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THE CLASS ORIENTATION OF POLITICAL
MOVEMENTS: THE CASE OF SHIVA SENA

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C O N T E N T S

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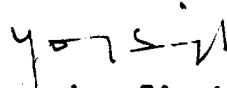
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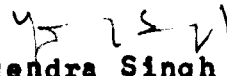
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DECLARATION

Certified that the material in this dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university.


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Dipankar Gupta

INTRODUCTION

In this paper we are studying the class orientation of the Shiva Sena movement. By class orientation we mean (i) the economic condition in which the Shiva Sena materialized, (ii) its class antagonism and class sympathies in terms of both its ideology and practice, and (iii) the class of people who are attracted to it. This is our main problem. Other issues, such as to whether it is a movement or a party are tangential to our main problem.

This paper consists of five chapters. The first chapter deals with the theoretical orientations which may guide the study of social movements. In the second chapter we have tried to recapture the sequence of Shiva Sena activism from 1966 to 1972. In the third chapter we have given the policies and performance of the Shiva Sena, and suggested what could be the characteristics of the Shiva Sena. In the fourth chapter we examine the popular basis of the Shiva Sena, taking the voting pattern in Bombay Municipal elections of 1968 as an indicator of popularity. We have tried to see it in relation to linguistic break up of Greater Bombay, and also in terms of its high, middle and low income breakup. The final chapter offers an analysis of our hypotheses based on the data presented.

My hypotheses when I started studying the Shiva Sena were - (i) The Marathis generally tend to vote highly for Shiva Sena, (ii) Recalling the various allusions, to fascism, I felt that the middle class element would be overwhelming in the Shiva Sena, (iii) If it is true that it is a right wing organization then even the Gujaratis should favour Shiva Sena to some extent, as they are the main commercial class of Bombay, and (iv) The South Indians should not vote or offer any help to the Shiva Sena, as the latter's attack are consistently on the former.

My main sources of information were newspapers and periodicals, as there are no full length books on the Shiva Sena. I am also indebted to certain political pamphlets which discussed the Shiva Sena. I conducted a number of interviews in connection with the Shiva Sena. The interviews were mainly to feel my subject. Some of them have been reproduced in this paper. For population totals I have made use of census tables, as also of occupational and industrial divisions. The relating of these to voting behaviour, is an approximation, as the wards for Municipal election are different from the census wards. We have collapsed as best as we could the former into the latter.

Due to my ignorance of Marathi, I had to engage a translator to read some of the Marathi language publications. As this was very time consuming, I have not been able to do justice to all the documentary sources of information. Further my statistical method only gives me rough indications, and realizing the limitations of statistics I have only provided, in this paper, the results as tendencies.

The universe of this study was the district of Greater Bombay, and the sub-units were the wards of this city. On the whole I cannot claim total satisfaction in the outcome of this paper, but I have tried to analyze the data available to me as best as I could in accordance with the resources at my command.

A word on the definition of class. We have taken the term class very broadly. It refers not only to the essential dichotomy of bourgeoisie vs proletariat, but also the levels of hierarchy observed in terms of 'income levels'.

CHAPTER ONE

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AS AN AREA OF STUDY

Social Movements have been defined in various ways,¹ with emphasis on different aspects of it. But Bruce Cameron² perhaps places it most succinctly when he says "A social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some position of the existing culture or social order". The difficulties that arise with the definition of social movement are in maintaining the unambiguity of the terms involved. For instance, terms such as the number of people involved - to which no exact minimum or maximum can be assigned - or what 'portion of the culture' or

1 I give some definitions below.

Herbert Blumer defines social movements as 'collective enterprises to establish a new order of life' "From New Outline of the Principles of Sociology. Barnes and Noble, New York. 1951. p.1.

King defines a social movement as a group venturing beyond a local community, or a single event and involving a systematic effort to inaugurate changes. "Social Movement in the United States, New York. Random House, 1956. p.27.

Turner and Killian noted "the collectivity, which acts with some continuity, to promote or resist a change in society or group of which it is a part". They emphasized the conservative character also. Collective Behaviour. Englewood Cliffs N.J. Prentice Hall, 1957, p.308. For a collective treatment of these studies see Social Movements by B. Melaughin. Free Press, New York, 1969.

Toch defined it as "an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they have in common". The Social Psychology of Modern Movements. Bobbs Merrill, 1965, Indianapolis.

2 Wm. Bruce Cameron - Modern Social Movements. Random House, New York, 1966. p.6.

the "social order" is sought to be reordered or supplanted is not specifically mentioned, but any aspect of human social life may be the target of a movement which demands mass social mobilization. The question of membership, or duties of members cannot be generalized. But the members of the movement have a common norm, an ideology to which they all identify with. Movements can be of various types, reactionary, revolutionary, revisionist, revivalist and so forth.

The problem arises when the issue of differences between political party and social movement is raised. Bruce Cameron¹ does not clarify the issue. He says social movements may be political parties as a matter of historical accident. I feel that this touches the crux of the definitional problem of social movement and does not solve it. The essential characteristic of social movements is that they are geared to a certain accomplishment. A certain aim in view. A social movement is essentially mass mobilization on any aspect or aspects of human social life and disintegrates on the accomplishment of its task. It may, however, agitate on a different issue, but that would be a different movement. A political party does not stand on any issue alone. It hopes to carry on its administration according to certain principles.² A political

1 Bruce Cameron; op.cit.

2 According to Max Weber, Party is for capturing power, and once in power to stay in power see "Class, Status and Party" in Theories of Society. Ed. Parsons and Shils

party may incorporate certain movement like aspects, e.g. the literacy drive, but with the accomplishment of it, it dies off, but the party stays on. The movement is only a part, a component of a political party in such situations.

