united nation. By talking of 'national integration all the time, we seem to emphasize the fact that we are not a nation but are only struggling to become one'. The much trumpeted cliché of unity in diversity has done tremendous damage to our national psyche. Diversity should not be at the cost of unity. The fact is that we are more divided than ever before. Emotional divisions are much more powerful and dangerous than the dividing lines on maps. Instead of coming together as members of the Indian fraternity, we have become more and more separated. Ironically, the smallest minority in the country today is 'Indian'.

Democratic Policy Today

(Para 28-Para 32)

Today, we are passing through very critical times. Corruption, casteism, communalism, criminalization of politics, etc., which the present system has generated have to be seriously dealt with. Experience of the past clearly proved that the present model of democratic polity has failed to meet the hopes, aspirations and requirements of the people. There must be some fundamental systemic changes in the system instead of patchwork solutions. This requires a new model of polity and a second republic, more in tune with our needs and character. The latest developments in India affecting the economy of the nation, underline the need for greater responsibility and accountability of the political executive and the administrators to the people through the representative institution. However, the moment anybody in India talks of the desirability of changing the political system, it is assumed that he is advocating a switch over from Parliamentary to Presidential model. Such an approach presupposes.

1. that the Constitution of India established Parliamentary polity on the British model.
2. that there is only one Presidential model.
3. that the only alternative to Parliamentary Polity is Presidential Polity
4. that India has necessarily to select one of the existing western models.
5. that merely changing the model of polity from Parliamentary to Presidential shall solve the various maladies from which the nation suffers today.

It is often argued that we have adopted the Westminster model of political democracy. But the truth is that our model is neither of British parliamentary system nor of the American Presidential system.

The system most suited for India would be one born and grown on the Indian soil, on the basis and background of our own experience, needs, aspirations, ethos and constraints of societal factors, and character and culture of the people. The western mind is very fond of reducing everything to a model. Our problems need remedies and reform, going beyond models.

(Para 33-Para 35)

Indian diversity and pluralism are of a special kind. Our diversity itself is plural and pluralism diverse. In a sense, we are a country of the majority of minorities of various sorts. Appropriately mobilised and motivated, Indian diversity may be the greatest source and strength of Indian unity. For, diversity need not mean division and unity is not uniformity. If the defacements and distortions of Indian polity have to be rectified there is no alternative to some fundamental systemic reforms. Prof. Kashyap proposes the setting up of a second Constituent Assembly to reshape the present one to suit the needs of the present century.

Glossary

Enshrine	: enclose as in a shrine; made holy
Arduous	: strenuous
Quintessence	: most essential part of any substance
Preamble	: introductory part
Sovereignty	: supreme power
for-long-trumpeted	: proclaimed loudly for a long time
demise	: death
proclaim	: announce officially
consolation	: comfort
priority	: precedence in rank etc.
ensure	: make sure
populism	: of or for the common people
stupendous	: tremendous
dubious	: doubtful
Thomas Jefferson	:(1743-1826) American Statesman who drew up the Declaration of Independence
Hailed	: greeted
Bretton woods	: site of a UN monetary conference (1944) where the International Monetary fund (IMF) was established(resort in the White Mountains,New Hampshire)
Entrepreneurs	: persons controlling commercial undertaking
In raptures	: full of joy and enthusiasm
Scamp	: a swindle or fraud
Ajar	: half open

Mountebank	: one who attracts customers with tricks
Predilection	: preference
Turnaround	: turn about
Licence-permit raj	: a rule which gave permissions freely
Debunk	: to show up as false
Propagate	: spread more widely
Saffron	: Orange or bright yellow colour
Renunciation	: self-denial
Realm	: region
Dissociate	: separate
Pseudo-secular	: pretending to be secular in
Hindu Code Bill	: bill related to the law regarding marriage, property right etc. among Hindus
legitimatised	: make lawful
obeisance	: act of reverence
conceded	: admitted
flaunt	: to make something obvious to win admiration
Cliche	: stereotyped phrase
Malady	: mental or moral disorder
Spectacle	: public display
Ethos	: type, individuality
Rectify	: put right

Answer the following questions:

1. The words 'socialist' and 'secular' were added to the Preamble by the amendment to the Constitution.
42nd
2. Which Article ensured the right of minorities to establish and administer their own educational institutions?
Article 30
3. *Democratic Model for India* is written by?
Subhash C. Kashyap

Answer the following questions in *two* or *three* sentences each:

1. How does the author view the amendments to the Constitution made in the last 50 years?
The Constitution has already been amended 78 times, i.e on an average more than one-and-a-half times every year when we completed fifty years of independence. At the state level it has been more than hundred times. This shows that the Constitution has failed to meet the aspirations of its founding fathers and that it has been rendered dysfunctional.
2. Why is it felt that our sovereignty has lost its traditional value for most people?
In the context of our dependence on the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and the demise of the new economic order, we cannot claim that sovereignty of the country has been preserved.
3. What vision of the founding fathers of the Constitution was enshrined in the Directive Principles?
The Directive Principles include the attainment of a social order in which 'justice, social and economic and political' shall be maintained. Political democracy was meaningless unless it was accompanied by social and economic democracy.
4. How does the writer establish that we could not address the basic problems even after 50 years of gaining independence?
Even after 50 years of independence our problems of poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, overpopulation, shortage of food and drinking water are still the same as they were in 1947. Lakhs of children of tender age are subject to high levels of pollution and to work in sub-human conditions. Unemployment has assumed alarming proportions. Illiteracy has increased.
5. How did the founding fathers of the Constitution view religion and matters of the spirit?
The founding fathers of the Constitution did not recognise discrimination on the basis of religion. It embodied the principles of non-discrimination on grounds of religion among the fundamental rights. The Ashoka's wheel in the middle of the National flag is the 'Dharma Chakra' and it reminds all Indians that they should live by the pursuit of the path of Dharma.
6. Why does Prof. Kashyap feel that slogans both of religion and secularism are mere battle cries for winning votes?
Every party accuses the others of being communal or pseudo-secular and every party considers itself to be genuinely secular. The slogan both of religion and of secularism are not matters of genuine faith or commitment for any major party. What is involved is not any high principle but sheer political convenience. People are fooled in the name of mosque or temple, religion or secularism.

7. The author ironically states that the smallest minority in the country today is 'Indian'. Can you say why?

As a people and as a nation, we are more divided than ever before. Instead of uniting together as Indians, we have become more and more separated from our fellow countrymen, from our neighbours and friends on grounds of narrow religious, linguistic, caste and other loyalties. That is why the author says that the smallest minority in the country today is 'Indian'.

8. Why does the author argue for a new model of polity and a second republic?

Experience of the past has clearly proved that the present model of democratic polity has failed to meet the hopes, aspirations and requirements of the people. There must be some systemic changes in the system instead of patchwork solutions. This requires a new model of polity and a second republic.

9. What does one advocating a switch over from Parliamentary to Presidential model presuppose?

One who advocates a switch over from Parliamentary to Presidential model presupposes the following: i) the Constitution of India established Parliamentary polity on the British model, ii) the only alternative to Parliamentary polity is Presidential polity, iii) India has to select one of the Western models, iv) a mere change from the Parliamentary system to Presidential will solve the problems.

Paragraph questions:

1. Write a note on the Constitution as viewed by its makers?

The vision of the founding fathers is enshrined in the Preamble, Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy. These represent the soul of the Constitution. The ten Constitutional values highlighted in the preamble are those of: 1) Sovereignty, 2) Socialism, 3) Secularism, 4) Democracy, 5) Justice, 6) Liberty, 7) Equality, 8) Fraternity, 9) Individual Dignity and 10) Unity and Integrity of the nation. The values have been further reinforced and elaborated under the enforceable fundamental rights and unenforceable directive principles. The Constitution was viewed by its makers as a means of social engineering, for bringing about, along with political rights, socio-economic justice which would fulfill the basic needs of the common man, where all without any discrimination could enjoy fundamental human freedoms and equality of opportunity.

2. What according to the author has been the impact of the new economic policy in our country?

The economic policy of liberalisation and globalisation has been widely hailed. It is considered by articulate sections of the people to be irreversible and the best thing to have happened to India in a long time. As a result of this new economic policy the rich have grown richer and the poor have become poorer. The happiest have been the big business houses and the industrial lobbies even though the multinationals may soon transform our entrepreneurs into mere employees and commission agents. The stock market reacted by

being in raptures till the bubble burst and scam after scam began to make big news, and India came in the category of the ten most corrupt nations of the world. The openly pro-private sector policies of liberalisation, free market economy, deregulation and privatisation have thrown open our doors for foreign capital, heavy borrowing etc. These are not the ways of socialism.

3. How did the Constitution seek to establish a secular order in this land of diversities?

The Constitution of India did not recognise any religion. It embodied the principles of non-discrimination on grounds of religion among the fundamental rights. By Article 25 it guaranteed that all persons were 'equally entitled to freedom of conscience and the right to freely profess, practice and propagate religion'. Every religious denomination was free to manage its religious affairs (Art.26). No one could be compelled to pay for promotion or maintenance of any religion or to take part in any religious instruction; wholly state funded educational institutions were barred from imparting any religious instruction (Arts. 27 & 28). The language, script and culture of minorities were protected and no citizen was to be denied admission to any educational institution on the ground only of religion etc. (Art.29). Also Article.30 ensured the right of minorities to establish a secular order under which the dominant religion or the majority of the population did not enjoy any special privileges or preferential treatment at the hands of the state. The religious rights of the minorities were protected in different ways.

4. 'We are one of the most religious states on the globe'. How does the author attack our pretensions of being secular?

It was Dr. Ambedkar who made it clear in parliament that he did not believe that our Constitution was secular because it allowed different treatment to various communities and the legislatures could frame separate laws for different communities. The Constitution can extend financial assistance to religious institutions, change, regulate and end certain religious practices. It legitimatises distinctions on the basis of community and caste in the matter of services under the state and allows public celebration of religious functions of various religions. The high level officials and political dignitaries participate in such celebrations. They visit religious places and pay obeisance. They honour religious leaders like Imams, Bishops, Munis, Sadhus and Swamis at open public gatherings. By this demonstration of religiosity we declare ourselves that we are one of the most religious states on the globe. What 'secularism' means for us is entirely different from its dictionary meaning. Religion and politics have become more interlocked than ever before. All parties look at the caste and community composition of constituencies while giving tickets for elections.

Essay question:

1. How does the present model of democratic polity fail to meet the hopes and aspirations of the people?

Prof. Subhash C. Kashyap critically analyses the Constitution and examines whether the promises made as a part of the framework could be kept. He reflects on the present Indian

scenario and raises the question how far we could stand up to the aims and objectives, democratic values enshrined in our Constitution.

The Constitution placed sovereignty as the highest value. But, in the context of our dependence on the World Bank and International Monetary Fund and the failure of the new economic order, we cannot claim that sovereignty of the country has been preserved. The emerging global village inevitably has its global masters who determine the economies and policies of all developing countries including India. The political democracy of parliamentary system assumes that the people are supreme. But in the scheme of priorities with our rulers and politicians, the well-being of the people occupies the last priority. Mere political democracy is meaningless unless it was accompanied by social and economic democracy. Right to vote for a hungry and illiterate man without clothing and shelter meant little. A Constitution not able to solve the problem of the poor and the starving was merely a 'paper Constitution, useless and purposeless'.

Even after many years of independence, our problems of poverty, illiteracy, backwardness, overpopulation, shortage of food and drinking water are still the same as they were in 1947. Lakhs of children of tender age are subject to high levels of pollution, and to work in sub-human conditions. Unemployment has assumed alarming proportions. Illiteracy has increased.

The new economic policy of liberalisation and globalisation has been widely hailed. The IMF and World Bank prescribe our economic policies and we strenuously put them into practice. As a result the rich have been grown richer and the poor have become poorer. The big business houses and the industrial lobbies are the happiest. Our entrepreneurs and farmers have been transformed into mere employees of the multinationals or their commission agents. Corruption has spread everywhere. Now India is in the category of the first corrupt nations of the world. The openly pro private sector policies of liberalisation, free market economy, deregulation and privatisation have thrown open our doors for foreign capital, heavy borrowing etc. These are not the ways of socialism.

The ideals of secularism also have suffered under the present democratic policy. We are changing our definitions of secularism to suit compulsions of power politics and vote mathematics. The slogans both of religion and of secularism are not matters of genuine faith or commitment for any major party. These are mere battle cries for winning votes. People are fooled in the name of mosque or temple, religion or secularism.

The ideals of fraternity, unity and integrity of the Nation have not been realised so far. Instead of coming together as members of the Indian fraternity, we have become more and more separated from our fellow countrymen, from our neighbours and friends on grounds of narrow religious, linguistic, caste and other loyalties.

The democratic polity today presents a sad spectacle. The present system has generated or strengthened corruption, casteism, communalism, criminalization of politics etc. During the last few decades, it has come to be clearly recognised that the present model of democratic polity has failed to meet the hopes, aspirations and requirements of the people and that a fresh look at our Constitution and political system is called for.

Chapter -11

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

Objectives

At the end of this unit, you should be able to:

- i) Understand the various stages in the making of the Indian Constitution.

Introduction to the Author

L.M. Singhvi is an eminent jurist, a leading Constitutional expert, a scholar in public and private international law, a distinguished parliamentarian, a highly respected intellectual, a prominent exponent of human rights, a doyen of the Indian Bar, a citizen-statesman, an author, poet, publicist, linguist and litterateur. In recognition of his pre-eminent contribution to public law and public affairs, he was awarded 'Padma Bhusan' in January 1998.

Dr. Singhvi was Member of the Lok Sabha (1962-1967) and Rajya Sabha (1998-2004) and is Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India. Some of his publications include: *Jain Temples in India and Around the World (2002)*; *A Diplomatic Sojourn (2002)*; *Democracy and Rule of Law; Towards Global Togetherness (2002)*; *Bharat Aur Hamara Samaya; Towards a New Global Order; A Tale of Three cities; Freedom on Trail (1991) and The Evening Sun (Poems-Hindi)*.

About the Passage

A country's past inheritance and the visions of the future meet when a Constitution is drafted. The Indian Constitution is a reflection of the country's aspirations, reflection of past history and vision for the future. The experience of the leaders during the freedom struggle and the setting up of parliamentary institutions, the experience of previous Constitutional history, the various reforms during the British rule and the wisdom from the Constitutions of different countries were all synthesized and much debated over before drafting the Constitution.

Analysis of the Passage

(Para 1-Para 3)

The Constitution of a country is always the meeting point of the inheritance of its past and the vision of its future. It is the inheritance of the past and the vision of the future that have contributed to making the Indian Constitution a durable cluster of institutions, a magnificent monument of India's freedom struggle, a vehicle of its aspirations and a mirror of India's sense of itself, past, present and future. The evolution of the two Constitutions which Sir Benegal Barasing Rau helped to draft, the Indian Constitution and the Burmese Constitution, proves that it is the sustenance of life and culture which a Constitution receives in a nation's life which makes for its longevity. The Indian Constitution has proved to be resilient in many difficult situations.

It is often said that the Indian Constitution is a lawyer's paradise, drafted by lawyers and for the benefit of lawyers. That is why, according to the critics, problems were not anticipated so that lawyers would make hay in the sunshine of litigation. Whatever the critics may say about them, the author does not subscribe to their criticism. The founding fathers of the Constitution, many of whom were lawyers, were patriots of sterling quality. They were making the Constitution for a vast and complex country. A Constitution, being a legal, political and cultural document, detailed provisions had to be made for every possible contingency. They built on the foundations of consensus and not on the basis of narrow vested interests.

(Para 4-Para 6)

The previous experience of the evolution of Constitutional concepts during India's freedom struggle and the experience of Indian leaders with parliamentary institutions during the colonial period provided certain basic inputs in the making of our Constitution. The Swaraj Bill of 1895 drafted by Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the Morley-Minto Reforms, the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and the 1935 Act were some of the other inputs that went into the making of the Indian Constitution. Those evolutionary stages were synthesized with the vision of Purna Swaraj and the electric wisdom of different Constitutions of the world into the final Constitutional document that emerged on 26 November 1949. It was a living document, prepared by an elite which had the capacity to make it work. The Constitution was made in the name of 'We the people of India'. The Constitution in Burma was short-lived mainly because it did not belong to the Burmese society and no segment of Burmese society was prepared to own it or stand up for it. India had the inheritance of its own successive movements of renaissance from the early 19th century onwards. We had the whole history of the freedom struggle as the bulwark of the Constitution. We also had a number of our own Constitutional documents such as the Commonwealth of India Bill which was prepared in the 1920s under the inspiration of Annie Besant and Tej Bahadur Sapru, and the draft prepared by Motilal Nehru in 1929-30.

The 1935 Government of India Act was a monument of drafting skill and Constitutional insight. The first chief Justice of the Federal court of India, Sir Maurice Gwyer, was its principal draftsman. In this Act we can locate the structural basis of our Constitution. We were already accustomed to it when we achieved independence. We had already considerable experience of parliamentary life. The shape of the Constitution of future India was a part of the public discourse. Then there was the trauma of partition, which happened soon after the Constitution making discourse was to commence. The Constituent Assembly met first on 9 December 1946 and when, for almost 7 months there was no response from and no participation of the Muslim league, the hope of fashioning a Constitution for the whole of India was shattered. There were 292 members who first met for the making of the Constitution in 1946 because the Muslim League had stayed away. More members were inducted later on. Some 89 members came from the princely states. The National Congress had 208 members. The Muslim League did not participate because it wanted the partition of the country and a separate Muslim State. The Muslim members who did participate made a notable contribution.

