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Indo-Nepal Relations: Socio-Cultural Dimension

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Introduction:

India and Nepal are among the few neighbouring countries of the world that are indissolubly interlinked historically, culturally and socially. Geographically and economically, the valley of Nepal is inseparable from the Indo-Gangetic plain (Somnath and Ashadhar, 1985, p. 137). In no two countries one can find so much similarity between the peoples and the traditional interactions between them as in India and Nepal. Despite the vast differences of size, resources and capabilities, the two countries have many things to share and benefit each other. The Geographical proximity and long open boarder of these two countries had resulted in great common socio-cultural heritage that provided the base-stone for the strong historical relationship. The dominant faith of the majority of people in the two countries is Hinduism (Ibid, p. 37). The social structure of both of the countries characterised by the hierarchical caste system (Gaige, 1975, p.17). People migrated from Bihar and U.P to the Tarai region of Nepal had formed an ethnic category in society of Nepal. Nepal is also a buffer state which has greater significance to the strategic point of view of India. After independence with different treaties India and Nepal tried hard to provide strength to their socio-cultural, economic, political and strategic partnership. Despite this, the Indo-Nepalese relations had undergone significant changes. Several complexities had emerged in historically strong relationship. In this era of globalization the various forces are affecting the historical tie between the two countries. The theme of this paper is socio-cultural heritage as a dominant factor in shaping and influencing India-Nepal relations. An attempt will be made in this paper to examine the factors of socio-cultural bondage in terms of historical account of religion, language, caste system, marriage, festivals and suggest from Indian perspective measures for revamping and revitalizing bilateral friendship in this new millennium.

Methodology

This proposed paper will be based on information and data from secondary sources. The secondary sources includes the books, manuscripts, magazines, journals, newspapers, published and unpublished government reports and documents, personal letters and writings, institutional reports, etc. The method of analysis will be historical and comparative. The nature of this paper will be qualitative.

Historical Anatomy of Indo-Nepalese Relations

The historical ties between the two countries date back to 3,000 years when the first Aryan tribesmen entered into the Tarai region of Nepal from then confluence of Ganges and Jamuna about 900 to 800 B.C. (Ibid, P. 155). After this many important kingdoms, such as Videha, Kapilavastu, Simraun Garh, etc. were established in the frontier areas of Indo-Nepal border and had great socio-cultural, economic and political relationships with Anga, Magadh, Vajjisangha, Kashi and Kosal kingdoms of Gangetic plains. Buddha was born in Lumbani which was situated in Kapilvastu of Tarai region. The maurya emperor Ashoka the great had spread their empire to the extent of valley of Nepal and collected the revenue from the various

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The Concept of Power in Sociology: A Theoretical Assessment

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Abstract

The concept of power is very important to understand human behaviour in society whether it is primitive or modern. Power manifests itself in the form of power relations. Since society is complex and dynamic power relations are also very complex. In sociology, there exists an agency-structure dualism. Thus, the concept of power in sociology also has this duality. In this regard, this paper deeply reviews the main theoretical perspectives of the power concept within both the macro and micro realms of study. The focus is generally on sociological examinations and includes: (1) from the macro theoretical perspective, Marxian theory, Functionalism, Weberian, Elitist approaches and (2) from the micro perspective, it deals with behaviouralist approach. Based on the review of the various macro and micro perspectives, several problems in theorizing about the nature of power are widely discussed throughout the paper.

Keywords: Power, Constant-Sum, Variable-Sum, Class Relations, Dispersive Power.

Introduction

Power is an integral part of the functioning of every human organisation. Human organizations are mostly dynamic in nature and power accounts much for what dynamism as human groups strive to take each other's power into account in their actions. According to Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary, 'Power' means possession of control, authority, or influence over others. It is used as a synonym of force, energy, strength, might and also authority, jurisdiction, control, command, sway and domination, etc. The English word 'power is derived from the Latin 'posse' which in turn is derived from 'potis'. According to webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary, the French expression 'Pouvoir' is equivalent of power, and is derived from an old infinitive 'podir', which means 'to be able'. The Hindi equivalent of the term 'Power' is 'Shakti', a derivation of Sanskrit 'Shakta' which means 'ability to do something. Thus, it appears that the word meaning of 'Shakti' (in Hindi or Sanskrit) is no different from the meaning of power (in English).

The term 'power' is used in two broad perspectives. First, it is used purely in a scientific and mechanical/ technical context, and second, it is used in terms of the relationship among human beings. In the first sense, 'power' stands for all forms of utilization of natural energy the phenomena of power of nature can be observed in the forms of light, heat, electricity, magnetism, motion, etc. In the second sense, 'Power' in human society, or 'Social-power' is transformed into order, force, authority, command, etc. It may be expressed in terms of 'organized social power', engendered and maintained by joint human activity and guided by a more a less explicitly agreed-upon set of rules to me into action by special organs deciding

upon and determining their rules.

Here, we are concerned only with the power which is exercised in the context of human relations. Power is never the property of an individual or group. An individual or group do not

hold power in isolation, they hold it in relation to others.

What is the nature and distribution of power: is it concentrated in the hands of a small minority or widely distributed throughout the society? How power is used: is it used to further the interests of the power holders or for the benefit of society as a whole? These are some questions about the nature, distribution, and role of power in society which led to the emergence of different perspectives about power relations.