On the other hand certain social movements gradually turn into political parties. This occurs when the issues for which they agitate are accomplished or turn obsolescent and the organisation of the movement takes on the task of achieving control of the administration. It thenceforward tends to behave like a political party. Historically, Political parties are a much later development. Movements are older in history.

There are four theoretical possibilities in the study of social movement. We will exclude the more empirical¹ approaches to the study of social movements. We will only consider the theoretical possibilities in the study of social movements. The theoretical orientations relevant to the study of social movements are (i) functionalist view, in which we will also consider the value added approach Smelser,² (ii) Motivational factors and personality study approach, (iii) The social psychological, and (iv) The Marxian approach.

1 In this category we put authors, such as Robert Hardgrave Jr. Selig Harrison, P. Irschik, Peter Spratt and also the works of Dr A.D. Ross.

2 N. Smelser, Theory of Collective Behaviour. New York, Free Press. 1963.

The Functional View:

The functional view to the study of social movements should be seen in relation to social change. The framework of functionalism is more attuned to the maintenance of the social structure than to change it. For Parsons, the architect of structural functionalism, a social system is a system of action. It is made up of interactions of individuals. They are not chaotic but governed by norms which have a common standard which Parsons calls "standard of value orientation".¹ There is a general consensus in relation to social norms and this consensus comes to be equated with social equilibrium.² This view is derived from Alexis de Tocqueville in his study of Democracy in America³ in the 19th century. Further, according to E. Devereux Jr.⁴ Parsons claims that only societies exhibiting stability are worthwhile to be studied by sociologists.

Societies are kept in a stable form by "two main classes of mechanism by which motivation is kept under

1 See Kingsley Davis, Human Society. 1949. p.52-63.

2 See I.L. Horowitz "Consensus, Conflict and Cooperation" in Systems, Change and Conflict, ed. Demarath and Peterson. Free Press, New York. 1968. p.267. Also see T. Parson, The Social System Glencoe. Free Press. 1951. p.507. The same view is expressed more categorically by Parsons in "Point of View of the Author" in Sociological Theory of Talcott Parson. Ed. Max Black. Cornell University Publication. p.327.

3 Alexis de Tocqueville - Democracy in America. tr. H. Rowe. New York, Century and Company. 1899. Vol.I. p.398.

4 Ed. by Max Black op.cit.

control for the continuing operation of the social system. They are the mechanism of socialization and social control"¹.

How do the functionalist react to the problem of change "Endogenous change is seen as a variance from the dominant pattern which tends to resolve itself through institutionalization"² and "social systems adjust gradually to change from outside"³, i.e. exogenous sources of change. Structural functionalism professes to go beyond the limits of pure organic functionalism, and as a matter of fact dynamics is inbuilt into it. That is its cornerstone.⁴

As a matter of fact functionalism treats change as a departure from normalcy. "The integration of a set of common values patterns with the internalized need disposition structure of the constituent personalities is the core phenomenon of the dynamic of social system. That the stability of any social system except the most evanescent interaction process, is dependant on a degree of such integration may be said to be the fundamental dynamic theorem of sociology. It is a major point of reference for all analysis which claim to be dynamic".⁵ (Emphasis mine)

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- 1 Towards a General Theory of Action. ed. Parson and Shils. Free Press. Glencoe. 1951. p.227.
- 2 Pierre L. Van den Bughe in "Dialectics and Functionalism". American Sociological Review, October 1963. p.698.
- 3 *ibid.*
- 4 *ibid.*
- 5 T. Parsons - The Social System. Glencoe, Free Press. 1952. p.44.

Change in a social system is seen, therefore, as a departure from stability. The stability of a social system depends on the consensual absorption of value patterns, and instability depends on the variation from this pattern. Change, therefore, is dependant to the degree the value patterns are not internalized. In the process of change the fissiparous tendencies which come into being tend to be institutionalized in the long run.¹ In the functional theory change is seen as marginal to the system maintaining structure, and no mechanism is posited by the functionalists which systematically make for deviance and change.

Change is also seen as total adjustment within the system. Smelers study on the Industrial Revolution² falls in this category. The Industrial Revolution is seen as fitting because it sets the system in balance to make it appear that all the system needed was the Industrial Revolution. That is he says to view change in a certain aspect as essential to complete a series of change taken place elsewhere, and change is even considered to be good when it is able to supply the functional prerequisites of the system. This is his application of what he calls the value added approach.³

The value added approach goes about in defining

1 P. Van den Berghe op.cit. p.695-696.

2 Neil Smelser. Social Change in the Industrial Revolution. An application of Theory to Lancashire Cotton Industry 1770-1840. Routledge and Kegan Paul Reprint 1965.

3 See N. Smelser - Theory of Collective Behaviour. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London 1962.

different forms of collective behaviour and encompasses within its scope concepts, such as craze and panic. Writes Smelser: "According to the logic of value added approach, any event or situation, in order to become a determinant of a collective episode, must operate within the limits of established by other determinants..... In its simplest form, this approach involves the claim that there exist empirical uniformities of sequence in the unfolding of an episode of collective behaviour..... The value added logic implies a temporal sequence of activation of determinants, but any or all of these determinants may have existed for an indefinite period before activation"¹. The sequence of a value added approach is something like this.