(Para 7-Para 9)

Even though there were serious differences and debates, they were all resolved without any loss of goodwill and without any loss of face. Finally a Constitution was drafted for a divided and truncated India. It was an act of courage and an act of faith that the Draft Constitution opted unhesitatingly for a liberal secular Constitution and kept the vision of the freedom struggle intact. The word secular was not used in the Constitution, except in one place in respect of the management of certain aspects of religious institutions, but secularism, pluralism and liberalism were the pulsating ideologies and inspiration of our Constitution. It was a Constitution of equal respect for different faiths, of respect for the minorities, of fundamental rights as basic human rights, and rule of law. The Universal Declaration was proclaimed on 10 December 1948 and is reflected fully in the Indian Constitution. The Constitution also faced the challenges that the partition threw. The founding fathers gave us the values and structural systems and norms. Though the Constituent Assembly was elected on limited franchise, it proclaimed universal adult franchise to be the foundation of the Indian republic.

(Para 10-Para 11)

‘We the people’ is the phrase used in the opening proclamation of the American Constitution. But women and Negroes were not represented in Philadelphia. They were not empowered or franchised by the original American Constitution. Some of the delegates at the convention and many of the prime movers in the making of the Constitution were slave-owners. This means that ‘We the people’ did not include the Negroes and the blacks in that country. Red Indians also were not included in that category. The Indian Constitution included all sections of Indian people, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed or colour. This is a qualitative difference. It avoided the battles that had to be fought in the USA. In India we had a clearer vision and a clearer grasp of our social reality. It is a tribute to the founding fathers that they established an inclusive social democracy based on justice, equality and fraternity.

(Para 12-Para 14)

After partition, the founding fathers found themselves face to face with the two-nation theory and its trauma and tragedy. But in the making of the Constitution of India they firmly resisted subscribing to the obscurantist and divisive premise of a theocratic state or a state based on the dominance of any religion or subservience of others. It was a considered ideological position taken by the founding fathers that the Constitution had to be for all the people, not merely for the majority of the people. Despite the ideological communal onslaught of partition, the founding fathers established an organic social fabric of freedom, equality, justice, secularism, rule of law, judicial review and enforceability of fundamental rights as the foundation of our republican Constitution.

The people who made the Constitution brought to the task of Constitution-making the experience of a wide variety of vocations. Many of them had been freedom fighters and some of them had been members of the Central Legislative Assembly earlier. Many of them were successful individuals in their respective walks of life. A very large number of them belonged to the class of lawyers. They played a pre-eminent part in the making of the Constitution. They were dedicated

and had a profound understanding of institutions. Whatever the carping critics may say about them, the author does not subscribe to their criticism. A Constitution is of law, of rights and obligations, of structures and of checks and balances. Some of the lawyers in the Constituent Assembly had an architectural vision as well as an understanding of its basics. They were well read, experienced, erudite and eloquent. Thanks to the eminent lawyer members of the Drafting Committee and their commitment to fundamental rights, judicial review and the independence of the judiciary became the hallmark of the Indian Constitution. Articles 13,32 and 226 provided the strong frame work of judicial review. This has become the bulwark of liberty in our country.

(Para 15-Para 17)

The provision for a system of cooperative federalism and federal accommodation is another cornerstone of the Constitution. India is a country of great diversities. Dr. Ambedkar, Dr. K.M. Munshi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel were of the view that India, in order to survive and progress as a nation, needed a strong sense of cohesion. Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. Munshi drew certain lessons from Indian history in supporting certain centralizing features of the Constitution. The decision to create linguistic states has been criticized by many. The former chief justice Mahajan spoke of it as the greatest departure from the principle of the unity of India. Although it is in the ambit of Parliament's formal powers to create new states, it is the political, cultural, regional and linguistic factors which have a compelling force. We are an open society that enhances its resilience through the dialectic of its openness and diversity.

A chapter on Fundamental Duties was incorporated in our Constitution but this was done during the unfortunate emergency when every amendment to the Constitution had become suspect. This particular amendment was a redeeming feature of the Emergency. After the Emergency, many of the amendments, which curtailed freedom and fundamental rights, had to be reversed, but the successive governments have accepted the concept of fundamental duties. Similarly, panchayati raj has been incorporated in the Constitution.

(Para 18-Para 21)

A Constitution, once created, acquires a personality of its own. It can no longer be imprisoned in the words used in the original text. A Constitution draws its strength and sustenance from the wisdom of the people who operate the levers of power. A Constitutional balance has to be found and maintained by each generation. But this need not be always so. Sometimes the balance may be destroyed. Sometimes there is a decision of the Court that seems to take over the legislative as well as executive functions, and sometimes there is a feeling that either the Executive or the Legislature of the Judiciary has gone too far. There are ways of correcting the Executive and the Legislature. There are fewer ways of correcting the Judiciary. A pro-active Judiciary in India has its justification when the other organs of government fail to discharge their duties justly and strictly according to the provisions in the Constitution. Sometimes it may have overstepped the limits; most often it only supplements and fills the gaps. It is not true that the Legislature alone is entitled to make laws. It is the Bureaucracy that makes the bulk of the legislation. The subordinate legislation that governs our lives more than the principal parent legislation is made by the bureaucracy. The Judiciary makes legislation by way of interpretation.

As far as the making of the Constitution and the unfolding of its vision are concerned, the most important point about our Constitution is the system of Constitutional interpretation and its dynamics. This vision, though rooted in the past, has to respond to the present and creatively foresee the future. If we have a vision of society and human values, we shall have a vision of justice. The mission of justice is to make the weak strong and to make the strong just. The objective of the Constitution is never to allow an imbalance between freedom and responsibility. The founding fathers displayed extraordinary skill to create a united community based on acceptance of unity in diversity, dedicated to the values of freedom, fraternity, equality, justice, human dignity and national unity. Without thinking of these values we cannot really make our Constitution function. “One must learn to live at the source of life”, Swami Vivekananda said. But according to the author, “we must learn to live at the source of our moral vision and our Constitutional values”. By doing so, many problems will be solved, many contradictions will disappear. Rights and responsibilities will be synthesized in a more harmonious equation. This will strengthen federal accommodation and cooperation. That is how India’s Constitutional trust with destiny will be fulfilled.

Glossary

Eminent	: distinguished
Exponent	: an expounder of doctrines
Doyen	: senior member of an academy
Cluster	: close group
Monument	: memorial
Longevity	: long life
Resilient	: having the power of recovering quickly
Paradise	: heaven
Insinuation	: unpleasant and indirect suggestion
Litigious	: fond of going to law
Contentious	: quarrelsome
Contingency	: event that happens by chance
Consensus	: agreement
Antecedent	: previous
Morley-Minto Reforms	: Indian Councils Act (1909). The reforms disappointed the nationalists. They opposed the communal representation. But the Muslim League welcomed the communal representation which paved the way for communal growth in Indian politics
Synthesized	: combined into a whole

Ethos	: the set of beliefs, ideas etc. about social behaviour and relationship of person or group
elite	: a select body
Stayed away	: kept away
Warp and the woof	: base
truncated	: reduced in size
intact	: untouched
Forsake	: give up
Enfranchised	: given the right to vote
Unfolded	: came into view
Subscribing	: agreeing with
Obscurantist	: a person who is deliberately vague
Onslaught	: furious attack
Walks of life	: occupations
Profound	: deep
Erudite	: having great learning
Eloquent	: capable of speaking fluently
Cohesion	: logical connection
Ambit	: range of power of authority
Foresee	: see before
Endeavour	: effort
Reinforce	: make stronger

Answer the following questions:

1. The Swaraj Bill of 1895 was drafted under the inspiration of
Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak
2. Who was the first Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India?
Sir Maurice Gwyer
3. Who was the chairman of the committee for Revitalization of Panchayati Raj?
L.M. Singhvi

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each:

1. How does the author reply to the insinuation that the Constitution was drafted by the lawyers for the benefit of the lawyers?

The founding fathers of the Constitution, many of whom were lawyers, were patriots of sterling quality. A Constitution, being a legal, political and cultural document, detailed provisions had to be made for every possible contingency. They built the Constitution on the foundations of consensus and not on the basis of narrow vested interests.

2. What were the basic inputs that went into the making of Indian Constitution?

The antecedent experience of the evolution of Constitutional concepts during India's freedom struggle and the experience of Indian leaders with parliamentary institutions during the colonial period provided certain basic inputs in the making of the Indian Constitution.

3. Who was the first Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India? What was his contribution in the drafting of the Constitution?

Sir Maurice Gwyer was the first Chief Justice of the Federal Court of India. He was the chief draftsman of the 1935 Government of India Act which was a movement of drafting skill and Constitutional insight. In this Act we can locate the structural basis of our Constitution.

4. What did our founding fathers consider as the foundation of our republican Constitution?

Our founding fathers considered freedom, equality, justice, secularism, rule of law, judicial review and enforceability of fundamental rights as the foundation of our republican Constitution.

5. How does the author justify the emphasis on central power and authority in our Constitution?

India is a country of great diversities. The founding fathers drew certain lessons from Indian history in supporting certain centralising features of the Constitution. Apart from certain federal demands, there are the regional and linguistic pulls and pressures which could be restrained only by a central power and authority.

Paragraph questions:

1. Discuss how the Indian Constitution justifies the proclamation made in the name of 'We the people' in the Preamble?

The founding fathers of our Constituent Assembly gave us the vision both of values on the one hand and structural systems and norms on the other. Though the Constituent Assembly was elected on a limited franchise, it proclaimed universal adult franchise to be foundation of the Indian Republic. 'We the people' is the phrase used in the opening proclamation of the American Constitution. The Constitution of India was made in the name of 'We the people of India'. The Indian Constitution included all sections of Indian people. Secularism, pluralism and liberalism were the pulsating ideologies and inspiration of our Constitution. It was a Constitution of equal respect for different faiths, of respect for the minorities, of fundamental

rights as basic human rights, and rule of law. It is a tribute to the founding fathers that they established an inclusive social democracy based on justice, equality and fraternity. That was an act of faith in keeping with the vision of India which had unfolded itself during the successive movements of Indian renaissance.

2. What makes the Indian Constitution different from that of America?

‘We the people’ is the phrase used in the opening proclamation of the American Constitution. But women and Negroes were not represented in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. They were not empowered or enfranchised by the original American Constitution. Some of the delegates at the Convention and many of the prime movers in the making of the Constitution were slave-owners. This means that ‘We the People’ did not include the Negroes and the blacks in the country. Red Indians also were not included in that category. The Indian Constitution included all sections of Indian people, irrespective of their religion, caste, creed or colour. This is a qualitative difference. It avoided the battles that had to be fought in the USA. In India we had a clearer vision and clear grasp of our social reality. It is a tribute to the founding fathers that they established an inclusive social democracy based on justice, equality and fraternity.

3. How will the dream ‘Tryst with Destiny’ be fulfilled according to the author?

The making of the Indian Constitution provides us with insights into a period of Indian history that is difficult to comprehend. And yet it makes us proud of the consensus on which the Constitution was built. The founding fathers displayed great skill in creating a community based on acceptance of unity in diversity, a society dedicated and consecrated to the values of freedom, fraternity, justice, equality, human dignity and national unity. Unless we think of those values, we cannot really make our Constitution function. Swami Vivekananda once said, ‘One must learn to live at the source of life.’ But the author says that we must learn to live at the source of our moral vision and our Constitutional values. By doing so, many problems will be solved, many dichotomies and contradictions will disappear, rights and responsibilities will be synthesized in a more harmonious equation and federal accommodation and cooperation will be strengthened. That is how India’s Constitutional tryst with destiny will be fulfilled, that is how India may be able to fulfill its unfinished agenda.

4. How does the author justify the role of lawyers in the making of the Constitution?

The people who made the Constitution brought to the task of Constitution-making the experience of a wide variety of vocations. Many of them were successful individuals in their respective walks of life. A very large number of the prominent members of the Constituent Assembly belonged to the class of lawyers. They were dedicated individuals, persons who had a profound understanding of institutions. Whatever the carping critics may say about them, the author does not subscribe to their criticism. A Constitution is of law, of rights and obligations, of structures and of checks and balances. Some of the lawyers in the Constituent Assembly had an architectural vision as well as an understanding of the nuts and bolts. They were well-read, experienced, erudite and eloquent. Thanks to the eminent lawyer members of the Drafting Committee and their commitment to fundamental rights, judicial review and the independence of the judiciary became the hallmark of the Indian Constitution. Articles 13,32

and 226 of the Indian Constitution provided the strong framework of judicial review, which has become the bulwark of liberty in our country.

Essay question:

1. How far do you think Judiciary and Bureaucracy should play a role in the Constitutional transaction in the country?

A Constitution, once created, acquires a personality of its own. It acquires a momentum of its own. It can no longer be imprisoned in the words used in the original text. A Constitution draws its strength and sustenance from the wisdom of the people who operate the levers of power and work the institutions of governance and the Constitution. A Constitutional balance has to be found and maintained by each generation. It is not always that we find an instant balance. Sometimes there is a tilt, sometimes the balance is destroyed, sometimes there is a decision of the Court that seems to take over the legislative as well as executive functions, and sometimes there is a feeling that either the Executive or the Legislature or the Judiciary has gone too far. There are ways of correcting the Executive and the Legislature. There are fewer ways of correcting the Judiciary.

A pro-active judiciary in India has its justification when the other organs of governance fail to discharge their duties justly and strictly according to the provision in the Constitution. Sometimes it may have overstepped the limits; most often it only supplements and fills the gaps. It does not create new law, it does legislate. The concept that the Legislature alone makes legislation is not true. In practice, it is the Bureaucracy that makes the bulk of the legislation, namely, the subordinate legislation that governs our lives more than the principal parent legislation. The Judiciary makes legislation by way of interpretation.

When we consider the making of the Constitution and the unfolding of the vision of the Constitution, the most notable point about our Constitution is the system of Constitutional interpretation and its dynamics. This vision, though rooted in the past, has to respond to the challenges of the present and creatively foresee the future. If we have a vision of society and human values, we shall have a vision of justice. If we have a vision of justice, we shall have the courage of endeavour and to optimise justice in society and that is what all Constitutions are about. The mission of justice is to make the weak strong and to make the strong the mission of justice and to enhance our Constitutional values.

Chapter 12

DEEP ECOLOGY – A NEW PARADIGM

Objectives

By the end of this chapter you will have

- i) Learnt a new holistic ways of perceiving reality.
- ii) Understood the concept of sustainability.
- iii) Explored the distinction between deep ecology and shallow ecology, social ecology and ecofeminism.

Fritjof Capra

About the Author

Dr.Fritjof Capra (1939-) is an Austrian American Physicist and System theorist. He is a very renowned speaker and writer. He has written in major international newspapers and magazines. His major works are The Tao of Physics, Uncommon Wisdom, The Web of Life, The Hidden Connections, A Science for Sustainable Living.

About the passage

This excerpt forms the first chapter of 'The Web of Life'. Capra states that the major problems of our age are systemic in nature. They are interconnected and interdependent. He wants a profound change to occur. The old paradigm based on human centred values should change and earth centred valued should come, if we are to survive.

Notes and explanation

(Paras 1, 2, 3 & 4)

(This book interconnected world)

Perception	:	power of understanding things
Crisis	:	time of difficulty
Paramount	:	supreme
Ample	:	enough
Systemic	:	regarding the system
Massive	:	large

Summary

The book 'The Web of Life' is based on a new perception of reality not only for science and philosophy, but also for business, politics, healthcare, education and everyday life. A new scientific understanding of all levels of living systems – organisms, social systems and ecosystems are discussed.

We are now facing an alarming number of global problems which are harming the biosphere and human life. As we go deep into these problems, we come to realize that each problem is interconnected and interdependent. They cannot be understood in isolation. For eg:- stabilizing world population is only possible when poverty is reduced worldwide. Scarcities of resources and environmental problems will increase with the increase in population. All these problems are just different facets of one single crisis. And that crisis is the crisis of perception our concepts of reality are outdated and inadequate to deal with those problems.

Notes and Explanations

There are solutions future generations.

(Paras 5 & 6)

Paradigm	:	model
Corporate	:	united in one group
Sustainable	:	maintain
Prospects	:	hopes

Summary

There are solutions to those problems that we face today. But they require a change in the perspectives, attitudes and values. Even though we are standing at the beginning of such a change in our world view, certain political leaders are not ready to accept it. The idea that a deep change in our perception and thinking are needed has not yet reached most of us. These leaders fail to see that these different problems are interrelated and also fail to find out apt solutions.

The concept of 'sustainability' has become a key concept in the ecological movements. Lester Brown of the World Watch Institute has given a simple, clear and beautiful definition for the term sustainability.

“A sustainable society is one that satisfies its needs without diminishing the prospects of future generations”. To create these kinds of sustainable communities is the greatest challenge of our times.