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*असिस्टेन्ट प्रोफेसर, समाजशास्त्र विभाग, वसन्त कन्या महाविद्यालय, कमच्छा, वाराणसी, उ०प्र०

किसी भी समाज की सम्पूर्ण सामाजिक संरचना के निर्माण एवं पुनर्निमाण में सामाजिक, आर्थिक एवं राजनीतिक आंदोलनों का महत्वपर्ण स्थान होता है। समाजवादी आंदोलन विश्व में होने वाले ऐसे आंदोलनों में एक महत्वपर्ण आंदोलन है जिसने विश्व के अनेक समाजों में उग्र परिवर्तन को जागृत किया है। तीसरी दुनिया के देशों में व्याप्त गरीबी, असमानता, निरक्षरता, शोषण, बेकारी, बीमारी आदि की समस्याओं से ग्रस्त जनता में समाजवादी आंदोलन ने आशा एवं आकांक्षा की नवीन किरण को प्रकट किया है। समाजवादी चिंतन समस्त मानव मात्र को मुक्ति प्रदान करने वाली चिंतन है। भारत ही नहीं दुनिया के अनेक समाजों में समाजवादी चिंतन का विकास एवं विस्तार हुआ है तथा एक आंदोलन के रूप में यह आज भी समस्याओं, हिंसा एवं आतंक से ग्रस्त मानवता को मुक्त करने के संकल्प के साथ सतत् रूप में जारी है।

समाजवादी आंदोलन की बौद्धिक पृष्ठभूमि : समाजवादी चिंतन की उत्पत्ति प्राचीन ग्रीस से जुड़ी है। सर्वप्रथम अरस्तू एवं प्लेटों ने नागरिकों को अनेक वर्गों में विभाजित किया था, परन्तु सभी के जीवन की मूलभूत आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति को समग्र रूप से महत्वपूर्ण माना था।(Cole, 1955)

मध्यकालीन यूरोपीय समाज जिसका विकास चर्च के प्रभाव में हुआ था, के आरंभिक चिंतन में समाजवादी चिंतन के दर्शन होते हैं। ईसा मसीह के चिंतन में गरीबी एवं सादगीपन पर विशेष जोर दिया गया है। इसमें कहा गया है कि ईश्वर के साम्राज्य में एक धनी व्यक्ति का पहुँचना ज्यादा कठिन है, बनिस्पत एक ऊँट का सूर्य के छिद्र से गुजरना। परंतु इन विचारों के होने के बावजूद बाद में चर्च ने व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति को मान्यता प्रदान कर दिया।

18वीं शताब्दी फ्रांस में पुनर्जागरण एवं फ्रांसीसी क्रांति ने समाजवादी चिंतन को बढ़ावा दिया। स्वतंत्रता, समानता एवं बंधुत्व की विचारधारा का प्रचार—प्रसार किया गया। रूसों, वाल्टेयर आदि ने अपने चिंतन में निजी संपत्ति पर कड़ा प्रहार किया। इसी समय इंग्लैण्ड में शुरू हुए औद्योगिक क्रान्ति ने गरीबों एवं मजदूरों की समस्या एवं शोषण को उजागर कर दिया। मजदूरों के शोषण एवं आम लोगों की नारकीय जीवन ने इंग्लैण्ड में समाजवादी चिंतन को उग्रता प्रदान किया। फ्रांस में सेन्ट साइमन ने तथा इंग्लैण्ड में कार्ल मार्क्स ने मजदूरों एवं गरीबों की एक नवीन वैचारिकी को प्रस्तावित किया। सेन्ट साइमन ने अपने विविध पत्रों एवं लेखन के माध्यम से फ्रांसीसी समाज के पुनर्निमाण की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की, जिसमें समाजवादी आंदोलन के बीज छिपे थे।

मार्क्स ने भी सर्वहारी की मुक्ति के लिए निजी सम्पत्ति के उन्मूलन पर जोर दिया। मार्क्स ने अपनी पुस्तक 'कम्यूनिस्ट मेनिफेस्टों' में द्वन्द्वात्मक भौतिकवाद एवं ऐतिहासिक भौतिकवाद

के माध्यम से सामाजिक संरचना का विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत किया तथा स्पष्ट किया कि एक समतामूलक, न्याययुक्त एवं स्वतंत्र समाज का निर्माण सर्वहारा की क्रांति के माध्यम से ही संभव है। उसने दुनिया के मजदूरों एवं गरीबों का आह्वाहन किया कि आप संगठित हो तथा अपने हितों को पहचाने।

मार्क्स के वैचारिकी को लेनिन एवं स्टालिन ने कुछ परिवर्तनों के साथ रूस में बढ़ावा दिया। लेनिन एक मध्यम—मार्गीय समाजवादी चिंतक था जिसने रूसी सामाजिक—आर्थिक परिस्थितियों में मार्क्सवादी समाजवादी चिंतन को मूर्त रूप प्रदान किया।

रूसी प्रयोग के आधार पर सनयात् सेन ने चीन में समाजवादी आंदोलन को आगे बढ़ाया। जल्द ही माओत्से—तुंग ने चीन की विशिष्ट परिसिथतयों में कार्क्सवादी वैचारिकी को रूपांतरित कर एक 'सांस्कृतिक क्रांति' का आगाज किया ताकि कृषक जनता को समानता, स्वतंत्रता एवं न्याय के लिए जागरूक एवं संगठित किया जा सके।