Structural conduciveness of the system -- strain --
 Anxiety -- Precipitating factor -- hysteria ---
 Mobilization.²

In the course of mobilization there is first craze, then panic then hostile outburst³. These find open expression in the development of a norm oriented movement⁴ and on a higher level value oriented movement⁵. This may not trouble us at this stage. What is important is the framework by which he studies social mobilizations.

1 Neil Smelser. *ibid.* p.18-19.

2 *ibid.* p.134.

3 *ibid.* p.270.

4 *ibid.* p.271.

5 *ibid.* p.313-316.

The value added approach as propounded by Smelser is more in the realm of pure methodology than theory. Our problem is with the generality of his concepts such as structural conduciveness, precipitating factor, etc.

The theory of collective behaviour gives us the sequence of social mobilization, and does not provide us with the exact social determinants of collective behaviour (in our case social mobilization) other than on a very general level. Smelser's Theory of Collective Behaviour ultimately ends up in being an Empirical generalization.

Motivational and Personality Approach:

The main focus of such studies are on the personality dispositions and motivational factors of the leaders, and of those who take an active role in social movements. In these studies the emphasis is not on the sociological dimensions of the movement, such as social mobilization, social bases and goal of the movement, but on personalities, adjustment and frustrations of individuals in the movement.

G. Almond¹ studies the motivational patterns of those who are attracted to Communism. Some of the other studies which may be mentioned are the work of E. Hoffer,²

1 G. Almond - The Appeals of Communism. Princeton Press, Princeton University. 1954.

2 E. Hoffer - The True Believer, New York. Harper. 1951.

who sees the attraction of those who join social movements as a feeling of togetherness against the emptiness of individualised existence. Lasswell,¹ for instance, discusses the motivation of individuals who are oriented politically and finds them related to childhood repressions, and adolescent paranoia, and other pathological characteristics such as sibling rivalry. The emphasis tends to be towards abnormality and pathology of those who participate in such movements. We have also the views of Gordon W. Allport² and of H.T. Moore³ on the composition of political attitudes, published significantly for the first time in the "Journal of Abnormal Psychology" (emphasis mine). Allport for instance, who wishes to measure the motivation of atypical opinion in a certain group says: It is suggested that atypical extremists are actuated in their thinking by partially repressed emotional drives.⁴ What these repressed emotional drives are is not explained.

1 H. Lasswell. Psychopathology and Politics. Chicago. Chicago University Press. 1930.

2 See T. McCormack. Studies in Social Movement. op.cit. p.75.

3 *ibid.*

4 *ibid.* p.77.

Radicals attitude for instance indicates a more basic personality deviance in these studies as suggested by Macormack.¹ Lasswell, whom we have noted before goes to the extent of "starting with the assumption that political behaviour is a displacement of unresolved conflicts originating in infancy, and seeks to explain all political behaviour as unadjusted behaviour."²

Transcending sociology the emphasis is on personality structure. The studies as we have seen are mainly confined to (i) the paranoid and psychopathical propensity of leaders and led, and (ii) the insecurity and deprivation (cause unspecified) by those participating in Social Movements. The main flaw with this form of study is as McLaughlin remarks of the study of Hofstaden,³ fails to "provide the total explanation of the origin of such movement⁴. To make it clearer I would add that the social basis of the movements are left almost totally unspecified.

The Social Psychological view:

The social psychological view of movements consists of a variety of forms. Here, the social bases of movements are not left unspecified. To illustrate this,

1 *ibid.* p.79.

2 *ibid.* p.71.

3 Paranoid Style in America Politics. p.109. Ed. McLaughlin
ibid.

4 *ibid.* p.70.

we will begin with John Davis.¹ Davis' study deals with mass psychology and his framework tells us that with rising expectations fanned by improving economic conditions, and with a sudden falls in production or a 'slump', various possibilities of a revolution emerge. In Davis' own words: "Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal. The all important effect on the minds of the people in a particular society is to produce during the former period, an expectation of continued ability to satisfy needs - which continue to rise high and during the latter a mental state of anxiety a frustration when manifest reality breaks away from anticipated reality. The actual level of social economic development is less significant. (emphasis mine) than the expectation that past progress now blocked can and must continue in future".² Revolutions are defined by him as "violent civil disturbance that causes the displacement of the ruling group by another that has a broader popular base for support".³ Hence he equates American Revolution of 1775 with Dorr's rebellion of 1842, with Russian Revolution of 1917 with Egyptian Revolution of 1952.⁴

1 J. Davis "Towards a Theory of Revolution" p.85. Ed. B. McLaughlin. *ibid*.

2 *ibid*. p.86

3 *ibid*.

4 *ibid*. p.89.

We disagree with Davies' view. He ignores the fact that in a society such as those in the capitalist set up, the system may itself display chronic instability within it. The wall street crash, the all too often economic recessions are examples of it. The mass psychology^{is} thus dependant on the structural contracts of the society, a fact which Davies ignores. Further if Davis' theory is accepted then one may say that where²ever there is no rise in expectations the chances of revolution would be closed. But this is falsified by the evidence of both the Chinese and Cuban Revolutions.

Another variant in the social psychological approach is the theory of innovation as formulated by Schumpeter.¹ According to this theory, the sources of change are located in the marginal individuals who have not been accommodated within the system. Schumpeter used this to study a variety of subjects including technological and enterprenurial change and innovation.

Marcuse in his own studies has to some extent made improvements in this theory. Unlike Schupeter, he does not, however, generalise but restricts his theory to advanced industrial nations such as the U.S.A. and the developed countries of Europe.