Notes and Explanations

The new paradigm Web of life

Paras 7, 8, 9 & 10

Summary

The new paradigm can be called as a holistic or ecological world view, but both these terms differ slightly in meaning. 'Holistic' world view sees the world as an integrated whole rather than a dissociated collection of parts. The term 'ecological' has to be used in a much broader and deeper sense than usual. Deep ecological awareness means interdependence of all phenomena of nature.

A 'holistic' view of, say, a bicycle is to see the bicycle as a functional whole and to understand the, interdependence of its various parts with each other. But an 'ecological' view of the bicycle adds to the perception of how the bicycle is embedded in its natural and social environment – such as from where the raw materials come, how it is created how it affects the natural environment etc. Thus the 'holistic' and 'ecological' views are slightly different from each other. In the case of living things, this connection with the environment is more vital.

This use of the term 'ecological' is associated with a philosophical school or a global grass roots movement, known as 'deep ecology'. This school was founded by a Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in the early seventies. He made a distinction between 'Deep ecology' and 'Shallow ecology' in the study of environmental issues.

Shallow ecology is anthropocentric or human-centred. It views humans as above or outside everything. Deep ecology does not separate human beings from the natural environment. It does not see world as a collection of isolated objects but as a network of phenomena that are interconnected and interdependent.

Notes and Explanations

(Ultimately we are part)

Paras 11, 12, 13

Cosmos	:	the universe
Perennial	:	existing for a long time
Cosmology	:	science of cosmos

Summary

(Paras 11, 12, 13)

Deep ecological awareness is spiritual or religious awareness. It is consistent with the 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual traditions. Ecological awareness is spiritual when the individual feels a sense of connectedness to the cosmos as a whole.

According to Arne Naess, ‘the essence of deep ecology is to ask deeper, questions’. We must be ready to question, every single aspect of the old notions. Deep ecology asks questions about the very foundations of our modern, scientific, industrial, growth-oriented, materialistic world view and way of life. It questions the perspective of our relationships to one another and to the web of life of which we are part.

Notes and the Explanations

(In addition to vision of reality)

Paras 14, 15, 16

Proponents	: Supporter of a cause
Integrate	: Make complete
Coherent	: Existing together
Patriarchy	: Social system in which a male is the head of the family and descent is traced through the male line.
Conception	: notion

Summary

(Paras 14, 15, 16)

Social Ecology and Ecofeminism

Along with deep ecology, there are two other important philosophical schools of ecology – social ecology and feminist ecology or ecofeminism. In the philosophical journals of recent years we can see lively debates between the proponents of these three schools. Instead of competing with each other, they should rather try to integrate their approaches into a coherent ecological vision.

Social ecology deals with the cultural characteristics and patterns of social organisations that have brought about the current ecological crisis. Riane Eisler says that ecology recognises the anti-ecological nature of our social and economic structures which have their roots in the ‘dominant system’. This dominant system includes Patriarchy, imperialism, capitalism, racism etc. Ecofeminism or feminist ecology could be viewed as a special school of social ecology, Since it too addresses the basic dynamics of social domination. Ecofeminists see the patriarchal domination of women by men as a prototype of all domination and exploitation in the different hierarchical, militaristic, capitalist and industrial forms. They believe that the exploitation of nature has gone along with women. Women are identified with nature. This association of woman and nature is the source of a natural relationship between feminism and ecology. According to them for an ecological vision of reality, female experimental knowledge becomes a major source.

Notes and Explanations

(In this brief outline..... normally)

Paras 17, 18, 19, 20

Transition	:	change
Articulate	:	speak clearly
Crucial	:	decisive
Inherent	:	inborn quality
Contaminate	:	make impure
Explicitly	:	clearly stated

Summary

Paras 17, 18, 19, 20

New Values

So far in this essay the writer has emphasized the shifts in perceptions and world view. There are enough thinkers in the field of deep ecology who can convince our political thinkers and corporates about the merits of new thinking. They must be made aware not only of the new paradigms but also of our values.

Ethics

Values form a vital part of deep ecology. The old paradigm is based on anthropocentric (human centered) values, while deep ecology is grounded in ecocentric (earth-centered) values. The deep ecological perception says that all living beings are members of the ecological communities bound together in a network of interdependencies. When this becomes a part of our daily awareness, a new system of ethics emerges.

This is what is needed today especially in the field of science. This is because scientists are designing life-destroying weapons and not life-preserving or life-furthering ones. It is possible for man to wipe out life on the planet with the help of science. Thus it seems most urgent to introduce 'eco-ethical' standards into science.

Values are the driving force and the very basis of science and technology. Scientific facts and values are interdependent. But during the Scientific Revolution of Seventeenth Century, values were separated from facts. In reality, these scientific facts emerge out of an entire collection of human perceptions, values and actions. So they cannot be separated.

Notes and Explanations

(With in the context..... completely separate)

Norms	:	standards
Coined	:	found out (a new word)
Transpersonal	:	from one person to another

Summary

Paragraphs 21, 22, 23, 24

Deep ecology is based on the concept that nature and self are one. If the 'self' is widened and deepened, we feel the protection of free nature as the protection of ourselves. We need no morals to make us breathe. Like this, if our 'self' embraces another being, we need no moral exhortation to show care. Thus if we embrace our ecological self, our behaviour naturally and beautifully follows norms of environmental ethics.

There is a psychological connection between ecological perception of the world and corresponding behaviour. With a deep ecological awareness, we must think ourselves as a part of the web of life. Then we will start caring for all of living nature.

This link between ecology and psychology based on the concept of ecological self has recently been explored by several authors like Joanna Macy (writes about 'the greening of the self'), Warwick Fox (coined the term 'transpersonal ecology'), and Theodore Roszak (coined the term 'ecopsychology'.)

Read and Understand

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each.

1. Why does Capra think that the major problems of our time are systemic in nature?

The major problems of our time are systemic problems. They are interconnected and interdependent. Stabilizing world population will only be possible when poverty is reduced worldwide. As long as the Southern Hemisphere is burdened by massive debts, the extinction of animal and plant species will continue on a massive scale.

2. According to Capra what is the great challenge of our time?

The great challenge of our time is to create sustainable communities. It means creating a social and cultural environment in which we can satisfy our needs and ambitions. This situation should not diminish the chances of the future generations

3. How does the author explain the new paradigm which is mandatory for sustaining the web of life?

It is a holistic new world view. It sees the world as an integrated whole and not as a dissociated collection of parts. It is a deep ecological awareness that understands the basic interdependence of all phenomena.

4. How is the holistic view of a bicycle different from an ecological view?

A holistic view of a bicycle is to see it as a functional whole and to understand the interdependence of its parts in that way. An ecological view of the bicycle adds to it the perception of how the bicycle is embedded in its natural and social environment. It includes the understanding of where the raw material used in it came from, how it was manufactured, how its use affects the natural environment and the community by which it is used.

5. How does deep ecology differ from shallow ecology?

Shallow ecology is anthropocentric or human centred. It views humans as above or outside the nature. But deep ecology does not separate humans from the natural environment. It sees the world as a network of phenomena that are interconnected of isolated objects. Accordingly humans are one particular strand in the web of life.

6. The new vision of reality based on ecological awareness is consistent with the so called 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual traditions. How?

When the concept of the human spirit is understood as the mode of consciousness in which the individual feels a sense of belonging, of connectedness, to the cosmos as a whole, it becomes clear that ecological awareness is spiritual in its deepest essence. Therefore, the ecological awareness is consistent with the concept of the 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual traditions.

7. Why does the author think that it is most urgent to introduce eco-ethical standards into science?

Most of what scientists do today is life destroying instead of life furthering or life-preserving. Physicists design weapon systems which threaten to wipe out life on the planet, chemists contaminate the global environment, biologists release new and unknown types of micro-organisms without thinking of its dangerous effects, and psychologists and other scientists torture animals in the name of scientific progress.

Read and Infer

Answer the following questions in about 100 words each.

1. Crisis of perception

Today's world is facing many global problems which threaten even the existence of mankind. These problems are systemic and need serious consideration. They are interconnected and

interdependent. They are all different facets of a single crisis which is the crisis of perception. Our outdated view is not enough for dealing with our overpopulated, globally interconnected world. Only by introducing a basic shift in our perceptions, thinking and values can we bring solutions to the problems. But such a radical shift in perception has not come into the minds of our political leaders, professors or administrators. They are not aware of the importance of such a change in perception. The only viable solutions are sustainable solutions. They create social and cultural environments that satisfy our needs and aspiration without diminishing the chances of future generations.

2. Characteristics of Deep Ecology

Deep Ecology is a new paradigm with a holistic view. It sees the world as an integrated whole and not as a dissociated collection of parts. Deep ecological awareness recognises the basic interdependence of all phenomena. It also recognises the truth that we are all embedded in the cyclic process of nature. It is aware of the intrinsic value of all living beings. It views human beings as one particular strand in the web of life and does not separate humans, or anything else from the natural environment. It is spiritual or religious awareness. It is consistent with the 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual tradition. According to Arne Naess, the essence of deep ecology is to ask questions about the basis of our modern, scientific, industrial, growth-oriented, materialistic world view and way of life.

3. Social Ecology and Ecofeminism

Social Ecology is based on the cultural characteristics and patterns of social organization which have brought about the current ecological crisis. According to Riane Eisler, our social and economic structures and technologies is rooted in the 'dominator system' of social organisation. Patriarchy, imperialism, capitalism and racism are examples of social domination that are exploitative and anti-ecological. Ecofeminism also addresses the basic dynamics of social domination within the context of patriarchy. Ecofeminist see the patriarchal domination of women by man as the prototype of all domination and exploitation of nature has gone along with that of women, who have been always identified with nature. This age old association of woman and nature shows the natural relationship between feminism and ecology. Ecofeminist see female experimental knowledge as a major source for an ecological vision of reality.

Think and Write

Answer this question in about 300 words

A new vision of reality based on deep ecological awareness is an answer to a whole series of global problems of our time. Discuss

Deep Ecology is a new paradigm with a holistic view. It does not separate humans or anything else from the natural environment. It is aware of the intrinsic value of all living beings. It views human beings as one particular strand in the web of life. Deep Ecological awareness is spiritual or religious awareness. It is consistent with the 'perennial philosophy' of spiritual traditions. According to Arne Naess, the essence of deep ecology is to ask questions about the basis of our modern, scientific, industrial, growth oriented, materialistic world view and way of life.

Deep Ecological awareness does not tell us much about the cultural characteristics and patterns of social organization that have brought about the current ecological crisis. But it provides the ideal philosophical and spiritual basis for an ecological life style and environmental activism. This deficiency can be addressed through social ecology and ecofeminism. In the deep ecology movement, there are expert thinkers who are able to convince our political and corporate leaders of the merits of the new thinking.

The entire question of values is crucial to deep ecology. It forms the central defining feature. The old paradigm is based on anthropocentric (human centred) values whereas deep ecology is based in ecocentric (earth – centred) values. All living beings are members of ecological communities. Non-human life is valued along with human life. If this understanding becomes part of our conscience, a completely new system of ethics is produced. Our world is producing life destroying weapons and other mean that can wipe out life from earth. To stop this deep ecological ethics is urgently needed today. It is the ‘Eco-ethical’ standards are to be introduced into science.

Values are not peripheral to science and technology. They are their very basis and driving force. Since the seventeenth century, we believe that scientific facts are independent of our thoughts and actions. But in reality, they emerge out of human perceptions, values and actions. Deep ecology identifies that nature and self are one. This expansion of the self all the way to the identification with nature is the grounding of deep ecology. We are an integral part of the web of life. If we have a deep ecological awareness or experience of being a part of the web of life, we will consider and care for all of living nature.

Chapter 13

THE END OF LIVING –THE BEGINNING OF SURVIVAL

Objectives

- i) To become aware of the world views on the environment.
- ii) To understand reality from the marginalised ecocentric perspective.
- iii) To get an idea of the gravity of colonial atrocities.

(Chief Seattle)

About the Author

Chief Seattle (1786) is a Native American. He protested against invading white men, who wanted the Red Indian's land. He became the leader who defeated groups of enemy raiders. He captured slaves during these attacks and owned them like the other chiefs of his time. He was also a good orator

About the Passage

This passage is a very inspiring speech by Seattle. It is identical in meaning to Capra's 'Deep Ecology' – A New Paradigm. The speech contains the idea of interconnectedness and interdependence of the world of the living and non-living. But the dominant western tradition does not support this view. They believe that the natural world exists for the sake of human beings. In this speech Seattle discusses two different environmental concepts – *shallow ecology* and *deep ecology*.

Notes and Explanations

Sap	:	juice
Course	:	run through
Crest	:	hill
Quench	:	satisfy
Devour	:	eat greedily
Unfurling	:	unfolding
Stench	:	a dirty smell
Rotting	:	decaying
Prairie	:	grassland

Iron horse	:	a train
Befall	:	happen
Talking wires	:	telephone lines
Thicket	:	shrub

Summary

Each minute particle of the earth is sacred for the Native American tribes. Everything around him enfolds a kind of spirituality and echoes holiness in the memory and experience of the people. Even the shining pine needles, sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing and humming insect emits this spirituality. The sap which courses through the trees carries the memories of the red man.

Seattle wonders how the white man could buy and sell this pure environment, the sky, the warmth of the land, the freshness of the air and the sparkle of the water.

The ancestors of the white man forget their land after their death, but the Red Indians never forget this beautiful earth even after death since all are part of the earth and it is part of us.

For the Native Americans the nature which comprises the flowers, the deer, the horse, the great eagle, the rocky crests, the juices in the meadows, the body heat of the pony, the man, all belong to the same family.

Red Indians are ready to sell their land to the Great chief in Washington. Since the chief had promised that he will reserve the natives a place so that they can live comfortably to themselves. At the same time he says that this won't be easy, for this land is sacred to them. So before selling the land, the red man puts forward certain conditions to the whites.

Even if they sell their lands to the modern people, they must remember and must teach their children that it is sacred. The water in the streams, lakes and rivers are the blood of the native's ancestors and each ghostly reflection conveys events and memories in the life of the author's people. Rivers play a vital role in the life of the natives. It quenches their thirst and is like their brother. Those who are planning to buy this land must teach their children to understand the truth that rivers are their brothers.

The white man is entirely different from the natives. He conquers each piece of land, uses it and moves on to another. He never cares for the earth, even leaves behind his father's graves and kidnaps the earth from his children. For him the sanctity of his father's grave and the birthright of his children is nothing. His only interest is to plunder and exploit nature. According to Seattle, the white man treats his mother, brother, the sky, the earth as things or materials to be bought, sold in the market like cattle or sheep. This kind of appetite will devour the life and spirit of nature chew it to the maximum and leave behind a desert.

The hurly burly of the cities sends rashes to the eyes and ears of the red man. It pains him. There is no life in the cities. We can't hear the unfurling of leaves in spring, the rustle of an insect's wings, the arguments of the frogs around a pond at night in the white man's city. The clattering sounds in the city are just insulting to the ears.

The air is very precious to the red man, for all things share the same air – the beast, the tree, the man; they all share the same breath. But the white man never seems to care for the air he breathes. So if the red man sells his land to the whites, they must keep in mind that the air that gives man his first breath also receives the last sigh. He asks to create a place where the white man can enjoy quiet breeze flowing towards him after caressing sweet flowers.

Another condition before selling the land is that the white man must treat the beast as his brother. The author has seen many whites shooting innocent buffaloes from the train. What is man without the beasts? Whatever happens to beasts will eventually affect man, since all are connected. If all the beasts are gone, man would die from loneliness of spirit.

The whites must teach his children that the earth is rich with lives of people. Under the ground beneath their feet lays people's ashes. So they must respect the land which is our mother. Whatever befalls on the earth befalls the sons of the earth. So if they spit on the ground they are spitting on themselves. Man is just a strand in the web of life. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.

Things in this universe are connected to each other like the blood that unites one family. Whites are also a part of the common destiny. They cannot be exempted from it. All are brothers.

In the coming future the white man may discover that God is the same for all. Now white man thinks that he owns God. But no one can own God because he is the God of all living beings. God's compassion is same for both red man and the white. The earth is created by God. Thus harming earth is like piling contempt over God itself.

The corrupt path will make whites suffocate in their own cruelty. But white perishing they will see the bright halo of God who brought them to this land.

But nobody knows when this will happen.

Everything is gone – the end of living and the beginning of survival.

Read and Understand

Answer the following in two or three sentences each.

1. Why does Seattle say that buying their land will not be easy for the Great Chief in Washington ?

According to Seattle buying their land will not be easy for the Great Chief in Washington because this land is sacred to them.

2. What does Seattle want the white men to teach their children?

He wants the white men to teach their children that the land is sacred and that each ghostly reflection in the clear water of the lakes tells of events and memories in the life of his people.

3. What is the difference in approach between the Native Red Indians and the Whites towards Mother Earth?

The white man doesn't consider the earth as his brother but his enemy. So when he has conquered it, he moves on. To him everything is to be bought, plundered sold like sheep or bright beads. But to the Red Indians the air is precious with the soft sound of the wind and its smell because all things share the same breath.