भारत में समाजवादी चिंतन 19—20वीं शताब्दी की घटना है। यद्यपि केशवचन्द्र सेन एवं दादाभाई नैरोजी कार्ल मार्क्स के समकालीन थे तथापि इन लोगों की उन्मुख्ता राजनीतिक आंदोलन तक ही सीमित रहा। गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले एवं तिलक लेनिन के समकालीन थे, परंतु इन पर भी समाजवादी चिंतन का स्पष्ट प्रभाव परिलक्षित नहीं होते। यद्यपि ऋग्वेद एवं बौद्धिक साहित्यों में समाजवादी चिंतन के पुट दिखाई पड़ते है तथापि सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक पुनर्निमाण के दर्शन के रूप में समाजवादी चिंतन का भारत में विकास पिश्चम के प्रभावों से 20वीं शताब्दी में ही हुआ है।

स्माजवादी चिंतन के प्रथम दर्शन महर्षि अरविन्द के दर्शन में होता है। उन्होंने 'इन्द्र प्रकाश' में प्रकाशित अपने निबंधों में भारतीय राष्ट्रीय कांग्रेस के मध्यवर्गीय उन्मुखता की कड़ी आलोचना की तथा सर्वहारा के सर्वांगीण विकास पर विशेष जोरे देने की सलाह दी। वे आधुनिक पूजीवाद के कटु आलोकचक थे। उनका स्पष्ट मानना था कि व्यवस्थित एवं संगठित सामाजिक जीवन के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि सबके लिए अवसर की समानता तथा मूलभूत आवश्ययकताओं की पूर्ति को सुनिश्चित किया जाये।

लाला लाजपत राय ने अपनी पुस्तक 'आर्य समाज' में दार्शनिक विचार प्रतिपादित किये उसमें समाजवादी चिंतन के छाप स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई पड़ते हैं। उनका मानना था कि कोई भी व्यक्ति भूखा नहीं सोना चाहिए। सभी को भोजन, पानी, शिक्षा, चिकित्सा एवं व्यक्तित्व के सर्वांगीण विकास का समुचित अवसर प्राप्त होना चाहिए। सभी को समान राजनीतिक प्रस्थिति प्रदान किया जाना चाहिए।

एम0 एन0 राय भारत में समाजवादी चिंतन के एक प्रमुख प्रवर्तक थे। उन्होंने मार्क्सवादी वैचारिकी को पुनर्निर्मित किया तथा 'नव—मानववादी' चिंतन की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की। वें मानव मात्र की मुक्ति के लिए मानवीय रूचि, प्रखरता, विशिष्टता का समानता, न्याय एवं स्वतंत्रता के आलोक में विकसित करने के पक्षधर थे। इसी तरह गांधीजी के चिंतन में भी समाजवादी दर्शन के चिन्ह दिखाई पड़ते है। यद्यपि गांधीजी व्यक्तिगत सम्पत्ति के उन्मूलन के पक्षधर नहीं थे, परन्तु ट्रस्टीशिप के माध्यम से वे समाजवादी मूल्यों को बढ़ावा देना चाहते थे। वे निर्भर ग्राम स्वराज्य एवं कुटीर उद्योगों के माध्यम से आप लोगों का सर्वांगीण विकास करना चाहते थे। फलतः उन्होनें सर्वोदय को अपने विचारों का केन्द्र बिन्दु बनाया। बाद में सी०आर० दास, जवाहरलाल नेहरू, जयप्रकाश नारायण, राममनोहर लोहिया, मीनू मसानी आदि ने भी समाजवादी चिंतन को भारत में आगे बढ़ाया।

भारत में समाजवादी आंदोलन : भारत में समाजवादी आंदोलन की शुरूआत रूस की क्रांति के समय से माना जा सकता है। द्वितीय अंतर्राष्ट्रीय कम्युनिस्ट सम्मेलन के बाद 17 अक्टूबर, 1920 को भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी का गठन ताशकन्द में किया गया। इसके संस्थापक सदस्यों में एम0एन0 राय, अहमद हसन, शफीक सिददीकी आदि प्रमुख थे। एम० एन० राय के प्रयासों से भारत के अंदर भी भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी के कई संगठनों का जन्म हुआ। युगांतर एवं अनुशीलन समूहों के सहयोग से विभिन्न प्रांतों में विभिन्न नेताओं के नेतृत्व में भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को संगठनात्मक आधार पर स्थापित किया गया। मुजफ्फर अहमद, एम0ए0डांगे, सिंगरावेलू चेट्टियार, शौकत उस्मानी तथा गुलाम ह्सैन आदि ने क्रमशः बंगाल, बाम्बे, मद्रास, संयुक्त प्रांत तथा पंजाब में भारतीय कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी को नेतृत्व प्रदान किया तथा समाजवादी आंदोलन को आगे बढ़ाया। सिंगरावेलू चेटिटयार के प्रयासों से भारतीय मजदूर पार्टी के तत्वाधान में प्रथम बार भारत में 1 मई 1923 को 'मई दिवस' का आयोजन किया गया।

सन् 1927 में पंडित जवाहर लाल नेहरू ने सोवियत रूस की यात्रा की तथा वहां साम्यवादी मॉडल से प्रभावित होकर भारत में कांग्रेस पार्टी के अंदर ही समाजवादी आंदोलन को शुरू करने का प्रयास किया। आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव एवं सम्पूर्णानन्द ने भी पार्टी के अंदर ही समाजवादी कार्यक्रमों की रूपरेखा प्रस्तुत की। इसी समय जयप्रकाश नारायण भी अमेरिका से मार्क्सवादी चिंतन के साथ भारत में प्रवेश किया तथा कांग्रेस पार्टी से सदस्य बन गए।