Briefly, ~~the~~ is essentially a Marxist, Marcuse finds that the Proletariat of America and the Advanced

1 J. Schempeter. The Theory of Economic Development. Cambridge Mass 1934. p.66 and pp.74-75.

Industrial world have, in general, lost their revolutionary ardour, and have co-opted for the system. This is how he explains the advanced world of U.S.A. "The Advanced Industrial Societies is capable of containing qualitative changes in the foreseeable future"¹ and with the growing integration of industrial societies, these categories (individual, class, etc.) are losing their critical connotation". And in these circumstances opposition is concentrated among the outsiders within the social order".² And who are those who carry revolutionary potency? They are for the United States "the underprivileged..... in particular national and racial minorities....."³ and in the privileged class, not the technician who are the "favourite child of the establishment, but the students opposition."⁴ Taking the example of student movement he says: "I hold to-days' students to be a decisive factor of transformation, surely not as I have been reapproached as an immediate fevolutionary force, but as one of the strongest factors, one that can perhaps become a revolutionary force."⁵

* (Marcuse, who develops his insight both from Frued and Marx tends to believe that civilisations impose on the civilized a repressive culture, a phylogenetic manifestation

1 Marcuse "One Dimensional Man. Routledge and Kegan Paul London. 1964. p. xv.

2 *ibid.* p.xiv.

3 H. Marcuse. 5 Lectures *op.cit.* p.84.

4 *ibid.* p.85.

5 *ibid.* p.83.

from which the ontogenetic¹ (individual) sample cannot escape. The individual can be rescued from the phylogenetic constraints inasmuch as the constraint itself can be transformed into the non-repressive culture. "The evolution of civilisation is based on suppression, limitation and repression of sensual instinctive wishes"² writes Marcuse. To substantiate this view, Marcuse notes "hitherto existing culture has been organised in the form of domination insofar as social needs have been determined by the interests of ruling groups at any given time..... contemporary civilisation has developed social wealth to a point where that renunciations and burdens placed on individuals seem more and more unnecessary."³ On phylogenetic culture he writes "Culture is sublimation, postponed and methodically controlled satisfaction the struggle for existence, scarcity and cooperation all compel renunciation in the interest of security and the social content of overcoming pleasure principle through reality principle is of transforming him (man) from a subject object of pleasure to a subject object of work."⁴ Further, the characteristic of one dimensional society is the integration of the dominated class on a very real and material basis - a controlled and repressed consciousness on the basis of controlled and satisfied needs.⁵

1 See H. Marcuse Eros & Civilisation, Allen Lane. London. 1970.

2 H. Marcuse. 5 Lectures op.cit. p.3.

3 ibid. p.2-3.

4 ibid. p.5.

5 H. Marcuse. 5 Lectures. p.84.

These repressions give rise to a dream in order of things - ^{fantasy}phantasy - which Marcuse like Mannheim³ calls the Utopia, and uses this to challenge the fatalistic attitude towards social change. He says that "Social Theory is concerned with the historical alternatives which haunt the established society as subversive tendencies and forces".² He justifies the existence of Utopia for he feels it is realizable. According to him, "It may be less irresponsible today to depict an Utopia that has real basis than to defame as Utopia conditions and potentials that have long become realizable possibilities."³ The Utopia which is the ideas of change have maximum revolutionary possibilities if related as Mannheim would say: "to historical dynamism - the Weltenschaung must be studied from within a weltenschaung".⁴ And as Marcuse would say in order to define optimal possibilities "development must be within reach of respective societies, they must be definable goals of practice".⁵ Marcuse throughout his later work has consistently seen this relationship between Marx and Freud, and has added richness to both. This study gives us a variety of explanatory categories and generates hypothesis which in itself is worthy of further study.

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- 1 K. Mannheim - Ideology and Utopia (Trans. L. Wirth E. Shils) New York. Harcourt Brace. Utopia according to him is a complex of ideas directed at changing the existing order.
 - 2 H. Marcuse. One Dimensional Man. p.xii.
 - 3 P.43. 5 Lectures. op.cit.
 - 4 K. Mannheim - Essays on Sociology of Knowledge. Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1968. p.14.
 - 5 H. Marcuse. One Dimensional Man p.i.

The Marxian Approach:

Our next step quite naturally is Marxism. Marxism is what is known as dialectical materialism in contrast to plain idealist dialectic of Hegel. Marx himself makes the position clear when he says "My dialectical method is not only different from Hegelian, but its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life process of the human brain, i.e. the process of thinking, which under the names of "the idea" he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of the idea, with me on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world relected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought."¹

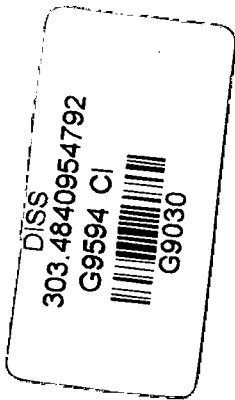
The basis of society for Marx is the mode of production and the production relations into which a man enters, and history, i.e. material history, is founded on the different stages of development of the modes and relationships of production. Marx writes:

"In the social production which man carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitute the economic structure of the society - the real foundation on which rise legal