4. Explain the sarcasm in the words of Seattle when he says 'I am a savage and do not understand'

Seattle actually means that the white man is the savage and he does not understand the sacred earth, trees, rivers, sky, beasts and birds. In the white man's cities, there is no quiet place. He is numb to the stench as he does not notice the air he breathes. He is like a man dying for many days.

5. What are the conditions laid by Seattle to sell his land to the Great Chief ?

The Great Chief must keep the land apart and sacred. It should be a place where the white man can go taste the wind. The white man must consider the beasts of his land as his brothers. He must also teach his children that the earth is the red man's mother.

Read and Infer

Answer these questions in about 100 words each

1. Comment on the Red Indian's criticism of the white settler's treatment of Mother Earth.

Seattle is against the white man's attitude towards Mother Earth. He speaks in support of supporting the Red Indians. The white man steals the earth from his children and leaves his father's grave behind. To him the earth is not his brother, but his enemy. His appetite devours the earth and leaves behind only a desert. He does not think of his children's birth right. To him earth is not his mother or skies his brother but all things to be bought and sold like sheep or bright beads. The white man cities do not have any quiet place or even a place to hear the unfurling of leaves in spring or the rustle of an insect's wings. The white man is like a dying man, who doesn't notice the air he breathes.

2. What are the two world views on environment reflected in the speech of Seattle?

According to Seattle the two worlds are opposed to each other. The white man has an anthropocentric outlook which gives man a status above all things. To him every other living being and non-living thing exists for the sake of man. This is the concept of shallow

ecology. The Red Indians at the same time supports the theory of Deep Ecology. Seattle also has the same view. According to him “whatever happens to beasts soon happens to man. All things are connected”. Seattle wants the white settlers to teach their children to consider earth as their mother. Earth does not belong to man but man belongs to the earth. Seattle confirms that “Our God is the same God”. This is a proof that both red man and the white man are sons of God and thus become brothers.

Think and Write

Answer the question in about 300 words.

1. Seattle’s speech calls for the need to arrive at a consensus in favour of ‘sustainable development’ which will ensure social justice without destroying our ecosystem. Discuss.

Seattle in his speech brings out the two views regarding environment. They are the shallow ecology and deep ecology. The western idea of human centred ecology is not agreeable to sustainable development. Seattle is for deep ecology. The Great Chief (the White President) who wants to buy the red man’s land does not care for the sacred Mother earth.

Seattle is against the white man’s attitude towards Mother Earth. He speaks in support of the Red Indians. The white man steals the earth from his children and leaves his father’s grave behind. To him the earth is not his brother, but his enemy. His appetite devours the earth and leaves behind only a desert. He does not think of his children’s birth right. To him the earth is not his mother or skies or his brother but all things to be bought and sold like sheep or bright beads. The white man cities do not have any quiet place or even a place to hear the unfurling of leaves in spring or the rustle of an insect’s wings. The white man is like a dying man, who doesn’t notice the air he breathes.

The white man must not forget that the air is precious to the red man. The red man is ready to sell his land on condition that it should be kept as a sacred place where even the white man can go and taste nature, with its wind and flowers.

According to Seattle the two worlds are opposed to each other. The white man has an anthropocentric outlook which gives man a status above all things. To him every other living being and non-living things exist for the sake of man. This is the concept of shallow ecology. The Red Indians at the same time supports the theory of Deep Ecology. Seattle also has the same view. According to him “For whatever happens to beasts soon happens to man. All things are connected”. Seattle wants the white settlers to teach their children to consider earth as their mother. Earth does not belong to man but man belongs to the earth. Seattle confirms that “Our God is the same God”. This is a proof that both red man and the white man are sons of God and thus are brothers.

Chapter 14

FORESTS AND SETTLEMENTS

Objectives

- i) To understand the historically changing patterns of correctness between man and the forests (nature).
- ii) To learnt about the historically recorded distinction between “grama” and “aranya”.
- iii) To get an idea of the sacred importance of forests for the ancients as opposed to its desecration by colonising.

ROMILA THAPAR

About the Author

Romila Thapar (1931) is a well known historian and a famous expert in ancient Indian history. She has been fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society; Fellow of the Royal Historical Society; the president of the ancient Indian History Section at the Indian History Congress and visiting Professor at Cornell University. She has also written a number of books on ancient Indian history

About the passage

The given article is about the importance of conservation and preservation of the forest in present day India

Notes and explanation

(It is possible -----macro-zones)

Paras 1, 2 & 3

Desiccation	:	drying up
Habitat	:	home
Archaeologists	:	One who studies ancient history by examining objects dug up from the ground.
Degradation	:	the state of being humiliated
Littoral	:	related to the shore of the sea or a lake
Pastoral tracts	:	Grassland for cattle
Backwoods	:	Uncleared forested land in a remote region

Livestock	:	farm animals
Cattle-lifting	:	shifting of cattle from one area to another
Micro-eco-zones	:	small areas of habitat
Macro-Zones	:	large areas fit for living

Summary

The changing attitude of the Indian towards forests is reflected in the texts in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tamil and other languages as well as oral tradition. There is a gradual distancing from the forest, especially in the culture of high literacy. The distancing becomes romanticizing the forest at a time when some forests are being cleared and the forest people forced to change their lifestyle.

In certain regions, the ecology has been changed by the gradual clearing of forests. This change was not uniform. It was slow and limited during the early days. As the demand for land increased, the clearing of land became faster and the area cleared larger. The Indus Valley Civilization declined because of their inability to control the degradation of their environment. Certain seals unearthed from the site of the civilization picture various animal like tiger, rhinoceros and elephant. These animals needed a reasonable forest cover. This suggests that in the past there were forest galleries where these animals made a home which have disappeared in the last couple of centuries.

The ecological differences have found place in literature also. The tinnai concept of Tamil Shanganam texts gives an idea of the significance of ecozones. Accordingly landscape has been classified into five eco-zones, such as the littoral, the wet lands, the pastoral tracts, the dry zone and the hilly backwoods. Occupations are said to differ in each of these. In littoral areas fishing and making of salt, in wetlands cultivation of rice, in pastoral tracts breeding of livestock and practice of shifting cultivation, in dry zone cattle lifting and in backwoods hunting and gathering were the different occupations. Thus the five ecozones are co-related to other activities and to cultural articulation. Out of these five, wetlands were extremely limited. But this changed after sometimes. Paddy and salt were exchanged for other products at some constant centres. Gradually these places developed into exchange centres. These micro-eco-zones later evolved into Macro-Zones.

Notes and Explanations

(Early Sanskrit-----Hindus and Muslims)

Paras 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8

Confrontational	:	become opposite to
Elite	:	a group of people from the high class in a society
Fantasy	:	wild imagination

Mores	:	customs of a group
Relegate	:	degrade to the lowest position
Hierarchy	:	a system in which people are ranked one above the other according to status
Dichotomy	:	a separation between two things
Generic	:	common to a whole class
Appropriated	:	taken and used as one's own
Transgress	:	go against a moral principle (to cross for bidden boundaries)
Feasible	:	able to be done easily
Moved down	:	cut down
Antithetical	:	opposite to
Veneration	:	respect
Ficus Religiosa	:	Pipal tree

Summary (Paras 4,5,6,7and 8)

In Early Sanskrit text like the Vedas, there is a distinction between grama and aranya clearly shown. Though these two are opposite by nature, the classification shows social perceptions. It is said that the grama is orderly disciplined, known, predictable settlement. Its location came to be called civilization. It is basic to agriculture, urban living, exchange government, the arts and the culture of the elite group. At the same time aranya is the forest, disorderly, unknown, unpredictable and inhabited by predators and strange creatures. Thus the fantasy of associating the unknown to the dark depths of the forest is common to all societies which begin to view the forest from the settlements. As the life style of the people in the settlements changed, the distancing from those of the forest became greater. They are degraded as less civilized and backward people of the society.

Even in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana the division between grama and aranya is pictured. Incidents narrated in the Mahabharata describe the deliberate destruction of forests and forest life. Dusyanta goes on a hunt, deep into the forest. This hunt is a campaign against nature. Here we find the people of the settlement demonstrating their power over nature. To build Indraprastha, the pandavas, with the help of god Agni burnt the forest. All these instances show the destruction of forest before establishing a settlement.

People who go from the grama to the forest (exiles) are different from the people of the forest-for the former the forest is wild habitat whereas for the latter .it is their natural habitat.

Apart from these, the concessions to the forest was also made through the worship of trees. The tree Ficus religiosa, was venerated as a sacred tree. It is associated with Buddhism and with religious shrines of Hindus and Muslims.

Notes and explanations

(Text associated -----live in the settlement)

(Paras 9,10,11,12 and 13)

Sacred groves	:	small group of tree
Monastery	:	a community of monks living under religious vows.
Chaitya	:	a mound
Cordoned off	:	close off
Pitcher	:	a large jug
Relief	:	a feeling of relaxation
Fertility cult	:	religious beliefs for the promotion of productivity in land
Pastoralist	:	shepherd
Urbanite	:	city dweller
Sophisticated	:	Highly developed and complex
Manifestation	:	a sign or evidence of something
Integration	:	The action of integrating
Ascetic	:	self-disciplined and avoiding any pleasure or luxuries
Alien	:	strange
Alms	:	charity
Salvaging	:	saving from
Buddha Maitreya	:	the future Buddha

Summary

(Paras 9, 10, 11, 12, 13)

In Buddhist and Jainist books there are references to sacred groves, some maintained by the people of the city, others by monastery and still other by the wider community who lived on the edge of the forest. Trees like Banyan and Sal were planted in such groves and were protected in sacred enclosures. The trees were also protected in sacred enclosures and they were also worshipped as a part of a fertility cult among pastoralists, peasants and those of lesser status. Thus trees were considered as enchanted and magical, even inhabited by a god or goddess. So they become sacred.

The spirit of the tree mingled with the spirit cults of water, mountains and animals were worshipped. The naga and the tiger worship is an example for this. A sense of integration with the world of plant and animal life is seen here.

In the Vedic sacrifices we see ritual vessels which have to be made of specific wood. This suggests a symbolism regarding trees and wood. We can see much of the forests fixed firmly in the performance of the rituals.

Pastoral groups are those who live in the settled society but graze their animals in the forest. The cycle of Krishna is an example for this. This shows that forest was not seen as altogether distant and hostile.

Buddhist monks who renounced everything from society lived near the grama from where they got alms. More respected monks lived in forests away from civilization. This was because forest was a place to discard the covering of civilization and discover the self. Fa-hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim tells us about a current belief regarding the future of Buddha's teachings. When the evil in the world increases, the teachings will decline. The still virtuous ones will escape into the forest and live there until the coming of the future Buddha. He will restore the world to the virtuous ones and they will once more live in the settlements.

Notes and Explanations

(The closeness ----- form the settlement.

Paras 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19

Asceticism	:	the state of being self –disciplined and avoiding any pleasure
Idyllic	:	simple and pleasures
Co-existentially	:	living side by side
Impinge	:	have an effect or impact
Baolis	:	step well surrounded by underground chambers and passages
Vicinity	:	nearness
Reclaim	:	take back
Inaccessible	:	unable to enter
Myth	:	legend
Obscure	:	hidden
Legitimize	:	make lawful

Nishada	:	tribal who lives by hunting
Bestowed	:	given as a gift
Social pale	:	social limitation
Benign	:	kind and gentle (person)
Vitiate	:	make less good or effective

Summary

Paras 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19

Man's closeness to the forest through asceticism is pictured clearly in Kalidasa's Shakunthala. In this play the gentle, peaceful forest, where plants and animals live in closeness to nature is contrasted to the hostile violent court in the capital. This also shows the symbolism of grama and aranya. In earlier times, there was enough forest available for it to remain a distant habitat. But today grama subordinates aranya to its needs and so there is the exploitation of the forest.

In Kautilya's Arthashastra the importance of forest wealth is clearly referred. He states that no one is permitted to cut any part of the forest without the permission of the State. The state should clear wasteland and settle families of agriculturalists on it. All these will enhance and also ensure a control over revenue from the forest.

When agriculture was extended, there was a greater encroachment on the forests. The Gupta period inscription gives references to violence against forest tribes. The resources of forest dwellers were appropriated and they are established on the edges or towns, in separate settlements in the forest.

The jungles were cleared and converted into cultivated land. This was needed for creating small states depending on agriculture for revenue. These states increased in number. Besides this, routes were cut through forests as a part of the expansion of trade and some forest settlements were converted into markets. Monasteries and ashramas were built around these. Thus we see religious and economic interests converting the forest into settlement.

The forest people play an important role in the origin of myths and dynasties. There are certain Brahmanical myths with a clear contempt for the forest dweller. The myth of the first ruler Prithu is one of the most powerful ones. In Indian culture there has always been contempt for the forest dwellers. Even to this day they are described as 'backward'. Yet they are the ones who are closest to the forest. Their knowledge of the forest is different from that of the officials and environmentalists who are supposed to be their benefactors. Today, the problem is that not only are there few forest people left, but the forests themselves are being destroyed.

Another dichotomy lies in the terms Prakriti and Sanskrit, the former is natural but the latter created by man. Here the forest would be the natural unit and the settlement, the created one. Sanskrit came to be equated with civilization.

Notes and the Explanation

Paras 20, 21, 22, 23 & 24

(The old ambiguity-----forest in India)

Ambiguity	:	uncertainty
Uncouth	:	uncultured and rough
Gruesome	:	causing disgust or horror
Reinforced	:	strengthened
Ameliorating	:	making better
Carnage	:	large scale killing
Terrain	:	land
Ensuing	:	following
Salination	:	containing salt
Innovation	:	creative change
Imperative	:	essential
Interlude	:	interval between two events
Holistic	:	in totality
Ruthless	:	cruel
Desecration	:	destroying the sacred quality
Holocaust	:	total destruction

Summary

Paras 20, 21, 22, 23 & 24

The dichotomy of nature and culture is reflected in the activity of hunting. Those who take to hunting as their livelihood are looked down upon and as a sport are looked up to. The princes and kings are the ones really destroying nature and animals by their hunting which is considered to be a royal sport.

The contempt for the forest and the people there became stronger by colonial rule. They exploited forests for their timber. The forest people were dismissed as backward and primitive. The philosophy of colonialism was based on man's necessity to control nature even by destroying the forest. Hunting became a sport to all and animals were killed in large numbers with firearms.

Then with the colonial decision to build railway lines to enhance the growth of industrialization, a great change came about. Routes had to be cut through all kinds of land and if there were forests in the way, they were destroyed. Access to new lands through rail communication led to migrations and new settlements. This changed the environmental conditions in many areas. In the 19th century, large tracts of jungle had to be cleared for building up on extensive canal network.

The author is not against technical innovations but wants those innovations to be examined more carefully to evaluate the changes they will make in the interaction of man, nature and culture. If a technological innovation in an area is essential, then the first concern should be that no damage be done to those who live there and their environments. In any case minimum devastation is to be ensured.

In the past, the pressure of population resulted in the encroachment into forest lands but the forests were plentiful enough to meet the pressure. But now the encroachment is coupled with the cruelty of the middle class to get the maximum revenue out of the forest. In this circumstance, there is little hope for the forest and its people to stop destruction. We are all now silent witnesses to the total destruction of the forest in India.

Read and Understand

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each:

1. Why according to the author is it important to study the cause of the decline of the Indus Valley Civilization?

The decline of the Indus cities was mainly due to the degradation of their environment. They were unable to check this. Seals unearthed from the site of the civilisation picture various animals. These animals need considerable extent of forest to live in. So the study of the cause of the decline of the Indus Valley Civilization has become important.

2. Briefly explain the changes in the attitude of the Indians towards forests?

The changes in the attitude of the Indians towards forests is reflected in the texts in Sanskrit, Prakrit, Tamil, other languages and in the oral tradition. There was gradual distancing from the forest, especially in the culture of high literacy. This distancing takes the form of romanticising of the forest. Later forests were cleared and the forest people living there forced to change their lifestyle.

3. What was the basic ecological difference between forest dwellers and the exiles from grama to the forests?

For the forest dwellers, the forest is their natural home. They live by gathering roots and fruit and on hunting wild animals. But the exiles from grama consider the forest as a wild habitat which has to be tamed.

4. What was the difference between village settlement and forests in the vedic period?

The village settlement was orderly, disciplined, known, and predictable and it was the seat of civilization. The forest was disorderly, unknown, and unpredictable and inhabited by predators and strange creatures different from those living in the grama.

5. Why did the ascetics exile themselves to the forests?

The ascetics regarded the forest as a place for the shedding of the mantle of civilization and the discovery of the self. So they exiled themselves to the forest.

6. What was the attitude of the colonial rulers towards forests?

The colonial rulers saw the forest as an area to be exploited for their wealth particularly timber. The people of the forest were dismissed as backward and primitive. The philosophy of colonialism was based on mans necessity to control nature at all costs, even if it meant destroying the forest.

Read and infer

Answer the following questions in about 100 words each.