उन्होंने कांग्रेस पार्टी के अंदर ही एक समाजवादी फोरम की स्थापना की। लगभग इसी समय 1932 में डॉ० राम मनोहर लोहिया भी जर्मनी से अपनी पढ़ाई पूरी कर समाजवादी चिंतन के साथ भारत पधारे। सिवनय अवज्ञा आंदोलन के दौरान नासिक जेल में जयप्रकाश नारायण, अशोक मेहता, अच्युत पटवर्धन, मीनू मसानी, नारायण स्वामी, एम०एच० दांतावाला, एन०जी० गोरे तथा एस०एम० जोशी की मुलाकात हुई तथा इन नेताओं ने कांग्रेस पार्टी के अंदर ही "कांग्रेस समाजवादी पार्टी" के गठन का निश्चय किया। इन सबके प्रयासों से 17 मई 1934 को पटना में कांग्रेस सोशिलस्ट पार्टी का गठन किया गया। इसके स्थापना अधिवेशन की अध्यक्षता आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव ने किया। जबिक इसका प्रथम अधिवेशन अक्टूबर 1934 में डॉ० सम्पूर्णानन्द की अध्यक्षता में बॉम्बे में हुआ जिसमें लगभग 150 से अधिक सदस्यों ने भाग लिया। जयप्रकाश नारायण को सचिव तथा मीनू मसानी, मोहनलाल गौतम, एन०जी० गोरे तथा नम्बूदरीवाद को संयुक्त सचिव मनोनित किया गया।

1930 के दशक के शुरूआत में कम्यूनिस्ट पार्टी ने कांग्रेस एवं गांधीजी का विरोध किया तथा कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी के सामाजिक फासीवाद की संज्ञा दी १९ परन्तु जर्मनी में नाजीवाद की सफलता तथा रूस में स्टालिन की विफलता के बाद भारत में कम्यूनिस्टों ने सोशलिस्ट पार्टी से जुड़ना शुरू किया। गैर—कम्युनिस्ट समाजवादियों ने कम्यूनिस्टों का विरोध किया परंतु आचार्य नरेन्द्रदेव एवं जयप्रकाश नारायण के समर्थन से कम्यूनिस्टों को शामिल कर लिया गया तथा जयप्रकाश नारायण के प्रयासों से कुछ दक्षिणी राज्यों जैसे केरल, आंध्र प्रदेश, तमिलनाडु आदि में सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का कमान कम्यूनिस्टों को सौंप दिया गया। परंतु बाद में जयप्रकाश ने स्वयं कहा कि यह फैसला एक बड़ी भूल थी, क्योंकि द्वितीय विश्वयुद्ध का कम्युनिस्टों ने समर्थन किया तथा साथ—ही—साथ कांग्रेस सोशलिस्ट पार्टी को कमज़ोर भी किया।

मार्च 1948 में नासिक में सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का छठवें अधिवेशन की अध्यक्षता पुरूषोत्तमदास ने किया तथा सचिव के पद पर जयप्रकाश नारायण चुने गये। राष्ट्रीय कार्यकारिणी में कमलादेवी चट्टोपाध्याय, अरूणा आसिफ अली, गंगाशरण सिंह, मध् लिमये आदि को शामिल किया गया। 1950 में मद्रास कांग्रेस में आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव को अध्यक्षता सौंपी गई तथा अशोक मेहता को सचिव बनाया गया। 1952 के आम चुनाव में सोशलिस्ट पार्टी ने भाग लिया परंतु इसका प्रदर्शन खराब रहा। फलतः आचार्य नरेन्द्र देव के विरोध के बावजूद जयप्रकाश नारायण, राममनोहर लोहिया तथा अशोक मेहता के प्रयासों से सोशलिस्ट पार्टी का गठबंधन आचार्य जे0बी० कृपलानी के 'किसान मजदूर प्रजा पार्टी' से हो गया। इसके साथ ही सितम्बर 1952 में 'प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' का जन्म हुआ। इसी बीच जे0पी0-नेहरू सहयोग संवाद तथा उसमें उत्पन्न भ्रम के कारण अशोक मेहता ने सचिव पद से इस्तीफा दे दिया। परंतु 1953 के बेतुल अधिवेशन के समय एक बार फिर पादी एकजूट हो गया तथा डाँ० लोहिया को सचिव एवं आचार्य कृपलानी को अध्यक्ष चुना गया। सचिव के रूप में मनोनयन के बाद लोहिया ने आम लोगों, खासकर पिछडों एवं दलितों के उत्थान के लिए प्रयास शुरू कर दिया। परंत् 1954 में केरल में पुलिस फायरिंग के विरोध में लोहिया ने 'प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' छोडकर 1955 में अपनी एक नवीन पार्टी 'सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' का गढन किया।

1956 से 1964 तक समाजवादी आंदोलन दो धाराओं में बँटा रहा। परंतु 1957 तथा 1962 के आम चुनावों की विफलता ने एक बार फिर समाजवादी गुटों को आपस में मिलने पर बाध्य किया। 1964 में एक नवीन पार्टी 'संयुक्त समाजवादी पार्टी' का गठन हुआ। परंतु एक बार फिर 1965 में 'प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' अलग हो गयी। फिर भी 'संयुक्त समाजवादी पार्टी' मुख्य शक्ति के रूप में समाजवादी आंदोलन को आगे बढ़ाती रही।