1 Karl Marx. Capital Vol.I (Moscow Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954. p.19.)

and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness¹

The above paragraph relates to two important points in Marxism. (i) Marx regards as basis of society the mode of production and relations of production, and (ii) he regards social consciousness as manifestations of the modes of production. Marx, therefore, on re-examining the views of Hegel comes to the exact opposite conclusion when he notes that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary their social existence determines their consciousness."² In the preface to Capital, Marx writes "I was led by my studies to the conclusion that legal relations as well as forms of state, could neither be understood by themselves, nor explained by the so called general progress of the human mind, but they are rooted in the material conditions of life....."³ In the Communist Manifesto he wrote "the history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggle"⁴ thereby giving us to understand that "at a certain stage of development the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations they had been at work before. From forms of development forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. There comes a period of social revolution: With the change of



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- 1 K. Marx Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy. Chicago. H. Kerr and Co. 1904. p.11).
 V, 4435, 4N66'N7 L2;1 DISS
- 2 ibid. p.11.
- 3 T. Bottomore & Rubel Ed. Karl Marx Selected Writing in Sociology and Social Philosophy. McGraw Hill London. 1964
- 4 Karl Marx, Communist Manifesto, Scientific Socialism Series

with the change of

the economic foundation the entire superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed".¹

Marx is rightly known as the prophet of revolution and social change. His exhortation to the workers in the Communist Manifesto to break the bonds of bourgeois capitalism and march towards communism illustrates this fact. His revolutionary beliefs lie in the very core of dialectical materialism as propounded by him. He writes "In its rational form it (dialectic) is a scandal and abomination to bourgeois and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension an affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up, because it regards every historically developed social form as in fluid movement, and, therefore, takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence, because it lets nothing impose upon it, and it is in its essence critical and revolutionary."² (emphasis mine).

According to another author,³ "Marx's proposition is a critical one implying that the prevailing relation between consciousness and social existence is a false one, that must be overcome before the true relation comes to light. The truth of the materialistic thesis is that it is

1 K Marx. Critique. op.cit. p.11.

2 Capital Vol.I (Moscow: Foreign Languages, Publishing House. 1954. p.20.).

3 H. Marcuse, Reason and Revolution. 2nd ed. (Boston Beacon Press 1954) pp.273-74.

to be fulfilled through negations". According to Marx "the form of civilizations have not fully matured, as once a society reaches this stage, revolutionary changes in it become indispensable. Such changes according to him progressively overcome the degrees of alienation of human beings who enter into various relationships of production. The alienation is to be finally resolved with a revolutionary movement which will overthrow the capitalist structure of society, and march towards communism. Communism is not just a dream in order of things but the actual phase necessary for the next stage of historical development in the process of human emancipation and recovery",¹ Recovery from what? "Recovery as a matter of fact from everything which appears in the workers as an activity of alienation, of estrangement."² His Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts give a vivid account of the alienation of workers in a bourgeois society where "the more the worker spends on himself, the more powerful the alien objective world becomes which he creates over himself, the poorer he himself - his inner world - becomes..."

1 Karl Marx and Frederick Engel. The German Ideology New York Internind Publishers. 1960. p.114.

2 Karl Marx Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844. Moscow Foreign Languages Publishing House. 1961. p.83.

3 *ibid.* p.70.

This process begins with the separation of men from their means of production - their source of sustenance. Marx finds the man, the worker as less belonging to himself, for he is separated from his human qualities and "he no longer feels himself active in any but his animal function eating, drinking and procreating."¹

Marcuse's similarity with Marx is very pronounced, especially in areas of human alienation, and the non-fatalistic condition of social form. Marcuse writes of Marx, "Marx..... refused to limit truth to a particular given", he firmly believed that the potentialities of men and things are not exhausted in the given forms and relations in which they may actually appear."²

We sympathise with the Marxist approach as we agree with him where he tries to discover the various potential forms of human life, as he seeks to locate change, in society, and provides us with directions and mechanisms of change. He investigates social reality, and determines the social bases of probable negations. Also his linking up of idealist reality, to existential reality, make even an inconspicuous entity such as ideology, religion, values, beliefs in short knowledge, amenable to sociological analysis, and hence not unapproachable for scientific study.

In the pages that follow we have tried to study the Shiva Sena movement for a Marxian framework. Let it be

1 *ibid.* p.73.

2 Marcuse *op.cit.* p.113.

understood, however, that while we are being faithful to Marx, we may at the explorative stage in which this paper is, not be able to relate all the facts to the theories postulated by Marx. This may be so because starting from a Marxian approach, we are putting more emphasis on the actual social bases of the movement rather than trying to explicate the entirety of the Marxist theory. This is because of the limited nature of the study itself. Our examination at this stage is only exploratory..

Nevertheless, the Marxist Sociology has helped us to identify the various variables for this study. We have tried to see the existential bases of the ideology of the Shiva Sena; we have tried to understand the class orientation of its ideology; we have examined the demographic base of the movement in Bombay on linguistic, professional and class (roughly income) criteria. And, finally, the causes for the structural strains in the system that lead to the emergence of social movement.

CHAPTER TWOTHE SHIVA SENA AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The regional outlook of the Shiva Sena can be traced in contemporary history to the Samayukta Maharashtra Samithi. The Samayukta Maharashtra Samithi fought for an unilingual state of Maharashtra started in November 1955 and lasted till September 1959, when the Congress decided to form the state of Maharashtra. Acharya P.K. Atre started the Daily Maratha in 1955 which was to serve as a mouthpiece for the movement.

Bal Thackeray, the leader of the Shiva Sena movement, during the early and middle fifties was a cartoonist in the Free Press Journal and was drawing anti-Samayukta Maharashtra Samithi cartoon. In 1957 he did a number of cartoons for the Daily Maratha. He left the Daily Maratha in 1959, and started a cartoon weekly in Marathi called the Marmik. The main reason why he left the Free Press was that he had the feeling that he was being persecuted by South Indians.¹ A feeling which probably never left him, and was later to orient the activity and ideology of the Shiva Sena.