1. Describe how the ancient Tamils expressed their views about the significance of the various ecozones.

The tinnai concept of Tamil Shangam texts gives an idea of the significance of ecozones. Accordingly, landscape has been classified into five eco-zones such as the littoral, the wetlands, the pastoral tracts, the dry zones and the hilly backwoods. Occupations are said to differ in each of these. In littoral areas fishing and making of salt, in wetlands cultivation of rice, in pastoral tracts breeding of livestock and practice of shifting cultivation, in dry zone cattle lifting and in hilly backwoods hunting and gathering were the different occupations. Thus the five eco-zones are co-related to other activities and to cultural articulation. Out of these five, wetlands were extremely limited. But this changed after some time. Paddy and salt were exchanged for other products at some constant centres. Gradually these places developed into exchange centres. These micro eco – zones later evolved into macro-zones.

2. Distinguish between grama and aranya

In early Sanskrit texts like the Vedas, there is a distinction between grama and aranya clearly shown. Though these two are opposite by nature, the classification shows social perceptions. It is said that grama is orderly, disciplined, known, predictable settlement. Its location came to be called civilization. It is here the vedic rituals were performed. It is basic to agriculture, urban living, exchange government, the arts and the culture of elite groups. At the same time aranya is the forest, disorderly, unknown, unpredictable and inhabited by predators and strange creatures. This fantasy of associating the dark depths of the forest is common to all societies which begin to view the forest from the settlements. As the life style of the settlement began to change, the distancing from those of the forest became greater. They were degraded as less civilized and backward people of the society.

3. Write a short note on tree worship in India

Tree worship as part of a fertility cult was common amongst pastoralists, farmers and socially backward groups. This was in the form of veneration of particular trees, such as *Ficus Religiosa*. Trees occur on the seals from the Indus Civilization. It is also associated with Buddhism and is depicted in sculpture from Buddhist places of worship. It continues to be venerated in association with religious shrines of Hindus and Muslims. Texts related to Buddhism and Jainism refer to sacred groves, some maintained by the people of a city, by a monastery and still others by the wider community who lived on the edge of the forest. These sacred groves had trees like banyan and sal. These trees were protected in sacred enclosures. They had platforms around it for offerings and the placing of ritual pitchers. Trees were believed to be magical and enchanted and even inhabited by deities. The creatures inhabiting the forest were also worshipped. The naga and the tiger were worshipped like this. These were not just mystical manifestations, but represented a sense of integration with the world of plant and animal life.

Think and Write

Answer these questions in about 300 words each.

1. How does the author view technological progress in relation to preserving the forest?

After the 4th century AD agriculture was extended to support a larger population. This led to the encroachment on the forests. There are references to violence against forest tribes in a Gupta period inscription. Forest dwellers were brought under control. Their forest resources like timber, mines, and gem stones were appropriated. They were then converted into lower castes of the area and established in separate settlements in the forest.

The earlier suspicion of the forest and contempt for the people of the forest was made stronger by colonial rule. The colonizers exploited the forests for their wealth, particularly timber. The forest people were dismissed as backward and primitive in the 19th century sense of the word. The philosophy of colonialism was based on man's necessity to control nature at all costs, even if it meant destroying the forest. Hunting became a sport open to all and the target was the biggest and the best of the species. With the large scale use of fire arms, the sporting aspect of the hunt was changed to carnage of animals.

The colonial decision to build railway lines resulted in the clearing of forests. Route had to be cut through all kinds of terrain and the forests on the way were destroyed. The routes were originally located to serve the economic demands of carrying resources to the markets and ports. As the result of this there was growth of industrialization enhanced. This in turn resulted in the destruction of forests on an alarming scale.

Access to new lands through rail communication led to migrations and new settlements. The forest people near the rail routes were compelled to go further into the interior of forests where land had to be cleared or cultivation. Therefore railways were responsible for changing the environmental conditions in many places.

The building of an extensive canal network in the 19th century had much the same effect. Large tracts of jungle had to be cleared for canals to pass through and canal colonies to be established. This doesn't suggest that all technological advancement should be stopped in the name of protecting the environment. But it should ensure minimum devastation of the environment and ecological balance.

The colonial rule has taken us away from a holistic understanding of nature and culture. Now the rapid rate of deforestation is not only due to the encroachments into forest lands but also the cruel desire of the middle class to extract maximum profit out of the forest wealth. In the formidable alliance of the politician, the contractor, the bureaucrat and industrialist which is so strong, we are all now silent witness to the total destruction of the forests in India.

2. How have people in different epochs assessed the relative significance of grama and forests? Discuss.

In early Sanskrit texts like the Vedas there is a distinction made between grama and aranya. Even though these are confronting in character, the classification highlights social perceptions. It is said that grama is orderly, disciplined, known, predictable settlement. Its location came to be called civilization. It is here that the Vedic rituals were performed. It is basic to agriculture, urban living, exchange government, the arts and the culture of elite groups. At the same time aranya is the forest, disorderly, unknown, unpredictable and inhabited by the predators and strange creatures. This fantasy of associating the dark depths of the forest is common to all societies which begin to view the forest from the settlements. Even in the Mahabharata and the Ramayana the division between grama and aranya is pictured. The forest is the habitat of those who are exiled. But gradually the forest is appropriated and there is some degree of identification with the forest. Even here, the distinction between the settlement and forest is kept.

Incidents narrated in the Mahabharata describe the deliberate destruction of forests and forest life. King Dusyanta goes on a hunt, deep into the forest. This is a campaign against nature. The king and his men kill the animals of the forest and destroy trees. Here we find the people of the settlement demonstrating their power over nature and destroying the sanctity of the forest and the people living there. To build Indraprastha, the Pandavas, with the help of Agni burnt the forest. All these instances show the destruction of forests before establishing a settlement. Here the grama is pictured as being successful.

The people of the forest are said to live by gathering roots and fruits and by hunting wild animals. This is entirely a different culture from that of the people of the settled society. The life of the forest people is seen as antithetical to the evolution of civilization.

But the concession to the forest was made in various ways. The most obvious is the worship of trees. *Ficus Religiosa* has been worshipped as a sacred tree in India. Seals excavated from the sites of Indus Valley Civilization bear the mark of this. It is associated with Buddhism and Jainism.

Some worshipped trees as a part of fertility cult. The worshippers included the pastorals, peasants and other socially backward people. The tree was believed to be inhabited by a deity. Some trees were believed to have magical powers. The worship of the naga and the tiger signifies the fusion of the spirit of the forest with the spirit of the wild life.

Buddhist monks who have renounced society lived either near the grama from where they got alms, or the more respected ones lived in the forest away from the grama.

In Kautilya's Arthashastra, the importance of forest wealth is clearly referred to. He states that no one is permitted to cut any part of the forest without the permission of the state. Emperor Ashoka took pride in the roads which were constructed during his administration and they were lined with shade – giving trees and with wells.

Another dichotomy lies in the terms Prakriti and Sanskrit, the former is nature but the latter created by man. Here the forest would be the natural unit and the settlement, the created one. Sanskrit came to be equated with civilisation. The forest is the retreat of the holymen and even the princes of the royal court have to go there to meet them. Many Mughal miniatures also depict this. This is a form of turning away from the settlement.

Hunting reflects the dichotomy of nature and culture. Those who live by hunting are treated as uncouth, looked down upon, to outcaste status. The earlier suspicion of the forest and contempt for people of the forest was strengthened by colonial rule. Forests became an area to be exploited, particularly for timber. The people were dismissed as backward and primitive. The Philosophy of colonialism was based on man's necessity to control nature at all costs, even if its meant destroying the forest.

Chapter 15

THE HUNGRY TIDE

Objectives

- i. To get acquainted with the environmental beauty and history of Sunderbans.
- ii. To raise environment consciousness.

AMITAV GHOSH

About the Author

Amitav Ghosh was born in Kolkata in 1956. He is one of India's best-known writers and also an anthropologist. He has written for 'The Hindu', The New Yorker and Granta. He has also been on the panel of juries of several international film festivals, including Lacarno and Venice. In 2007, he was awarded the Padma Shri. Some of his books are 'The Circle of Reason', 'The Shadow Lines', 'In an Antique Land', 'The Calcutta Chromosome', 'The Hungry Tide', 'Sea of Poppier'.

About the Passage

This extract is taken from the novel 'The Hungry Tide'. It is a story of adventure and unlikely love, set in Sunderbans. The story depicts the fascinating life of the people of the islands and their everyday struggle with the tides.

Notes and Explanations

(Kanai spotted..... importuning entourage)

Paras 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6

Unerringly	:	unmistakably
Elegance	:	beauty
Glinting	:	shining
Connoisseur	:	an expert judge in matters of taste
Appraise	:	fix a value for
Intrigued	:	aroused curiosity
Delineation	:	description
Stance	:	standing posture
Commuter	:	traveling

Androgyny	:	partly male and partly female
Exotic	:	strange
Plied	:	went regularly to and fro
Urchin	:	a naughty boy
Importuning	:	requesting
Entourage	:	followers

Summary

As soon as Kanai entered the crowded platform, he spotted a close – cropped black haired girl wearing loose cotton pants and oversized white shirt. Her face was long and narrow with no bindi on her forehead. She did not wear bangles or bracelets but one of her ears was decorated with a silver stud that glinted brightly against her dark complexion.

Kanai had the ability of a connoisseur, praising and appraising women. From the tint of her skin he realized that she was not Indian but a foreigner. She seems completely out of place against the sooty background of the commuter station at Dhakuria. Why would a foreigner be standing in a south Kolkata Commuter station, waiting for the train to Canning? This line is the only rail connection to Sundarbans. But most of the tourists to Sundarbans prefer boat than rail. Trains are mostly used by daily passengers who travel for work.

Kanai had a tendency to eaves drop on conversation in public places because of his addiction towards language. so he pushed his way through the crowd to hear that girl asking something of a bystander. But he heard only the end of a sentence, ‘train to Canning?’ She was not able to comprehend the bystander’s reply as she did not know Bengali language.

Just like this foreign girl, Kanai’s appearance also attracted attention. He was of medium height and at the age of forty two, his hair was still thick, had begun to show a few streaks of gray at the temples. Although his face was unlined, his eyes had fine wrinkles fanning out from their edges. But he looked more youthful than his age. Kanai was also carrying a wheeled airline with a telescoping handle. His luggage along with his sunglasses, corduroy trousers and suede shoes suggested prosperity and metropolitan affluence. Due to this appearance, he was attacked by hawkers, urchins and groups of youths until the train arrived.

Notes and Explanations

Paras 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13

(While climbingof tangled strands)

Hafted	:	fixed in a handle
Hovering	:	staying hear

Diminutive	:	very small
Wispy	:	small and thin
Wailing	:	crying
Fending off	:	defending from
Goggled	:	opened the eyes widely
Fuss	:	unnecessary anxiety
Tangled strands	:	confused and twined mass of hair
Archipelago	:	mass of hair a group of small islands

Summary

While climbing in, he noticed that the foreign girl had some experience in traveling. With practiced ease she pushed her way through the passengers. He lost sight of her. Kanai was planning to do some reading on this trip. On trying to get his papers out of his suitcase he found out that there was not enough light to read by and to his right there was a woman with a crying baby. However he managed to occupy a seat near the window by exchanging his seat with that of an elderly man. Pleased with his seat, he pulled out a few sheets of paper covered in closely written Bengali script. He began to read.

In our legends it is said that the goddess Ganga's coming down to earth from heaven was tamed by Lord Siva by tying it into his ash – smeared locks or else it would have split the earth. There is another interpretation to this story: the tributaries are Lord Siva's braid undone. Then the river throws off its bindings and separates into hundreds or thousands of tangled strands. It is impossible to believe that an immense archipelago of islands lies in between the sea and the plains of Bengal, stretching for almost three hundred kilometers from the Hooghly River in West Bengal to the shores of the Meghna in Bangladesh.

Notes and explanations

(‘The islands.....thing falls’)

Paras 14, 15, 16, 17 & 18

Restitution	:	the restoration of something
Dominion	:	have a very strong influence over
Mutate	:	change
Evocative	:	bringing strong images and feelings to mind
Confluence	:	the junction of two or more rivers

Dwindle	:	gradually lessen or fade
Seductive	:	tempting and attractive
Beguilement	:	charm or trick
Promontory	:	a point of highland jutting out into the sea or a lake
Gestate	:	to develop a plan
Fetid	:	smelling very unpleasant
Prevalence	:	widespread in a particular area
Parturition	:	child birth

Summary

There are thousands of islands, which forms the trailing threads of India's fabric. Some are immense and some no larger than sandbars; some have lasted through recorded history while others were washed into being just a year or two ago. The boundaries between land and water are always changing and unpredictable. Rivers sometime change their course and their channels are spread across the islands like a fine mesh net. Some channels are wide across the shores and are mighty waterways. Each of these channels is a river in its own right, each possessed of its own strange evocative names. At the confluence of these channels they are like a cluster of four, five or even six. On the edges of these rivers we can see the thick forest. The native people of this area call such a confluence as a Mohona.

We cannot point out any borders between fresh water and salt, river and sea. The tides reach as far as three hundred kilometers in land and everyday thousands of acres of forest disappear underwater only to re-emerge hours later. New shelves and sand banks are created some days and at other the water tears away entire peninsulas.

Mangroves cover these newly formed islands within a few years. A mangrove forest is not like other woodlands or jungles. In mangroves there are no vines – lopped trees, no ferns, no wild flowers, no chattering monkeys and cockatoos. Mangrove leaves are tough and leathery, the branches gnarled and the foliage often impossibly dense. Visibility is short and air, still and smelling very bad. Lots of people have perished in the embrace of dense forest.

To the whole world this archipelago is known as 'the sundarban' which means, 'the beautiful forest' Some believe that this name was derived from the name of a common species of mangrove called the sundari tree, 'Heriteria minor'. But in the record books of the Mughal emperors, this region is named with reference to a tide –bhati. To the inhabitants of the islands, this land is known as bhatir desh, the tide country. Only at low tide is the forest seen. At high tide the land is half submerged.

The excerpt is concluded with a beautiful quotation from the tenth elegy of the Austrian writer Rainer Maria Rilke. The lowering tide brings forth the sight of catkins hanging from the hazel and the spring rain upon the dark earth. This gives a slight hope for the future of the earth and the man living on the earth.

Read and understand

Answer the following questions in two or three sentence each.

1. What made the lady whom Kanai spotted at the station different from most girls?

She was a foreigner. It was stamped in her posture. Against the sooty backdrop of the commuter station at Dhakuria, the neatly composed androgyny of her appearance seemed out of place and strange.

2. What opinion did Kanai hold about himself?

Kanai believed that he had the true connoisseur's ability to both praise and appraise women.

3. Why was Kanai unhappy with his position in the train? What did he intend to do during the journey?

In the overcrowded train Kanai found a seat. But it was not satisfactory. He wanted to do some reading during the journey. But there was not enough light to read. To his right there was a woman carrying a baby.

4. How did Ganga emerge according to the legends?

According to the legends the Goddess Ganga's descent from the heavens had been tamed by Lord Shiva by tying her torrent into his ash smeared locks before it could split the earth.

Read and infer

Answer the following questions in about 100 words each.

3. Discuss how the excerpt weaves history, geography, folklore, scientific facts while narrating a story.

This excerpt weaves history, geography, folklore and scientific facts throughout its narration. The history of the Sundarbans is clearly given. In the record books of the Mughal emperors, the Sundarbans got its name not from the name of the tree Sundari but from tide bhati. In the excerpt a very long description of the Gangetic plain and the archipelago of islands is given. From the Hooghly river in West Bengal to the shores of the Magana in Bangladesh the archipelago stretches for three hundred kilometres.. Here we find geography. The folklore part of it is the reference to the legend regarding the origin of the River Ganga.

The descent of the Goddess Ganga from the heavens would have split the earth if Lord Shiva had not tamed her torrent by tying it into his ash-smeared locks. The scientific explanation is how the river throws off its bindings and separates into hundreds and thousands, how new islands and how the mangroves gestate after the ebb tide.

4. Do you think the writer is drawing the reader's attention towards the impending threat to the world's most fascinating region? Elaborate.

As the tide comes and goes, the Bay of Bengal creates new lands. It is here that the river Ganga meets the sea after flowing a long way through the land. It is said that the violent current and tide is unpredictable here. Due to this unpredictable nature of the current and tide many islands are formed and some get vanished. Thus archipelago is formed and it is named as the Sundarbans, which means 'the beautiful forest'. During high tide the Sundarbans is half submerged. This forest is visible only when the water is falling. There are no borders here to divide fresh water from salt, river from sea. The tide reaches as far as three hundred kilometres inland. Everyday thousands of acres of forest disappear underwater and re-emerge hours later. The currents are so powerful as to reshape the islands almost daily. Some days the water tears away whole promontories and peninsulas; at other times it throws up new shelves and sand banks where there were none before. This process and the changing nature of the islands make the Sundarbans very unique.

Think and Write

Answer this question in about 300 words

1. How does the writer describe the Sundarbans? Do you think he conveys a subtle message through his description? Discuss in relation to the text.

'Hungry Tide' taken from Amitav Ghosh's novel by the same name. It is a beautiful piece of narrative prose which in turn is like a poem. The excerpt weaves history, geography, folklore and scientific facts in it. The picture of the world's greatest and unique forest- 'the Sundarbans'- is depicted very neatly.