1965 के वाराणसी सम्मेलन में एस0 एम0 जोशी को अध्यक्ष तथा रासेवक यादव को सचिव चुना गया। इसी समय सालग्राम जायसवाल, कर्पूरी ठाकुर, विश्राम राय महत्वपूर्ण नेता के रूप में उभरे। संयुक्त समाजवादी पार्टी ने पूरे देश में पिछड़ो, दिलतों, महिलाओं तथा अल्पसंख्यकों के सशक्तिकरण एवं विकास के लिए देशव्यापी आंदोलन चलाया तथा इसे जन—आन्दोलन के रूप में परिणत कर दिया। हजारों कार्यकर्ताओं के साथ डाॅं० लोहिया, एस0एम0 जोशी, मधु लिमये, राजनारायण, रामसेवक

यादव, जार्ज फर्नांडीस तथा कर्पूरी ठाकुर आदि नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर जेल में बंद कर दिया गया। जेल से रिहा होने के बाद लोहिया जी ने सभी विपक्षी पार्टियों को एकजुट करना शुरू किया तथा 1962 के आम चुनाव में नौ राज्यों में संयुक्त विधायक दल की सरकार बनी तथा इसी के साथ विपक्षी पार्टियों के गठबंध ान के युग की शुरूआत हुई। 10

1971 में एक बार फिर 'संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' तथा 'प्रजा सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' का आपस में विलय हो गया तथा 'सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' का गठन किया गया। कर्पूरी ठाकुर को अध्यक्ष तथा मधु दण्डते को सचिव चुना गया। परंतु 1972 में राजनारायण ने अलग होकर 'संयुक्त सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' का गठन किया। बीo पीo मंडल को अध्यक्ष तथा मनीलाल बागरी को सचिव चुना गया। 1973 में जार्ज फर्नांडीस को 'सोशलिस्ट पार्टी' का अध्यक्ष तथा सूरेन्द मोहन को सचिव चुना गया। इसके बाद जयप्रकाश नारायण के नेतृत्व में विद्यार्थी आंदोलन को शुरू किया गया जो जे0 पी0 आंदोलन के नाम से जाना जाता है। जे0पी0 के प्रसिद्ध दिल्ली मार्च तथा इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट के द्वारा इंदिरा गांधी के चुनाव को रद्द किये जाने के फैसले के कारण इंदिरा गांधी तथा कांग्रेस सरकार कमजोर हो गई। फलतः 25 जून 1975 को भारत में आपातकाल लागू कर दिया गया। सभी प्रमुख नेताओं को गिरफ्तार कर देश के विभिन्न जेलों में बंद कर दिया गया। इसी समय विभिन्न विपक्षी दलों के विलय से एक नवीन पार्टी 'जनता पार्टी' का गठन किया गया। मोरारजी देसाई को अध्यक्ष तथा चरणसिंह को उपाध्यक्ष चुना गया। लालकृष्ण आडवाणी, सुरेन्द मोहन, सिकन्दर बख्त तथा रामधान को सचिव नियुक्त किया गया। छठीं लोकसभा में जनता पार्टी को भारी बह्मत मिला तथा मोरारजी देसाई को प्रधानमंत्री चुना गया। परंतु तीन वर्षों के अंदर ही समाजवादी आंदोलन एक बार फिर बिखर गया। 1980 के आम चुनाव के बाद विभिन्न प्रादेशिक समाजवादी पार्टियों का जन्म हुआ जिसमें समाजवादी पार्टी, जनता दल, राष्ट्रीय जनता दल, जनता दल (यूनाईटेड), जनता दल सेक्यूलर, बीजू जनता दल, आदि प्रमुख है। यद्यपि विभिन्न क्षेत्रीय दलों में विखण्डन के कारण समाजवादी आंदोलन कमजोर हुआ है। फिर भी समाजवादी चिंतको के प्रयासो के कारण कांग्रेस सरकार हमेशा समाजवादी नीतियों को लागू करने के लिए बाध्य रही है।"

निष्कर्ष : भारत जैसे लोकतांत्रिक कल्याणकारी राज्य में जहाँ अधिकांश नागरिक गरीबी रेखा के नीचे जीवनयापन को मजबूर है, समाजवादी आंदोलन आज भी प्रासंगिक है। समाजवादी