1 How did it grow by a Bombay journalist - Mainstream
6.4.1968.

Bal Thackeray comes from a politically active family. His father, Sitaram Thackeray, was a leader of The Non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra, a movement supported by high Marathi castes,¹ by Princes and Landlords. It was essentially a clash between urban middle class Brahmins and the rural rich. The movement was both anti-British and anti-Congress and lasted till roughly the first three decades of this century. In 1930, Keshavrao Jedha, one of the strong men of the party joined the Congress, which brought about a collapse in the movement. K. Sitharam Thackeray retained his views to the last.

There are atleast three different versions for the origin of the Shiva Sena and it would be difficult to separate the apocryphal from the fact. One version claims the Shiva Sena to be an instrument of the C.I.A., the other version somewhat related claims that the Shiva Sena is an instrument of the capitalists and monopolists² in India, while the third view states that it arose from a definite grievance of the Marathi people, as the Shiva Sena itself claims, and much of the strength of popularity of it depends perhaps on the populist appeal of Marmik.³

Any one of the three may be true not necessarily with the exemption of the other two. The first two views may only lead as to a conspiracy theory, which is fruitless for examining the social base of the movement. We shall,

1 Thackeray belonged to C.K.P. - Chandraseni (King Chandra Seni who ruled in the 18th century). Kayastha Prabhu. (A Feudal title).

2 See any of the CPI pamphlets on Shiva Sena mentioned in the Bibliography.

3 K.K. Gangadharan "Shiva Sena". Seminar. March 1972.

therefore, not prejudge the issue at such an early stage.

✓ The name, Shiva Sena, was first sponsored by Acharya P.K. Atre. He intended it to be a voluntary organisation to work against bootleggers and against vandalism. Needless to say it did not materialize. On 19th June 1966, the Shiva Sena was formed. The four open activists and leaders were Manohar Joshi -- who used to conduct private coaching classes, Pramode Navalkar, employed in Mekennon Mackenzie, and Dutt Salve - whose origins are obscure. It is said he was a bootlegger of Dadar. Not to mention Bal Thackeray who was the editor of Marmik and was made the Pramukh of the Shiva Sena.

The Shiva Sena is a fluid organization. We do not think that this is due to the early stages of formalization of the movement. Though ideologically the Shiva Sena may have progressed through certain stages, its structure has remained the same. Complete control and decision making is dominated by Bal Thackeray. He is the Pramukh and he appoints Shaka (Branch) Pramukhs, and dismisses them at will. The Shakha Pramukhs are not given important positions in the party and are drawn mainly from the grass root or local level and normally do the work of mobilizing people on any issue which Shiva Sena decides upon. No elections are held to the offices of the Shiva Sena, no formal meetings held to formulate policy decisions, and no balance sheet of accounts presented. In these ways it approximates a secret society. Even in their Trade Union

Wing, the Bharatiya Kamgar Sena, they apparently maintain no records, no membership lists or any such documents. The information is generally given verbally but there are no records to testify to it.

Till 1966, those who wanted to join the Shiva Sena had to sign a 22-line handbill in which it was stated that the person will pledge to work for the upliftment of Maharashtra State, of Marathi culture and will be proud of it. He would not eat at Udipi restaurants, and would purchase only from Marathi Shopkeepers and have business deals only with Maharashtrais. He would not eat at Udipi (Kamnadere) hotels and will strive to inculcate a spirit of co-operation and harmony among Maharashtrais. Further, he would strive to see that the Maharashtrai gets a priority in all jobs, government or private.

The Shiva Sena is a regional movement and not all India in its scope. This does not mean that it is anti-national or secessionist, though in actual practice it tends to work towards that. However, the Shiva Sena leaders have been at great pains to emphasize this by taking the D.M.K. and communists to task as examples of anti-nationalism.

Contrary to popular belief, the Shiva Sena is not dead.¹ No doubt its strength is somewhat depleted, but it still has considerable strength. It is doubtful whether it will come up with the same vigour as of old. The political and power structure has left the Shiva Sena

1 Shiva Sena has 38 members in the Corporation of 140. One M.L.A., one M.L.C. In 1971, Legislative Assembly Election, Shiva Sena secured 190,827 votes.

quite bereft of institutional support. Though we believe that if there are any social bases in the movement it is not eradicated and, therefore, may come up again, quite probably in a different form.

Shiva Sena - 1966 to 1972:

Shiva Sena starts its active political career on 30th October 1966 when in a public meeting held by them, Bal Thackeray said that the Shiva Sena would oppose the Samayukta Maharashtra Samithi in the coming 1967 General Election. The Samayukta Maharashtra Samithi was reformed in 1966 after a 6-year period of quiescence. It was formed for (i) resolving Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute, and (ii) it fought for an unity of the leftist forces for the development of Maharashtra.¹

The Shiva Sena opposed V.K. Krishna Menon in N.E. Bombay Constituency and supported S.G. Barve, a former I.C.S. official and a Congress candidate.² In Central Bombay, they opposed S.A. Dange and supported Harish Mahindra (Director of Mahindra and Mahindra). In North-West Bombay, they supported Madhu Mehta, Swatantra, against H.G. Gokhale, a running mate of Menon. In South Bombay, they worked for S.K. Patil against George Fernandes. Against Acharya P.K. Atre, they supported B.C. Kambe, a Jan Sangh candidate. It was revealed, therefore, that the

1. Geo Dange, Shiva Sena and The Bombay Riots. C.P.I. New Delhi. pp.10-14.

2. S.G. Barve thanked Bal Thackeray for the support extended to him. Marmik. March 26, 1967. p123.

Shiva Sena had a strong anti-leftist bias and would extend support to any shade of rightism to oppose a leftist union.