The excerpt begins with Kanai spotting a girl on the railway platform and identifying her as a foreigner. Kanai thought that he had the true connoisseur's ability to both praise and appraise women. The tourists who come to visit the Sundarbans usually went by boat hiring steamers or lunches using the train that connects south Kolkata Railway station with Canning. Kanai got into the commuter train and got a seat where he could read something. He took out some sheets of paper from his suitcase and started reading the legend of the Sundarbans.

Stretching about three hundred kilometres between Hooghly in West Bengal and the shores of the Meghna in Bangladesh is the archipelago of islands. They are many in number including some large ones and some mere sand banks. The river's channels are spread across the land like a fine mesh-net. The boundaries of this land change from time to time, making it unpredictable.

There are no borders here to divide fresh water from salt, river from sea. The tides reach as far as three hundred kilometers inland. Everyday thousands of acres of forest disappear underwater. Hours later they re-emerge. The powerful currents reshape the islands daily.

The tides create new land and within a night mangroves begin to gestate. If the conditions are right, they can spread so fast as cover a new island within a few short years. A mangrove is unique in nature. There are no towering vine-lopped trees, no ferns, no wild flowers, no chattering monkeys or cockatoos. Its leaves are tough and leathery the branches twisted and leaves dense. This land is hostile to man. Every year many people are killed here by tigers, snakes and crocodiles.

The 'Sundarban' means the 'beautiful forest'. Some believe that the word is derived from the name of a common species of mangrove called sundari tree. In the record books of the Mughal emperors this region is named in reference to a tide-bhati. To the inhabitants of the islands this land is known as bhatir desh, the country of tides. The land is half-submerged at high tide. It is only when the tide ebbs that the water gives birth to the forest.

The author concludes the excerpt with a quotation from the 'Tenth Elegy' of Rainer Maria Rilke. It is an elegy which gives hope of regeneration on earth.

Chapter 16

THE END OF IMAGINATION

Objectives

- i. To communicate the horror of nuclear weapons.
- ii. To convey the imperialistic way in which the Government, distanced from the people, decides key issues of the country.

ARUNDHATI ROY

About the Author

Suzanna Arundhati Roy (born in 1961), an Indian writer and activist, won the 1997 Booker Prize for her novel 'The God of Small Things'. She advocates the anti-globalisation movement. She is a vehement critic of neo-imperialism and of the global policies of the United States. In protest against the policies of the Government, she turned down the Central Sahitya Academy award for the best Indian writer in English.

About the Passage

The passage is taken from Arundhati Roy's essay 'The End of Imagination' (1998). It was published in her collection titled 'The Cost of Living'. It was written in response to India's testing of nuclear weapons in Pokhran, Rajasthan. According to her it is not sensible to conduct nuclear test in a country where poverty, corruption, illiteracy and unemployment have an upper hand. She also gives a picture of the horrors of arms nuclear.

Notes and Explanations

(Is there such..... Mera Bharat Mahan)

Paras 1 & 2

Authentic	:	genuine
Cohesive	:	having the ability to stick or remain together / united
Entity	:	having own independent existence
Forged	:	shaped
Anvil	:	a blacksmiths hammering block
Impoverished	:	made poor
Agrarian	:	of the land and its cultivation
Montage	:	technique of producing a new composite whole from fragments

Summary

Arundathi Roy starts this essay with some sharp questions such as:

- 1 Is there such a thing as an Indian identity?
- 2 Do we really need an Indian identity?
- 3 Who is a real Indian and who is not?
- 4 Does India belong to Indians?
- 5 Does it matter?

India hasn't been known as a single civilization, the Indian Civilization. Even though it has precise geographical boundaries marked by a British Act of Parliament in 1899, it was created by the British Empire for commerce and administration. As India began to fight against her own creators, the author finds it difficult to call India Indian. India is an artificial state created by a government from the top to bottom. Most of the Indians who are poor, uneducated and agrarian don't even know the boundaries of India or have an idea of the extent of the country or know which language is spoken where or which god is worshipped in what region. To the Indians the country is best known only during elections or through the government T.V. programmes which picture typical Indians wearing regional costumes and uttering noisy slogans.

Notes and Explanations

(The people who have a vital million people)

Paras 3, 4, 5 & 6

Lucid	:	expressed clearly
Congenital	:	inbuilt in its character
Cobbling together	:	putting together roughly
Viable	:	practicable
Formidable	:	inspiring fear or respect
Fissures	:	long and narrow opening
Schism	:	division of a group into opposition parties
Succulent	:	juicy, thick and fleshy
Carnage	:	widespread murdering of people

Summary

The people who have a vital stake in India are the politicians who constitute our national political parties. They have only one aim to identify with their political identity. For this they persuade people to vote for their party. It isn't their fault but it is inherent in the nature of our system of centralized government. This is an inbuilt defect in our democracy. If a country has more

illiterate people, it will become a poorer nation with morally defective politicians having rude ideas about their party. Here we find illiteracy a very dangerous defect. Here what the country needs is a fair, united, pre-digested “national identity”. Even though it is a great challenge, without it, divisions will arise and there will be a burst of political energy released.

Gandhiji wanted to harness this energy and wanted people of all races to partake in India’s war of independence against the British. It was a refined great imaginative struggle, but its aim was simple and clear and easy to identify from the political sin. The trouble involved in applying this formula now is that situations are completely changed now. But the energy released won’t go back and it is very useful also. This energy won us freedom and now it is in the hands of lesser statesmen.

Scientists are praised for making the atom bomb. But no one knows that it is easier to make a bomb than to educate four hundred million people.

Note and Explanations

(According to opinion right back in?)

Paras 7 & 8

Consensus	:	general opinion
Fissile material	:	material capable of undergoing nuclear fission
Obsolete	:	discarded
Cretin	:	stupid

Summary

Is it possible for a man, who can’t write his own name to understand even the basic elementary facts about the nature of nuclear weapons? Has anybody bothered to explain to him about thermal blasts? Is he trapped in a time capsule, watching the world pass him by, unable to communicate with it because his language was obsolete? Shall we just treat him like some kind of a cretin? Use his own beliefs and stories as weapons against him?

Notes and Explanations

(I’m not talking End in an afternoon)

Paras 9, 10, 11

Informed decision	:	decision based upon information, education, and knowledge etc
Accident	:	(here) nuclear accident

Summary

This is not about one man but millions and millions of people who live in this country. This is their land too. So they have the right to make them informed about everything but on the contrary nobody has informed them. The gap between the powerful and the powerless is widening, they share nothing.

Arundhati Roy asks what right we have got to conduct opinion polls or the Prime Minister (who always wants the nuclear explosion) to decide things or reassure us that there will be no nuclear accidents. She also asks why we should trust him as he has never done anything to make us trust him. Roy's unleashes the horror of the nuclear bomb thus:

- 1 The nuclear bomb is the greatest anti-democratic, anti-democratic, anti-national, anti-human evil thing ever made by man.
- 2 A religious person would think that the bomb is Man's challenge to God, that is, man has all the power to destroy God's creation.
- 3 A non-religious person would see the bomb as bringing to an end this four thousand six hundred million years old world in an afternoon.

Read and Understand

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each.

1. Why does the author say that India is truly an artificial state?

India was created by a government, not a people and a state created from the top down, not the bottom up. Along with this India's citizens are poor, illiterate, agrarian majority who do not know what a state is

2. What is 'India' to the poor, illiterate, agrarian majority?

To the poor, illiterate, agrarian, India is a noisy slogan that comes around during the elections or a montage of people on Government TV programmes wearing regional costumes and saying Mera Bharat Mahan.

3. Who among the people of India have a cohesive national identity? Why?

Of it is the politicians, all the people of India, who have a cohesive national identity. It is simply because their struggle, their career goal, is to become that identity.

4. What message does the nuclear bomb convey to the religious and the non-religious?

To the religious the nuclear bomb is Man's challenge to God which means we have the power to destroy everything that God has created. To the non-religious, this world of ours is four thousand, six hundred million years old and it could end in an afternoon.

Read and Infer

Answer the following questions in about 100 words each.

1. Why does the author believe that India's nuclear bomb is the final act of betrayal by a ruling class that has failed its people?

The majority of Indians are poor, illiterate and agrarian. To them, India is, a noisy slogan that comes around during the elections. Or a montage of people on Government T.V. programmes. They don't even know what the state is. What they want is food, shelter and education and not the nuclear bomb. The ruling class has failed to provide these but are successful in making the nuclear bomb. It is easier to make a bomb than to educate four hundred million people. According to opinion polls, it is believed that everyone loves the bomb and so the bomb is good. In reality they don't know even the basics of a nuclear bomb. It has nothing to do with honour and pride. No one has bothered to explain to them about thermal blasts, radioactive fallout and nuclear winter. There are even no words in his language to describe the concepts of enriched uranium, fissile material and critical mass.

2. What are the author's reflections on forged Indian national identity?

Arundhati Roy begins the essay with a sharp question. 'Is there such a thing as an Indian identity?'

Indian, as a modern nation state was marked out with precise geographical boundaries by a British Act in 1899. It was forged on the anvil of the British Empire for reasons of commerce and administration. Cultural unity cannot be brought here as Indians are of different cultures. Arundhati Roy says that India is an artificial state. This is because it was created from the top down, not the bottom up. Most Indians are too poor and too uneducated to have even an elementary idea of the extent and complexity of the country. The poor, illiterate agrarian majority have no stake in the state. To them, India is, a noisy slogan that comes around during the elections or a montage of people on Government TV programmes wearing regional costumes and saying Mera Bharat Mahan.

Think and Write

Answer the question in about 300 words.

'The nuclear bomb is the most anti-democratic anti-national, anti-human, outright, evil thing that man has ever made'. Discuss.

Arundhati Roy, the India writer and activist won the Booker Prize in 1997 for her novel 'The God of Small Things'. The essay 'The End of Imagination' is a critique of the Indian government's nuclear policies. She stands for the common Indian who is deprived of the basic needs like food and education. She speaks against nuclear bombs and firmly believes that nuclear bombs cannot bring peace and honour. That is why in this essay, she moves from the wider questions of power, democracy and the social good to explain her stand on India's nuclear tests in Pokhran, Rajasthan.

Arundhati Roy makes it clear that India, as a modern nation state was marked out with precise geographical boundaries by a British Act in 1899. It was forged on the anvil of the British Empire for reasons of commerce and administration. Cultural unity cannot be brought here as Indians are of different cultures. Arundhati Roy says that India is an artificial state because it was created by a government not a people. A state created from the top down, not the bottom up. Most Indians are too poor and uneducated to have even an elementary idea of the extent and complexity of the country. Most of them live in agrarian villages. What they need is education and food, and not the nuclear bomb. The ruling class has failed to provide these but successful in making nuclear bomb. It is easier to make a bomb than to educate four hundred million people. The official media has tried to propagate the news that India needs a nuclear bomb to protect its borders from the enemy. According to opinion polls, it is believed that everyone loves the bomb and so the bomb is good.

Arundhati Roy says that most of the Indians who live in agrarian villages are uneducated and poor. They do not have an Indian identity. The only ones who have a cohesive national identity are the politicians who constitute our national political parties. Politicians support making bombs as they believe that they would have a hold on people and also be able hold on to power. They always try to deceive the common people by investing new election slogans.

The illiterate Indians don't know even the basics of a nuclear bomb. No one has bothered to explain to him about thermal blasts, radioactive fallout and nuclear winter. There are even no words in his language to explain nuclear fission or nuclear reaction. He is trapped in a time capsule, watching the world pass him by. He is not able to communicate with it because his language cannot understand the horrors of the nuclear bomb. Does the Prime Minister have the right to place his finger on the nuclear button? Does he know that his pressing on this button will end everything we love on our earth? So how can he reassure us that there will be no accidents?

The nuclear bomb is the most anti-democratic, anti-national, anti-human and an outright evil because it is not supported by the people, it will not be beneficial to the nation and it is against all human values and it is used by the sinful ones respectively.

Chapter 17

A DIFFERENT KIND OF DEVELOPMENT

Objectives

- i. to get acquainted with the non-sustainable development policies of the government.
- ii. to learn about an alternate model development which guarantees social justice.

MEDHA PATKAR

About the Author

Medha Patkar was born in 1954 in Mumbai Her father was Vasant Khanolkar and mother Indu Khanolkar. She took her M.A. in Social Work from the Tata Institute of Social Sciences. She worked with various voluntary organisations in Mumbai slums and in the tribal districts of North East Gujarat. She became the leader of The Narmada Bachao Andolan in 1980. She gave up her doctoral research to dedicate herself to 'Save the Narmada' campaign along with Baba Amte.

She received many national and international awards like Right Livelihood Award in 1992, the Goldman Environment rise in 1993, the BBC's Green Ribbon Award for Best International Political Campaigner and the Human Rights Defender's Award from Amnesty International.

About the Passage

This passage is an interview conducted by Venu Govindu on 7 August 1999 at a Satyagraha site. She criticizes the present way of development followed by different states and central government because. They deny the comforts and privileges of the marginalised poor. She demands for an alternative model of development which guarantees better social justice.

Notes and Explanations

(The first and foremost.... is the solution)

Paras 1, 2 and 3

Eminent domain	:	the right of a government to seize private property for public use, in exchange for a fair payment
Trade off	:	an exchange involving compromise
Disparity	:	inequality
Destitution	:	poverty
Invariably	:	always
Erratic	:	peculiar, irregular

Summary

Medha Patkar considers development issues as the first and foremost issues that people raise when they question the development process. The communities which are based on natural resources are forced to them give up in the name of development. Those resources reach to the state in the name of development. These communities include fishermen, farmers or manual workers. The state always supports the urbanised communities. As a result of this those who sacrifice their land, water and forests never get a real share in the benefits. Instead, a small section of the society (urbanised communities) enjoys the benefits at the cost of those who sacrifice them.

This kind of resource management leads to great disparity in its planning and execution. As a result of this a small section lives comfortably while the majority live in loss and destitution. In order to ensure equality and justice, they have to question the present sort of planning and execution. They have to demand alternative ways of planning. This should begin from the smallest unit of the community with its own resources and then may move on to other levels. The first issue Medha Patkar takes up to is the issue of water crisis. She believes that centralised water management is not a solution to this crisis. The reason is that it takes away water from large river basins to build large dams and have large reservoirs. But this stored water is taken away always by those who already have water and power. They use it for their own betterment. The water never reaches the really needy regions. This issue is very well proved in the case of Sardar Sarovar waters. Kutch and Saurashtra in Gujarat are to really get the benefits of it but the waters flow more into the sugar cane fields or into the cities before reaching Kutch and Saurashtra. Like this, thousands of villages all over India are declared as no source villages because the water they get through rainfall is not managed locally but planned and managed by those who manage centralised reservoirs. So to resolve the water crisis, the alternate method is to manage locally starting from the smallest watershed as unit and then going from the ridge to the river or from the origin to the sea.

Notes and Explanation

(Same is the case the health sector)

Para 4

MV : megawatt

Biomass : all the plants and animal life in an area.

Summary

The second issue is related with power policy. It is known that 30% to 50% of households in many states are without even one point of electricity. 30% in Madhya Pradesh and 50% in Uttar Pradesh are still in darkness. So generating power in different forms from a multiple and mixed kind of resources base is the only solution. The Biomass is a source of energy. It is used by a great majority of rural population as a source of energy. So it should be built upon through gasifiers. Besides it can produce employment and make villages self reliant. If a part of the wood and biomass available there is converted into electricity, their energy needs will be satisfied instead of depending on the state's electricity boards. So a technology for that is needed.

Notes and Explanation

(The Third issue..... an important issue)

Paras 5 & 6

Harnessing	:	making use of natural resources to produce energy
Elite	:	privileged people
Globalisation	:	the principle of opening up domestic market for foreign firms to operate worldwide
Liberalisation	:	the policy of removing restrictions on something
Capitalising	:	profiting from
Cumulative	:	increasing progressively in amount

Summary

The third issue is the relationship between the state and the people. This has to be understood in the political context. According to eminent domain, the state has the full right to resources. Even though the state is to act in favour of the most disadvantaged communities and use the resources for the common good of these communities, it never happens. The state instead, using its power, laws and forces takes away the resources favouring the powerful sections of the society and does not mind depriving the needy sections. That is like a state privatised by those small privileged sections. This is done more and more and more brutally in the new context of globalisation and liberalization. The natural resource based communities are forced to surrender their resources without even getting any share of the benefits that are produced by the projects. This leads to cumulative inequality.

Notes and Explanations

(As far as..... win the larger war)

Paras 7, 8 & 9

Backlash	:	violent attack
Paradigm	:	example or model
Hawker	:	a person who carries about goods for sale
Irrational	:	unreasonable
Distorted	:	disfigured / deformed
Perseverance	:	determination

Summary

As far as the peoples movements are concerned, they face the severe problem of displaced population. They are raising the issues of social, environmental, economic, financial impacts. The displaced population is a serious issue because they are the ones who face the impacts immediately. When they develop an ideological framework, it is understood that it is not really an issue of fighting one single dam or project, but is an issue of the total development paradigm. So a totally different outlook is needed. It should be in favour of value frameworks and the basic beliefs and attitudes of the civil society. This brings us back to the whole question of life style educational content and methodology.