आंदोलन ने जो जन–चेतना उत्पन्न की उसके परिणाम स्वरूप देश में, खासकर हिन्दी बेल्ट में, क्षेत्रीय पाटियों का उदय हुआ जिन्होंने गरीबो–पिछड़ो की आवाज बुलंद की। पिछड़े वर्गों के लिए आरक्षण का प्रावधान किया गया। उनकी जनभागीदारी राजनीतिक गतिविधियों में बढ़ा। परंतु 1990 के बाद समाजवादी आंदोलन भ्रष्टाचार के कारण कलंकित एवं कमजोर हुआ है। राजनीतिक महत्वाकांक्षा, परिवारवाद, जाति आधारित एवं तृष्टीकरण की राजनीति ने समाजवादी आंदोलन की धार कुंद कर दी है। इन सबके बावजूद समाजवादी आंदोलन आज भी जिंदा है तथा भारत की सभी मुख्य दल प्रत्यक्ष या परोक्ष रूप में जनकल्याण एवं समतामूलक समाज के प्रति कटिबद्ध हैं। आज 21वीं शताब्दी के दौर में जब पूरा देश भूमंडलीकरण, निजीकरण तथा उदारीकरण की चपेट में है; गरीबों, पिछड़ो, दलितों, किसानों एवं मजदूरों की स्थिति और खराब हो रही है। महंगाई, भ्रष्टाचार, बेरोजगारी, राजनीति का अपराधीकरण, किसानों की आत्महत्या, महिलाओं के विरूद्ध बढती हिंसा आदि अनेक समस्याएं समाज की शांति को भंग करती जा रही है। ऐसे में आवश्यकता है कि सभी समाजवादी चिंतन वाले लोग एक साथ आये तथा समाजवादी आंदोलन को मजबूत कर देश को इन समस्याओं से मुक्त करें।

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Caste in Indian Politics: A Sociological Overview

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Abstract

The caste system is asignificant feature of India's social and political structure. It is connected with the social and economic status of the members the society. It offers a specific ethnic identity to its members. Indian society is anordered society. Caste is the base of the Indian social stratum. Caste plays asignificant role in Indian democracy. Every activity in the Indian political system is directly or indirectly regulated by caste. Leaders of some political parties use it for their egotistic interests, further aggravating the prejudiced attitude of the general community. Caste plays a distinct role in political thinking and individual involvement. After independence, our constitution came into existence. Our constitution provided equal fundamental rights to every citizen of the society. This in some way, deteriorated the caste system. But, democratic politics, adult franchise, and reservation policy provided air to the caste system and now it is the most powerful feature of party politics in Indian society. Against this backdrop, this paper aimsto analyze the present status of politics in India while relatingto caste.

Keywords: Caste, Democratic Politics, Ethnic Identity, Political Socialization, Pressure Group

Introduction:

The word 'caste' denotes the social status group whose membership is primarily determined by birth (Shekhon, 2000)." The caste system is inherited, an endogamous group that is mostly restricted to the local area. It has a long history of being associated with a profession and a specific place in the local caste system" (Srinivas, 1962). At the local level castes are divided into smaller groupings of sub-castes which are called 'Jati'. Every 'Jati'is an occupational group. The similarity of work gives them similar social identities. They are further classified according to wealth, power, and privilege(Shekhon, 2000). "It became a closed system of social stratification which levels impurity and subservient position to the low casteswhileproviding privileges and purity to upper castes. The most trustworthy text of Hinduism, Manusmriti, established extreme inequity as the law of social engagement and justifies social exclusion" (Devis, 1911).

After independence constitution of India abolished all types of inequality based on easte, After independent After independent and dispensed equal fundamental rights to every inhabitant of the country. creed, or nationally and caste sentiments are dominant in modern Indian society. The caste gul, even today caste and caste sentiments are dominant in modern Indian society. The caste gut, even today caste gut, even today caste dominant in modern Indian society. The caste system is sustained for a variety of reasons by various groups of inhabitants. The upper strata system is sustained a system is sustained as the of castes want to keep of castes adopt a dual approach to cope with this situation. preserve their suprementation and political rewards on the one hand and in they also participate in different activities to aliminate They use their east and pointed rewards on the one hand and in another hand, they also participate in different activities to eliminate upper castes' socioanother hand, they are another hand, they are activities to eliminate upper castes' socio-economic hegemony in society. "Parliamentary democracy and adult franchise system of economic negeritors are strong converted castes groups into a vote bank. The majority of political parties use caste to voting converted case. The majority of political parties use easte to further their own goals. To win the most votes, political parties adopt caste-based slogans. The further their own goals are exacerbated by such caste-based politics. Some further their own generated by such caste-based politics. Some political leaders seek to separate caste-based politics becomes their caste system is exact pointes. Some political leaders seek to separate society's citizens, and caste-based politics becomes their primary goal" (Beteille, 1966). It breatens society's equilibrium and leads to bloodshed. Many times, political parties pick threatens social demography of the region. Caste alliances become the most reliable means for Political parties to win elections in a somewhat different become the individuals by making contentious caste-based way. These political parties normally divide individuals by making contentious caste-based way. These political parties try to attract public votes (Shukia,2008). "The politicization of caste takes caste and politics nearer together, changing their form in the pointered.

process. Politics finds material for articulation when it takes in the caste system into the web of structure, and caste has a chance to create its identity and position when it makes politics its arena of activity" (Kothari, 1970). The affiliation between caste and politics is largely one of the aims of coordinating public activities. RajniKothariopinesthat "electoral politics in Post-Independent Indialed to the involvement of primitive social structure and its leadership in action either directly or indirectly. The caste system influenced the structural and intellectual foundations of political mobilization" (Kothari, 1970).

MN Srinivas used the term 'dominant caste' which is very important to know the link between caste and democratic politics in India." A dominant caste is statistically leading and wields political power as a result of its numerical dominance. During elections, politicians find caste to be a valuable and appropriate tool" (Srinivas, 1966). Politics in Indian states havenow and then been supposed as a fight for political supremacy among main caste groupings. National politics are also considered to be fractionalized by caste. "Political leaders who had previously been barred from entering the sphere are now allowed to do so. As a result of the rise of adult franchise and the Panchayati Raj System, intermediate castes aim to be dominant in all spheres" (Hasan, 2002).