In 1968, the Bharatiya Kamgar Sena, the Trade Union Wing of the Shiva Sena was born. In the Bombay Municipal Elections of 1968, the Shiva Sena secured 42 seats out of 140.¹ They were in an alliance with the P.S.P. Together they polled 4 lakh 55 thousand votes. During the years 1966 to 1968 the Shiva Sena gained immense popularity and there were a large number of demonstrations and meetings held, which according to reports were well attended. Their anti-Communist front was also getting a stronger colouration. On 30th December 1968 they burnt an effigy of Mao Tse Tung. They were supported by the Swatantra Party and Manu ChandUsama of Swatantra said that they would join the Shiva Sena to fight communism.² In the meantime it also gained the title of Ku Klux Klan.³

The Shiva Sena had all along stressed and kept up the anti South Indian line. It has already been mentioned above that they gave it a symbolic content when they pledged not to eat in South Indian restaurants. On August 1, 1967, the Shiva Sena brought out an English Language brochure, Shiva Sena Speaks, to combat some of the criticisms levelled against it by some parties and some of the

1 In 1972 there were 4 defections to the Congress.

2 Times of India - 30.12.1968.

3 Times of India - 26.9.1967.

newspapers. In this it declared itself against rabid communalism of the South Indians.¹ In their Marmik issues they have kept up the same trend, and attacked South Indians sometimes for their alleged communalism as mentioned above, and at others for their alleged leftist leanings. In one of the issues it said, "To speak frankly every South Indian is a communist ... It is not just a question of competition, and the procurement of jobs in the economic field. It is a matter of communist plotting to mortify people from various regions..... (communism) is avidly supported by the newspapers and journals edited by South Indians."² A fascimile of a letter threatening to murder a South India was reproduced by the Free Press Journal on 15th August 1967. On 27th December, the Giri Kanjar Union office at Parel, an INTUC stronghold was attacked and the furniture and official records were burnt by the Shiva Sena,³ and a year later they celebrated its anniversary.

On the 30th January 1969, the Shiva Sena took up the border issue. By the end of 1968 the Samayukta Maharashtra Samithi virtually collapsed when C.P.I. walked out of it on grounds that the border issue was not a good base for a long term struggle. Till before this, the Shiva Sena were against taking any stand beneficial to the Samithi, and were critical of it. When the Samithi organized a

1 Shiva Sena Speaks. p.16.

2 Marmik, May 14, 1967.

3 Dange - Shiva Sena and Bombay Riots. p.2.

demonstration when Chavan arrived on December 10, 1967, the MARMIK slandered it. On 22nd January 1969, Bal Thackeray was reported to be especially concerned about Belgam and wanted it to be included in Maharashtra, and a letter preventing the entry of any Minister from the Centre was issued by the Shiva Sena.¹ Thackeray said on 2nd February that help would be given to the Peasants and Workers Party and the S.S.P. on the border issue.²

This is the period in which the Shiva Sena reached its height in activism. On 7th February there was a plan ✓ to block Morarjee Desai's entry to Bombay.

On 8th February there was a big demonstration in Bombay and it is said that two Shiva Saniks threw themselves prostrate and blocked the passage of Morarjee Desai's car³ and were injured in the process. The Police Commissioner of Bombay held up Morarjee's car in contravention to norms, and allowed the Shiva Saniks to present a memorandum to him. And at the same time riots and looting started in Dadar, near Mahim Bus Depot square. Police used tear gas shells and there was also a lathi charge to disperse the people.⁴ The Shiva Saniks are alleged to have burnt City Light Cinema Hall and a police station.⁵ Bal Thackeray was arrested and kept in Yerewada Jail under

1 Times of India. 23.1.1969.

2 Times of India. 3.2.1969.

3 Maharashtra Times. 8.2.1961.

4 Maratha. 18.2.1969

5 Navashakti. 12.2.1969.

Preventive Detention Act. The riots lasted till the 11th of February, for four full days. Reports on 12th February said that the riots were cobling off. Total number of people arrested came to 3,400 and 44 had died during the disturbance. Another 293 were injured in police firing, stoning and by lathies, etc. Assets and industrial production worth 15 crores were badly damaged. The estimated time period to make it up is 10 years. In the last two days of the riots 52 textile mills and 3,000 other factories were closed. Municipal Transport buses and assets damaged were to the tune of Rs.1 crore. Buses had stopped plying during the riots and they lost an estimated income of Rs.36 lakhs a day (Maharashtra Times of 9th February reports that 14 buses were burnt in one day). Western Railway suffered a loss of Rs.1.25 crores. 4 About 50 hotels were looted and maximum damage incurred by South Indians. Cars and Taxis were burnt and 500 other stalls and stores were looted. This is all very surprising even after 18,000 policemen were on duty.¹ On the 10th of February the Central Government Police Force was brought to Bombay,² and the riots gradually came up to an end.