The people's movements who take up these issues must have a comprehensive politico economic social ideology, which may not merely come from Gandhi or Marx, but a combination of both and many other new tools and methods. Many individual struggles like Narmada, the struggle related to Bhopal gas tragedy, the one against the pollution of Chaliyar river, of the struggle of the hawkers who are being displaced in lakhs show us what kind of development we reject and what kind of development we accept. For this the movements have to not only struggle against the projects but also go into reconstruction work.

The alliance of the people's movements challenge the powers that make many irrational corrupt decisions based on vested interests. These movements should also be non-violent ones because violence is against the right to life and livelihood, which is the real issue. So these movements require people in villages, activists, youths and others who are ready to become a part of the process. They should never leave the matters half way but take them to their logical end, with special perseverance to win the larger war.

Read and Understand

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each.

1. When does development become an issue and a subject of controversy?

Mostly in the name of development, the communities like the fish workers, the farmers or the manual labourers are forced to give up their natural resources. These resources are then benefited by a small section of the society. Those who have sacrificed their land, water and forests don't get the real share of the benefit.

2. How can we ensure equality and justice in the development process?

First of all, the present system of planning is to be questioned. Alternative ways should be suggested. This planning must begin from the smallest unit of the community with its own resources. This should never be at the cost of the larger community.

3. Why does Medha Patkar believe that centralised water management is no solution to the water crisis?

Centralised water management takes away water from the large river basin to build dams and reservoirs. But this stored water is taken away by those who already have water and

power. These people use it for their own betterment. At the same time the water never reaches those who really need it as they are at the tail end.

4. What is the alternate method to resolve the water crisis and provide electricity to the villages?

Starting from the smallest watershed as a unit and then going from the ridge to the river or from the origin to the sea is the alternate method to resolve the water crisis. For this water is to be managed locally.

5. How does development victimise the poor and favour the powerful?

The state, using its power, laws and forces takes away the natural resources to favour the power sections of the society. It does not wind depriving the needy sections. Globalisation and Liberalisation need monetary capital. For that the resources are capitalised. The resources based communities are not given any share in the benefits that are produced by the project.

Read and Infer

Answer the following questions in about 100 words each.

1. Why should there be an alliance of people's movements to undertake issues of development?

Common people face inequality and injustice. To solve this issue, Medha Patker suggests an alliance of people's movements. The ones who face the impacts is the displaced population. The problems they face are not singular ones but a part of the under problem. It is an issue of the total development paradigm. So a totally different outlook is needed. The paradigm that should come through the changed water and power policies has to be fought for at a different level. The people's movements who take up these issues must have a comprehensive, politico – economic, social ideology. For this the movements have to not only struggle against the projects but also go into reconstruction work.

2. What does Medha Patker mean by a different kind of development?

The present system of development paradigm is always for the powerful and privileged ones. For this the poor and needy sacrifice their resources. This system of planning has to be questioned. Alternative ways should be suggested. It should begin from the bottom up, that is, the smallest unit of community with its own resources to other levels. In order to solve the water crisis, planning should start from the smallest watershed as a unit. Then it should go from the ridge to the river or from the origin to the sea. Regarding power crisis, the large supply of biomass got from villages can be effectively used for producing energy. This will not only satisfy their energy needs, but also make the villages self – reliant and generate employment. Suitable gasifiers are needed and also efficient technology. Even in the agricultural sector, in the education sector and the health sector technology can bring about great changes.

Think and write**Answer these questions in about 300 words each.**

1. What are the three major issues Medha Patkar mentions as being critical to their movement and to all people's movements in general? Briefly discuss each one.

Medha Patkar in this passage criticises the present day idea of development followed by different states and central governments. They deny the privileges and comforts of the marginalised poor and stands for the interests of the privileged sections. She mentions three issues which are critical to their movement and to all people's movements in general.

Out of the three issues, the first and foremost one she points out is the water crisis. Centralised water management is not a solution to this crisis. The reason is that, it takes away water from large river basins to build large dams and storage reservoirs. But it is taken away by those who already have water and power. They use it for their own betterment. The water never reaches the really needy regions. This issue is very well proved in the case of Sardar Sarovar waters. Kutch and Saurashtra in Gujarat are really to get the benefits of it. But the waters flow more into the Sugarcane fields or into the cities before reaching Kutch and Saurashtra.

The second issue is related with power policy. It is known that 30% to 50% of households in many states are without even one point of electricity. 30% in Madhya Pradesh and 50% in Uttar Pradesh are still in darkness. So generating power in different forms from a multiple and mixed kind of resource base is the only solution. The biomass is a source of energy. It is used by the great majority of rural population as a source of energy. It should be built upon through gasifiers. If a part of the wood and biomass available in villages, is converted into electricity through a technology, their energy needs will be satisfied.

The third issue is the relationship between the state and the people. This has to be understood in the political context. The state has the full right to the resources. So the state is to act in favour of the most disadvantaged communities and use the resources to get the common good within the value frame work of equality and justice. But the principles of globalisation and liberalisation make the government work for the benefit of the small section of privileged rich people. This leads to cumulative inequality.

As far as the peoples movements are concerned, they face the severe problem of displaced population. They are raising the issues of social, environmental, economic and financial impacts since they are the ones who face the impact immediately. When they develop an ideological frame work, it is not an issue of fighting one single dam or project, but is an issue of the total development paradigm. This requires a totally different outlook in favour of value frame works, and the basic beliefs and attitudes of the civil society. This brings us back to the question of life style, educational content and methodology. As a result of this, the people's movements must have a comprehensive, politico – economic social ideology when they take up these issues. It may not merely come from Gandhi or Marx, but combinations of both and many other new tools and methods. There is a need for an alliance of people's movements which would challenge the political forces who take many corrupt decisions just to satisfy the

rich. The movements should be based upon non – violence and should include people in villages, activists, youths and others. The struggle should be carried forward with special perseverance to win a larger war.

2. “We are not against development, but we’re for a different kind of development”. Explain what Medha Patkar means by this and elaborate on the kind of development paradigm. She proposes ?

Medha Patkar, criticises the present day idea of development followed by different states and central governments. They always stand for the elite and privileged classes of society denying the marginalised poor, their needs and comforts. Medha Patkar and her movement is against this kind of development which would begin from the bottom up. By this, the development should start from the smallest unit of the community which has its own natural resources.

The communities are forced to sacrifice those resources for the sake of development. These communities include the fish workers, the farmers and manual labourers. The state helps the small section of the society to get the benefits of the natural resources, taking them from those who need them very much. Thus this sort of resource management brings about great disparity in planning and execution. Medha Patkar questions this type of planning as she wants to see equality and justice among these communities. She also urges them to demand for the alternative ways of planning which would begin right from bottom up. She proves how water crisis can be solved if we start from the smallest watershed as a unit and then go from ridge to river or from origin to sea. At the same time, centralised water management with the construction of large dams and storage reservoirs will not help the poor villagers who are the ones who really need this natural resource.

The same thing happens in the case of power policy. 30% to 50% of households in many states are without even one point of electricity. Some places are still in darkness. So the solution for this is not generating more and more power, but generating power in different forms from a very multiple and mixed kind of resource base like biomass. It is a source of energy which the large majority of rural Indian population uses. The use of biomass can generate employment and make the villages self reliant as far as their energy needs are concerned. This requires not planning but technology. As is the case with the water and power sector, so is it in the case of agricultural, educational and health sectors.

There is the problem of the displaced population. They are facing problems from the development paradigm of the present days. In the name of infrastructure development most of them have lost their homes and lands. When they start developing a wider ideological framework, it is realised that it is not really an issue of fighting one single dam or project, but instead an issue of the total development paradigm. So, the decentralised, sustainable and just paradigm that could come through the changed water policy, power policy, etc has to be fought for at a much different level too.

Chapter 18

GREEN SCHOOLS IN THE GREYING WORLD

Objectives

- i. to understand the concept of “green schools”.
- ii. to raise the need for the importance of environment education.

KRISHNA KUMAR

About the Author

Krishna Kumar (1951), a well known educationist, thinker and writer has been a Professor and Head of the Central Institute of Education, University of Delhi. At present he is the Director of NCERT. He has been member of several committees working on educational reforms. Many of his works are in Hindi, including collections of short stories and essays. ‘Political Agenda of Education’, ‘What is worth Teaching’, ‘Prejudice and Pride’ are his works on education.

About the Passage

This essay is the last chapter of Krishna Kumar’s well known book ‘A Pedagogues Romance Reflections on Schooling’. His professional concerns about education and suggestions to better the school environment finds place in this essay. He contrasts the green schools with ‘Wasteful Schools’ which are symbols of luxury. Amassing wealth has become a sign of national progress and so individual progress is also measured on the basis of wealth.

Notes and Explanations

(Self – analysis agri-business firms)

Paras 1, 2 & 3

CSE	:	Centre for Science and Environment
Impel	:	force
Meticulous	:	accurate
Manual	:	handbook
Rigorous	:	strict
Spillage	:	overflowed (water)
Exemplify	:	show by example
Parsimony	:	parade

Extravagant	:	wasteful
Clientele	:	customers
Icon	:	image
Ethos	:	attitude
Milieu	:	environment
Grilled	:	cooked on a grill
Aberration	:	moral lapse
Cruise missile	:	low flying, self guiding missile
Modicum	:	small amount
Augment	:	increase
Collaborate	:	work jointly
Catastrophic	:	disastrous
Strata	:	social class
Secede	:	to become independent of a country
Delusion	:	false belief
Shining India	:	reference is to an election slogan during the parliament elections
Reincarnate	:	reborn
Predator	:	exploiting others

Summary

The CSE (Centre for Science and Environment) has applied the idea of self analysis to environment education. Usually schools conduct songs and dances in the name of environment. But here it is entirely different. This was a contest in which the schools were asked to audit their use of water, energy and waste control. The main aim of this is to impel the children and their teachers to analyse their performance and improve it. The contest expected the children to maintain a record of electricity and water consumption and the daily production of waste to weigh it and to bring it down. Under CSE's Gobar Time Green Schools programme, they provided a manual for this to each school.

Out of the 1400 schools, 20 were short listed as Greenest Schools on the basis of scores. The writer of this essay too had the fortunate opportunity to visit the ceremony in which the results were declared. The biggest surprise for everyone was when a government school from Boormajara

Village of Ropar District in Punjab scored the first position. This school got the highest rank for recycling 55% of water it consumes. It had even out done so many English - Medium Public Schools of Delhi and other cities. The second position went to Scholai School of Kodaikkanal for using micro-hydro plant, solar cells and wind power.

In contrast to these schools there are certain wasteful schools growing in all parts of country. They have air-conditioned classrooms, costly furniture, lush lawns, lunch packets from expensive hotels, luxury buses and other symbols of extravagant style. They never deny the importance of environmental awareness but show a kind of indifference towards nature and social milieu.

Teaching in the above situation is a fractured activity. It moulds an individual to pursue a narrow goal. The pursuit of wealth for its own sake is now happening in India in intimation of the United States. India has now entered the global arms market as seller. Related to this advancement, is the issue of monetary gains and national pride. This is too attractive to allow us a rethinking. As a result of increasing our access to nuclear energy, we ignore environmental issues associated with that. When we move towards privatisation our rural population will have to face a catastrophic crisis on the water front.

The author fears that in future years our environment will be polluted by millions of plastic bottles disposed of as a result of substituting purifier bottled water in place of systematic availability of safe drinking water.

Notes & Explanations

(Few though they are..... colossal amount of paper)

Paras 4, 5 & 6

Schizophrenic	:	mental disease marked by a breakdown in thoughts and feelings
Potential	:	usable resources
Glueing	:	joining together
Dynamic	:	active
Reflective pedagogy	:	studying about ourselves in curriculum
Ingenuity	:	cleverness
Parameter	:	characteristic
Thwart	:	oppose
Suffice	:	satisfy
Colossal	:	huge

Summary

The idea of self audits in CSE's green schools give a chance for environmental related learning. It is also based upon value education and human relations with nature. Here the CSE's contest was won by a government school which proves that it is possible to find a creative space within the state system despite its bureaucratic routines. This is clearly evident from the author's words that he met certain teachers and children from government schools who could not do their best because of lack of support from the officials. The CSE has to devise a strategy to soften the rigid educational administration.

The main problem of the private schools is the fixation over marks. Institutions like the Krishnamurti Foundation, Digantar, Vikramasila, and Eklavya have set examples of reflective pedagogy from which we have to study a lot. Most of our teacher training institutions which are the caves of India's creativity have closed their hearts, minds and doors against all sources of inspiration. Ann Sayre's work 'The Best of Making Things; A handbook of Creative Discovery' has recently been translated to Hindi by Eklavya and it is really an eye-opener.

From colonial time onwards we are using text books as the main pillars of class rooms. This cuts off the possibility of any real linkages with the world around the school. Doing something that does not require the text book was the main concern of the CSE. In developed countries, teachers are trained to work with children with the help of a wide range of resources and activities. CSE's concern to reduce the number of text books is praise worthy since text book production on a mass scale will drain our forest resources. For an activity centred classroom, one text book should be used for a group of four or five. Along with this, our system of examination must also be altered in the direction of making it a part and parcel of life at school.

Read and Understand

Answer the following questions in two or three questions each.

1. What was the nature of the contest organised by CSE to identify Green Schools?

The contest organised by the CSE asked the schools to audit their use of water, energy, and waste control. It also impelled children and their teachers to analyse the school's own track record and to improve it. 1400 schools participated in this contest and 20 schools were short listed.

2. What are the unhealthy practices followed in schools which the author describes as 'wasteful'?

The schools which the author describes as wasteful are symbols of extravagant life style. They treat the physical infrastructure of the schools as signs of status. Costly furniture, lush lawns, lunch packets ordered from expensive hotels and luxury buses are used to give the schools exclusive character. In order to show that they are not denying the importance of environmental awareness, they organise bird-watching and nature walks.

3. The pursuit of wealth for its own sake has become a metaphor of national progress. How does this affect our environment?

As a part of increasing our access to nuclear energy we have collaborated with the US. So we are not bothered about the issues of nuclear energy. On the water front, we are hastening towards privatisation, neglecting our rural population. Millions of plastic bottles of drinking water disposed off everyday remains a terrible threat to our environment.

4. Why does the author suggest reduction in the number of prescribed text books as a part of educational reform?

Depending on text books discourages the possibility of any real linkage formed with the world around the school. Text book production on a mass scale by itself drains our forest resources. One text book should be enough for an activity centred class room for a group of four or five children, at least during the elementary school years.

Read and Infer

Answer these questions in about 100 words.

1. What do you understand by environment related learning. Discuss quoting examples

A child is closely related with its environment. This gives the CSE reason to give attention to the importance of environment education. Preservation of water, reduction in the use of energy, effective management and reduction in the production of waste are some examples of environment related learning activities. The CSE conducted a contest to find out the greenest school under the Gobar Times Green School Programmes. Each school was given a manual which explains how it can audit the consumption of natural resources like water, land, air and energy within its premises. When the results of the contest were declared, the first position was got by a government school for its excellent record of water recycling. It reused 55 percent of the water it consumed. The children collect spillage from taps and any water left unused in glasses to use it for gardening and washing. Here we can find that environment related learning is very different from text book based classroom learning.

2. Discuss the role of alternative schools in promoting education.

The CSE's green schools belong to the category of alternative schools. The idea of self-audit has the potential of making environment – related learning a way to glue backs together the fragmented school curriculum. It also encourages concern in human relations with nature and thus produce a dynamic kind of value education. In government and private schools, the main problem is the fixation over marks. Both government and private school like Krishnamurti Foundation, Digantar, Vikramsila and Eklavya have set examples of reflective pedagogy. Eklavya has recently published a Hindi translation of Ann Sayre Wiseman's Classic, 'The Best of Making Things: A Hand Book of Creative Discovery'. The main aim of the CSE is doing something that does not need the text book. This is a valid aim. For an activity centered classroom, one text book should be enough for a group of four or five children. Reducing the number of text books will surely reduce the impact on forest resources.

Think and Write

Answer the question in about 300 words.

Discuss the role of students in protecting our environment

The author Krishna Kumar, a well known educationist discusses the scope of and need for conserving our environment and the role of students in protecting our environment in his book 'A Pedagogue's Romantic Reflections on Schooling'. He suggests for this a school curriculum in favour of environment related system of education. The idea of Green School is a means of alternative education. This is entirely different from the present system of text book based education which imprisons the students within the walls of the class room. In this alternative means of education the students have a great role to play.

The CSE has applied its attention to the idea of self-analysis to environment education. The CSE asked the green schools, under its programme to audit their use of water, energy and waste control. The CSE conducted a contest to find out the greenest school under the Gobar Times Green School Programmes. Each school was given a manual which explains how it can audit the consumption of natural resources like water, land, air and energy within its premises. When the results of the contest were declared, the first position was got by a government school in Boormajara village of Ropar district in Punjab, for its excellent record of water recycling. It reuses 55 percent of the water it consumes. The children collect spillage from taps and any water left unused in glasses to use it for washing and gardening. The school which came second, Scholai School of Kodaikanal, has the distinction of fulfilling its electricity requirements with the help of a micro-hydro plant, solar cells and wind power.