Article 15 of the Indian Constitution prohibits any form of discrimination against Indians based on religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. However, Article 15 (4) was amended to indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the state from creating specific provisions for indicate that nothing in this article prevents the stat

1. To investigate the role of caste in Indian politics. Objectives of the Study:

- 1. To investigate the role of caste in a caste-politics relationship.

 2. Identifying measures to combat the immoral caste-politics relationship.
- 3. Tomake useful suggestions.

Methodology:

thodology:
This paperisbasedonsecondarydata sources which include government documents of different commissions, books, journals, articles not be a superisbased reports of different commissions. This paperisbasedonsecondarydata source census reports, published reports of different commissions, books, journals, articles, newspaperisbasedonsecondarydata source census reports, published reports of different commissions, books, journals, articles, newspaperisbasedonsecondarydata source commissions, articles, newspaperisbasedonsecondarydata source commis and websites.

Role of Caste in Indian Politics

Impact of Caste on Political Socialization:

Every caste has its specific orientation regarding the selection of pollical parties and Every caste has its specific offentation of a caste by birthand come under support their ideologies. Peopleacquiremembership of a caste by birthand come under support their ideologies. support their ideologies. Peopleacquirons as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism and casteism and casteism as he/she develops his/her political oriental influence of caste groupings and casteism and casteism and casteign influence of caste groupings and castolist attitudes, and beliefs. His/her socialization and, as a result, his political thinks, and beliefs. His/her socialization and, as a result, his political thinks. attitudes, and beliefs. His/fiel social thinks consciousness, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and engagement are influenced by 'caste values' and 'caste interests, and 'caste inter occupying and performing leadership roles, he/she relies on caste unity.

Leadership Recruitment and Caste:

The process of leadership recruitment is influenced by the cast." Most Indians support politicians who are members of their caste or religion. In the election process, identity politicians who are members of their caste or religion. is very successful. Because most individuals distrust leaders from outside their community People from the top castes, in particular, have little faith in leaders from other castes Cyril, 2009). This is especially true in states like Haryana, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Va and Andhra Pradesh, where people are very 'caste conscious. The leadership of Haryana made up of either Jats, Bishnois, or Brahmins. Yadavs or Kurmies are leaders in Bihar I Reddys, Kammas, and Valamas are state leaders in Andhra Pradesh.

Caste factor in Party Politics:

The caste factor is a feature of the Indian political system." Caste is used by all political parties to secure votes in elections. Some political parties are based on caste explicitly, which is a secure votes in elections. others are based on caste indirectly. The caste element has a strong influence on regul political parties in particular." (K, Hardeep, 2018)."The lower caste was mobilized by democratic setup, socialist quota politics and Kisan politics, and the proclamation reservation for OBCs, which culminated in several caste-pro parties in various North in states."(J. Christophe). The Akali Dal in Punjab is influenced by the problem of Jats 15.10 Jats. While the BSP in U.P.relies heavily on support from the Scheduled Castes, SP Yadavs, and the BJP rely heavily on support from high-caste Hindus." In Bihar, Lalu Pro of the Rashtriya Janata Dal united the large Yadav caste into a formidable political Nitish Kumar of the Janata Dal (United) then went on to unite the castes below the Yall and give them a political voice" (C. Lalita, May 2018).

Caste Factors in Elections:

In India, the caste system is a significant element in electoral politics. "Caste angle in into consideration while it is significant element in electoral politics." taken into consideration while deciding a candidate for every specific constituency.

will be the star campaigner for a specific region is also decided by the caste background of that leader. Slogans and issues are carefully selected for various regions to satisfy the particular caste groups' interest" (Panandikar& Kashyap, 2001). Each and every party, whether it is a national party or regional party, of the country, takes caste into account when choosing candidates. Religious polarisation is another form of caste influence in Indian politics. "Votes are pursued based on caste throughout political drives. When choosing candidates and appealing to supporters throughout election drives, caste factors are heavily weighed. Elections' most significant political entity is caste" (Palmer, N,D. 1962).

gragmentation and Solidarity Factor:

In Indian Politics, caste groups are both a divisive and unifying power. It serves as a struggles for power and influence with others. "The democratic process of penetrating further and deeper into the body politic to incorporate newer castes into the upper socio-economic have been witness to all these decades has to be recognized as a serious effort by the marginalized sections of society to bridge the gap between themselves and others, bringing greater inclusion and equality. It is a major mobilizing force in Indian politics" (C. Lalita, is restricted to some specific pockets of the region. Redistribution of power is taken place within various caste groups. The existence of two or three large caste groups, on the other hand, leads to factionalism.

Caste and pressure groups:

An organization known as a pressure group works to insert pressure on the administration on behalf of some specific groups who have similar objectives and interests." In India, however, a variety of pressure groups have been formed to preserve the interests of distinct castes." The workings of the pressure group are also influenced by caste, which forces the government to operate in the interests of particular castes. By making concessions to various castes, political parties compete with one another for their support. Numerically and economically dominant castes also act as a pressure group and always try to pressurize political parties to choose their members for candidature in elections" (Agrawal, 1998).

Caste in government policymaking:

While developing public policy is a crucial duty for effective governance and the improvement of society, caste has a distinct influence on the government's numerous policies and programs. Political parties make decisions with the caste in mind. Individual voting behavior, political participation, and party formation are all influenced by caste. Caste also has a considerable effect on the selection of candidates for the Council of Ministers and other political statuses in the government.

Caste and the Indian Constitution:

Before independence, some parts of Indian society, such as the SC, ST, and OBC, were economically, socially, and politically backward. They had to rely on others and deal with a variety of issues as a result. As a result, after independence, the Indian Constitution includes provisions for the development of these underprivileged communities, including equal rights

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and seat reservations in several sectors. "The state is required by Article 46 of the lackward castes and also act for their benefits of the rights of the backward castes and also act for their benefits." and seat reservations in several sectors. The state and also act for their benefit and seat reservations to protect the rights of the backward castes and also act for their benefit and seat reservation to protect the rights of the backward castes and also act for their benefit and seat reservations in several sectors. The state and also act for their benefit and seat reservations in several sectors. and seat reservations in the rights of the backward of the protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of prejudice and oppression groups of people shall be protected from all types of people shall be Constitution to protected from an oppression groups of people shall be protected from the Lok Sabha are reserved for SCs and STs. Similar result. According to Article 330 seats in every State Legislative Assembly under Article 330 seats in every State groups of people 330 seats in the Lok Stond are result. According to Article 330 seats in every State Legislative Assembly under Article 350 seats in every State Legislative Assembly under Article 350 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 350 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 350 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 350 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 350 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok Stond State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok State Legislative Assembly under Article 360 seats in the Lok State Legislativ (Lok Sabha report on SCs &STs, March 2000).

In India, local self-government is used for the participation of rural people. It is stated in India, local self-government is used for the participation of rural people. It is stated in India, local people's concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected. In India, local self-government is used to the first state of the settled by elected ment our constitution that local people's concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment our constitution that local people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be settled by elected ment of the people is concerns in rural areas should be sett our constitution that local people's concerns to the villagers in India, the local of it. "When it came to bringing the political system to the villagers in India, the local of it. "When it came to bringing the political system to the nation is increased." of it. "When it came to bringing the pointed of the government in the nation is increased by government was essential. The efficacy of the government in the nation is increased by government was essential. Local politics, however, are clearly influenced by the government was essential. government was essential. The efficacy of the domination of the do local government in rural India. Local political government in rural castes. The top castes are getting more production and economically, while the lower castes are getting worse off." (K, Hardeep,2018), it might be stated, obstructs the Panchavat Paris and economically, while the lower casted, obstructs the Panchayat Raj Institution caste-based political system, it might be stated, obstructs the Panchayat Raj Institution ability to function independently.

Administration is an important aspect of any country's government system. The Administration and caste: Administration is all impact on India's governance. In several circumstances, specific assystem has had an impact on India's governance. are given preferential consideration in administrative tasks. These political parties occasions make appointments, transfer promotions, and other promotions to administrators baseltheir caste. As a result, in some circumstances, administrators must work while consider the interests of political parties.

Suggestions:

- 1. Caste-based politics should be abandoned by political parties.
- 2. No caste-based slogans or comments should be propagated by political parties
- 3. Caste-based appointments in various political and administrative offices should abolished.
- 4. Rather than caste or self-interest, political parties should propose candidates be on education and merit.
- 5. Education is the most crucial strategy to eradicate caste-based politics. Caste caste less influential in society if education is widely distributed.
- 6. From a young age, children should be taught the value of equality in the home school.
- 7. Through various means, people in society should be made aware of the detrime impacts of caste.
- 8. The concept of brotherhood should be instilled in individuals to prevent casteviolence.
- 9. Rural development should be prioritized via Panchayat Raj Institutions, with
- distinction made between upper and lower castes. 10. Every member of society should vote based on the candidate's merits and communications. service.

Caste and politics are indistinguishably linked, and this affiliation has a greatinfluence Caste and portional role in Indian politics in a variety of ways. Indian social system Indian society. Indian society of the Indian social system plays an exceptional role in Indian politics in a variety of ways. India is a democratic plays anexcept and freedoms for all people. Individual equality, however, is hindered country with equal rights and freedoms for all people. Individual equality, however, is hindered Caste separates people into high and low castes, undermining Indian democracy's by caste. Caste separate democratic system that highlights equality, justice, and liberty. freedom. India tone specific freedom. India to fight fights equality, justice, and liberty. Democracy allows them to survive on their own. With the agent it penlocracy and easily street to survive on their own. With the contribution of politics and while democracy and the situation is worsening. The way political parties exploit caste for their gain causes caste, the situation in society. Political violence recurrently emerges as a result of different parties being divided into diverse ideologies based on caste and working in the political parties of their caste. Political parties use caste to endorse their slogans and drives. So it be claimed that caste will endureplaying animportant role in Indian politics. If people be claimed and be claimed on caste rather than the candidates' contributions to society, India would lose its me democratic spirit. Caste is simply an identifier. Caste should never be a factor in defining person's value. The growth of society needs breaking the blind faith in caste and founding aperson's with equal social rights and justice. Political parties should abandon caste-based politics and emphasis the individual's growth in society. Our educational system also plays an important role in confiscating the caste system, as children should be taught equality and brotherhood from a young age, confirming that the caste system is ultimately eradicated. Various social agencies, schools, and the media should be tasked with nurturing a wideanging perception among the public toeliminate caste attitudes. Society must be made conscious of the negative costs of this age-old caste system. However, the most active way to escape caste politics is to abolish caste. At the same time, toendure national unity and integrity, political parties must look outside their interests.

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