The CSE's green schools belong to the category of alternative schools. The idea of self-audit has the potential of making environment – related learning a way to unite the fragmented school curriculum. It also encourages concern in human relations with nature and thus produces a dynamic kind of value education. In government and private schools the main problem is the fixation over marks. They have a lot to learn from institutions like the Krishnamurti Foundation, Digantar, Vikramsila and Eklavya which have set examples of reflective pedagogy Eklavya has recently published a Hindi translation of Ann Sayre Wiseman's Classic, 'The Best of Making Things : A Creative Discovery'. This has made a great effect on early education in many parts of the world. More importance is given to activities than the text book. For an activity-centred classroom, one text book should be enough for a group of four or five children. This will surely reduce the impact on forest resources.

Chapter 19
ECOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION
(Kiss of Life for Mother Earth.....)

Objectives

- (1) To understand the need for environment activism.

An article from the WEEK Magazine

This article was published in the Week Magazine. It tells the success story of a group of youngmen and the NGO Tarun Bharat Sangh (TBS) who were socially devoted in transforming the arid unproductive village in Rajasthan. Rajendra Singh and his team successfully experimental water shed management practices and prevented desertification of fertile Rajasthan land.

Notes & Explanations

(Rajendra Singh was 28..... some where there)

Para 1 & 2

Endearing : making dear
Quit : give up

Summary

Rajendra Singh, a 28 years old man was a Post Graduate in Hindi from Allahabad University. He was also a qualified Ayurvedic Physician from Rishikul Ayurvedic Mahavidyalaya, U.P. He was a government employee as project coordinator for youth education in Jaipur. As soon as he started speaking about going into real India to 'do something', he was called by his parents and in-laws as Nalayak which meant good for nothing. He quit his job and marked a line on a map of Rajasthan between Thanagazi and Ajabgarh, a 50 km stretch in the foot hills of the Aravallis. He wanted to do something there.

Notes and Explanations

(selling offmission)

Para 3, 4, & 5

Battered : handle roughly
Barked : spoke loudly
Lit a spark : motivated
Jayaprakash Narayan : (1902 – 1979) Socialist leader who led a movement against corruption in politics

Summary

When his wife went to her parents, Rajendra sold off all the household articles and started his journey with just a few utensils, a change of clothes and bedding. He boarded a bus at the Ghat Gate to its 'last stop'. Four of his companions Narendra, Satendra, Kedar and Drighpal were with him, all nalayaks to their families.

Rajendra called Ramesh, a worker of a Gandhi Peace Foundation. Ramesh had worked cleaning the village, resolving disputes and setting up a place for debates called vachanalay. It was this Ramesh who inspired Rajendra to join the Taruna Dal, a group of youngsters for Total Revolution. Before this he visited Jayaprakash Narayan. Later he became the youth coordinator of Tarun Bharat Sangh in Jaipur. This forum had been formed by a few intellectuals after the destructive fire on the Rajasthan University campus in 1975, 3 years after his joining this forum, he became the general secretary. He was traveling in his mission to the first destination.

Notes and Explanation

(The bus dropped learn from them)

Para 6, 7, 8 & 9

Admonished : give advice

Warily : doubtfully or cautiously

Summary

On the evening of October 2, 1985 they got down at the dry and barren Kishori village, 20km away from Thanagazi town. The date Oct 2nd was deliberately selected by them as this village was going to become the head quarters of the Sangh. At first the villagers mistook these bearded youngsters for terrorists from Punjab. Later an old man advised the villagers not to consider them as terrorists. Since such ones would never choose this village and carry beddings. As they were not able to gain the confidence of the villagers, they had to stay in a room at a Hanuman Temple. They spent a week here. Wherever they went, they had to face searching questions asked by resisting villagers.

Notes and Explanations

(Distrust began..... over the years)

Paras 10, 11, 12 & 13

Out of the blue : unexpectedly

Wizened : shrunken

Plunder : rob

Eroding : destroying

Loins : the part of the body on both sides of the spine between the lowest ribs and the hip bones

Summary

A teacher named Summer Singh from nearby Suratgarh found that a relative of his, Mal Singh was Rajendra's colleague at the youth education project. This made the teacher trust the strangers. He arranged a trader's vacant house, free of rent, but the trader threw them out very soon. Later they were accommodated in Seth Badri Prasad's two big havelis. The villagers began to place trust in them. Rajendra started his ayurvedic practice at Bhikampura. His friends, at this time motivated the villagers to send their daughters to school. He was confused at why the villagers have done nothing to improve their lot. The land remained arid and unproductive, the forests of the Aravallis were gone, and there was no ground water despite getting a good annual rainfall. The Aravallis which protected north eastern Rajasthan from the heat of the Thar Desert was once given off by a greedy prince. Thus the land became infertile due to the erosion of the top soil.

Notes and Explanations

(It was then..... Little over Rs.5,000)

Paras 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 & 19

Summary

Rajendra realized that a nearby village, Gopalpura was experiencing its fifth year of drought. The government neither repaired them nor helped Rajendra's team. But Rajendra organized the villagers into Shramdan. They removed the silt of a pond and deepened it. After monsoon the water level in the pond was the highest. The villagers with the help of an engineer friend of Rajendra, named Yogendra rebuilt a check dam. Finally they were able to irrigate 600 bighas of land. Within a decade hundreds of ponds and check dams were built along the course of the Arvari rivulet.

Near Arvari, once a desert like village, Hamirpur has now got the sparkling Jabbar Sagar rich with aquatic life in the middle of thick vegetation. This reservoir cost Rs.3.5 lakh and it benefits five big villages. Villagers forced the government to cancel fishing contracts in this reservoir.

Notes and Explanations

(If the Jabbar..... Jaisalmer)

Paras 20,.....23

Honking : sound like a horn

Percolation : drip

- Rippling : gentle lively sound like that of waves
Perennial : lasting several years

Summary

There is a people's wild life sanctuary, the Bhairudev Lok Vanjeev Abhayaranya. It has 12 sq.km. of dense trees planted and protected by the people of Bhavta.

The 90 km long Ruparel River was dried up and there were only two women left in a village high up on a ridge. Except these two women all others died or fled. The Tarun Bharat Sangh (TBS) volunteers helped the women in digging up a pond. Within two years this pond was rippling with water throughout the year. Finally, seeing this, villagers downstream also adopted the techniques. 350 ponds and check dams were built on the Ruparel basin. With the help and encouragement of European agencies, the TBS built 25000 ponds and check dams in 650 villages of 7 districts. When water came, men who had gone to towns began to return home and farm their barren lands. This reunited families.

Notes and Explanations

(Apart from providing..... rarely be sighted)

Paras 24, 25, 26, 27

- Whey : watery part of milk separated from the curd
Malnutrition : condition caused by lack of nutrients
Night blindness : A symptom of Vitamin A deficiency in which one suffers from blindness in dim light.

Summary

Women, who had to spend most of their time fetching water, now got time to take care of their children. Their life became more meaningful. The health of the villagers also improved a lot because they were eating well due to a good harvest. Cattle also improved their health and yielded more. Cases of malnutrition and night blindness became rare.

Notes and Explanations

(The transformation did not.....inner strength)

Paras 28, 29, 30, 31 & 32

- Meos : an important Muslim Rajput tribe
Replicate : to duplicate

Summary

All these above changes did not take place as easy as the TBS thought. Some of the villagers were not ready to accept everything. The TBS made it clear that it would not start work until every villager was willing to join contributing either money or labour. This principle worked well. The netagiri type of people left them and the genuine ones stayed with them. The TBS never took decisions Rajendra and his friends made themselves one with the villagers. The villagers considered the work as their own. They got involved in the work at all levels. They maintained the work very well. They found solutions for their problems and they were confident about themselves. Some villagers did the work without consulting the TBS. According to Rajendra such work will be enduring.

Notes and Explanations

(Rajendra had taken on Rajendra's life)

Paras 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 & 38

Affidavit : written document which is a legal proof

Summary

Rajendra had taken some time to reach out to the rural Rajasthani women. These shy women boldly came forward to dig ponds. It was because they would get food for their children and they came to work regularly.

Later mahila mandals were formed. They started a cooperative bank which lent money to the members at a small interest. This saved the women from the local money lenders. Rajendra's next work was in Sariska. It was a tough and dangerous land. The marble mines nearby were the most threatening ones. Sariska was then declared a national park. The mines have eaten up the grazing grounds and thus the villagers were denied of their livelihood, cattle rearing and farming. Men moved to cities leaving their families behind. The TBS moved the Supreme Court against mining and got order in its favour. But the Rajasthan government wanted to conduct mining. The mine owners attacked TBS volunteers. Three attempts were made on Rajendra's life.

Notes and Explanations

(One attempt was.....dotted with seedlings)

Paras 39, 40, 41, 42, 43

Fragile : easily broken

Water down : weakened

Scrapped : made invalid

Roughed up	:	treated roughly
Hold water	:	be right or correct
Ostracized	:	exclude from the society
Symbiosis	:	mutual beneficial relationship

Summary

The court made the union government declare the Aravallis a sensitive ecosystem. They banned mining there. But the mine owners weakened the court order and said that Alwar and Gurgaon and the Ridge area in Delhi were such places and not the Aravallis. So the very important clause banning mining became invalid.

The fight went on between the TBS and the villagers on one side and the mine owners and the Rajasthan government on the other side. Finally after three years, an all party legislative committee told the Supreme Court that it had nothing worth reporting.

Next they fought to get back their right, in the wild life sanctuary to farm their lands. As a part of this they forced the forest officials to seek transfer. Then came a new forest officer named Fateh Singh Rathore. He understood the relationship between the villagers and wildlife. He helped them in framing rules to protect the forest and wildlife there. They harvested water and the plants began to grow.

Notes and Explanations

(There was the buzz..... and transform)

Paras 44, 45, 46

Chronicler	:	one who records things in order
Defunct	:	not in existence
Conceded	:	admitted

Summary

The vibration of life was seen around. Animals roamed about. The cattle got enough food. The revival of the forests turned an illiterate man named Nanak Ram Gujar into a chronicler. He recorded his observations in a note book daily.

Finally the government recognized the work of TBS in Sariska as the work that had regenerated the forests. The irrigation department which had earlier declared the check dams to be illegal water harvesting structures now started collaborating in the work. It launched Rs.16 crores project called PAWDI – (People’s Action Watershed Development Initiative). The government has finally admitted that people’s cooperation alone will make the work long lasting and permanent. Thus, the man behind all these, Rajendra, is considered to be a man with a burning desire to act, motivate and change things.

Read and Understand

Answer the following questions in two or three sentences each.

1. What were Rajendra's initial difficulties after reaching Kishori to do 'Something' for the land?

The villagers thought Rajendra and his five friends to be terrorists from Punjab. No one was ready to give them shelter. So they had to spend the night at a Hanuman temple.

2. How did the land near Aravalli hills turn arid and infertile?

Once a greedy prince came to realize that India was going to attain independence. So he auctioned off blocks of forests. When the trees were cut off, rain waters ran down the hills and valleys. It caused soil erosion. Thus the land became arid and infertile.

3. What was the magic that Rajendra performed in the draught hit Gopalpura village?

Rajendra mobilized the villagers into volunteer service, to desilt and deepen a pond. After the monsoon, their hearts were filled with joy because the water level in the pond was the highest they could remember. Most of the wells also got water. They repaired a huge check dam and it irrigated 600 bighas of land.

4. In what ways did the water harvesting projects help the villagers?

The water harvesting projects provided irrigation. It gave work to the villagers. The project also reunited families. Men who have gone to towns seeking work came back to do work in their own villages. There was no need for the women to go miles for water. They were able to find time to take care of their children and send them to school.

Read and Infer

Answer the following questions in about 100 words each.

1. How did TBS transform Aravalli Villages in the Rajasthan?

The Aravalli rivulet was wet only in the monsoons. The government would not repair the old check dams which had dried up. Rajendra Singh organized the villagers into volunteer service. They were to desilt and deeper a pond. After the monsoon, the water level in the pond was the highest. Even the nearby wells were recharged. Then they repaired a check dam. At the end of 10,000 mandays they were able to irrigate 600 bighas of land. The next halt was Govindpura, and within a decade hundreds of ponds and check dams were built along the course of the Arvari. Hamirpur was once a desert – like village. It has now the Jabbar Sagar, rich with aquatic life, amid thick vegetation. The 2.5 km long reservoir looking like a virgin bird sanctuary forms part of Roormal Meena's 25 bighas. It benefits five big villages. The 90 km – long Ruparel river which had dried up, began to be filled up. By then villagers downstream had also adopted water harvesting techniques. Finally, 350 ponds and check dams were built on the river basin, turning the river perennial.

2. Write about the efforts of TBS to protest Aravalli's fragile ecosystem ?

Rajendra Singh was the general Secretary of a voluntary forum named Tarun Bharat Sangh (TBS). They removed the silt and deepened all the dry ponds. They built new check dams and repaired the old ones. By this they were able to irrigate much land. The villagers of Sariska were a happy lot farming and rearing cattle in the forest. But their livelihood was denied when Sariska was declared a national park in 1978. Most of them went to cities as migrant labour, leaving, and their family to work in the mines. Many women fell victim to glad-dyed miners from west Bengal and Bihar families broke. Here the TBS undertook a very important social work to reunite the families. The mines had taken over most of the grazing lands. The TBS moved the Supreme Court against mining and got an order in its favour next year. The court also ordered the Union government declare the Aravallis a fragile ecosystem and ban mining. But the mine owners got the notification weakened. So the TBS launched a three – month Satyagraha in 1993, blocking the roads to the mines and forcing their closure. The next battle of the TBS was to win back the right of villagers framed rules to protect the forests and started water harvesting works. Soon the bald forests were covered with seedlings. There was buzz and roar of life all round.

Think and Write

Answer this question in about 300 words.

Discuss the role of Rajendra and TBS in sustainable development.

This article published in the Week Magazine, tells the success story of group of socially committed young men and the NGO Tarun Bharat Sangh (TBS) in transforming many an arid and unproductive village in Rajasthan. Rajendra Singh, a post graduate and an Ayurvedic physician selected social work in the arid regions of Aravalli foot hills. He became the general secretary of TBS.

Rajendra started his ayurvedic practice at Bhikampura while his friends went around motivating people to send their daughters to school. He soon understood that the intelligent villagers did little to improve their lot, the land was arid the unproductive, the forests of Aravallis had gone and there was no ground water despite an annual rainfall of 600 mm. It was then that he realized the object of his mission, water. A nearby village called Gopalpura was experiencing its fifth year of drought. Able – bodied men had escaped to towns in Gujarat in search of work.

The Aravari rivulet was wet only in the monsoons. The government would not repair the old check dams which had dried up. Rajendra Singh organized the villagers into volunteer service. They were to desilt and deepen a pond. After the monsoon, the water level in the pond was the highest. Even the nearby wells were recharged. Then they repaired a check dam. At the end of 10,000 mandays they were able to irrigate 600 bighas of land. The next halt was Govindpura, and within a decade hundreds of ponds and check dams were built along the course of the Aravari. Hamirpur was once a desert – like village. It has now the Jabbar Sagar, rich with aquatic life, amid thick vegetation. The 2.5 km long reservoir looking like a virgin bird sanctuary forms part of Roormal Meena's 25 bighas. It benefits five big villagers. The 90 km long Ruparel river which had

dried up, began to be filled up with water for all year long when a pond was dug up. By then villagers downstream had also adopted water harvesting techniques. Finally, 350 ponds and check dams were built on the river basin, turning the river perennial.

Rajendra and his men understood that for a long lasting development there should be the involvement of the people in that area. For that the TBS had plans to make the villagers participate in the social work. But all villages did not accept this and so the transformation was not so easy for Rajendra and his team. That was why there was a delay of five years to build a small dam in Bhancola. The TBS waited for everyone in the village to contribute labour or money.

According to Rajendra this principle helped them. The netagiri type of people left them and the genuine ones were left with them. They trained them to take decisions instead of deciding things for them. Maintenance of the projects and finding solutions to the problems were done by the people. This built confidence in them. They began to consider the projects not as TBS projects but as their own.

The TBS undertook social work also. The villagers of Sariska were denied of their livelihood when the village was declared a National Park in 1978. Most of them went to cities migrant labourers. They left behind their family to work in the mines. Many women fell victim to gland – eyed miners from West Bengal and Bihar. In 1990 the TBS moved the Supreme Court against mining in Sariska and got an order in its favour next year. As per court order, the Union government had to declare the Aravallis a fragile ecosystem and ban mining. But the mine owners got the notification weakened. The TBS launched a three-month Satyagraha in January 1993, blocking the roads to the mines and forcing their closure.

The next attempt of TBS was to win back the right of villagers in the wildlife sanctuary to farm their lands. The villagers framed rules to protect the forests and started water harvesting works. Soon the bold forests were dotted with seedlings. There was buzz and roar of life all round. Wild animals reappeared, cattle got enough food and the Jahajwali Nadi became perennial and fish flourished in it. Thanks to the untiring and dedicated work of Rajendra and his team. Their story of courage and selfless devotion will be an encouragement to all.