This was the most intense mass activity organised by the Shiva Sena. Nath Pai and Gorge Fernandes³ requested the release of Bal Thackeray. Nath Pai of P.S.P. was overtly and vocally supporting Thackeray (an outcome of the alliance),

1 Navashakti. 11.2.1969.

2 Navashakti. 13.2.1969.

3 Navashakti. 11.2.1969.

and demanded his release accusing vested interests who were strandering Thackeray. He also demanded a supreme court hearing.¹ Mr Y.B. Chavan at Sangli was pained by the riots.² Madhok said it was an act of divisive forces,³ and the Congress Working Committee decided to meet in the same week to review the Bombay crisis,⁴ and Pramukh Thackeray called for Peace from Yeravada Jail saying that at any costs our struggle should not be allowed to be exploited by the Communists.⁵ Both Morarjee Desai and Y.B. Chavan who were directly affected by the riots promised to send a report to the Prime Minister.⁶ The border issue was, however, kept alive though the Shiva Sena kept low. It did not join the Peasants and Workers Morcha and its announcement added that they would silently support it.⁷ On 25th April 1969 Thakary said he would seek revenge for the Shiva Sena blood that was spilt.⁸

The P.S.P. and Shiva Sena alliance started breaking up, and almost came to a head in a Corporation Debate in May,

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- 1 Maharashtra Times. 14.2.1969.
 - 2 Free Press Journal. 11.2.1969.
 - 3 Times of India. 11.2.1969.
 - 4 Free Press. 12.2.1969.
 - 5 Free Press. 12.2.1969.
 - 6 Times of India. 11.2.1969.
 - 7 Times of India. 24.3.1969.
 - 8 Times of India. 25.4.1969.

over the renaming of a street.¹ On 12th May according to Times of India report, Thackeray issued a deadline till November 1st, for solving the border issue. On 25th July Thackerary led a procession on the Belagam issue, and he warned that there would be a Telengana type struggle. During the whole of the year of 1969, the Shiva Sena was very active on the border issue, and on 29th December Thackerary said that the Shiva Sena may have to take to the streets once again and stage in bigger show than February's. The Shiva Sena organized a Bombay Bundh on March 2, 1970.

From 1970, defections came up in the Shiva Sena ranks, Mr Lone and 1,100 Shiva Saniks joined the Congress.² This was the first instance of defection from Shiva Sena; thereafter it mounted and K.K. Shah, the Union Health Minister welcomed the defection, saying it would help workers unity.³

In the legislative assembly by-election which came up because of Krishna Desai's murder in 1970, the Shiva Sena defeated Mrs Krishna Desai 1,679 votes and Mr Vasant Rao Mahadik was elected. This victory was regarded as a major one for it fought in the Parel constituency, a CPI stronghold. Mrs Desai was supported by Congress (R), the P.S.P., the C.P.I.(M) and the S.S.P. Vasant Rao Mahadek was supported by Shiva Sena, Congress (O) and Swatantra.⁴

1 Times of India. 7.5.1969.

2 Times of India. 19.7.1969.

3 Times of India. 23.7.1970.

4 Amrit Bazaar Patrika. 8.7.1970.

After the Congress split the Shiva Sena took an anti-Congress (R) stand. In the 1971 mid term poll, the Shiva Sena opposed all Congress (R) candidates. In North West Bombay they supported General Cariappa, known for being a South Indian. In South Bombay they supported Novel Tata. In North-East Bombay, Shanti Patel, a Congress (O) candidate, a Central North Bombay they supported their own candidate, Manohar Joshi and in Central East they supported Dutte Pradhan, a former Member of Jana Sangh. They all lost. Manohar Joshi, a former Member polled one lakh 46 thousand votes and Pradhan 75,000 votes.

Shiva Sena issued a notice to boycott the victory rally speech addressed by Indira Gandhi at Shivaji Park in Bombay. Shiva Sena suffered another set back. The meeting was very well attended.¹ Due to defections in Shiva Sena ranks, the Congress (R) emerged in February 1971 as a majority party in the standing Committee of Bombay Municipal Corporation. Yet, on April 1971 Hemchandra Gupta of the Shiva Sena was elected as the Mayor of Bombay.² In 1972, Legislative Assembly election, there is only one Shiva Sena member, Mr Pramode Navaikar. From Girgam Constituency he got over 25,000 votes. In 1972 Manohar Joshi was elected to the Legislative Council.

This in brief is round up of Shiva Sena from 1966 to 1972.

1 Free Press. 15.3.1971.

2 Times of India. 3.4.1971.

CHAPTER THREESHIVA SENA POLICIES AND PERFORMANCE

The Shiva Sena during its period of incubation through the publication of Marmik helped to keep alive the parochial sentiments of the Marathis. They glorified the Marathi culture and sought to enhance the Marathi identity. Maharashtra chauvinism has its roots in the Samayukta Maharashtra movement led by the left forces with Gujarati as the main enemy and outsider.¹ The image of Chattrapati Sivaji was played up projecting him as a man who founded the Hindu Pad Padshahi and this revived memories of Marathi culture. The feeling was created that the grandeur of Marathi culture was lost due to the intervention of outsiders.² The leftist forces are as a matter of fact, partly responsible for this attitude and this was realised later by the C.P.I. when it walked out of the Samithi. But by then the effect was ingrained. It is said that the spurt of historical literature and various newspapers dealing at length with the history and legend of Shivaji, could be directly attributed to the activity of the Samithi. According to Gangadharan,³ the fact that

1 Shiva Sena speaks. p.7., Gujarati is not considered as an outsider.

2 Dilip Chitre. Rise by the Third Sivaji - Hindustan Times. 28.2.1969.

3 K.K. Gangadharan. p.26. Seminar. op.cit.

Maharashtra was an empire till quite recently added to that feeling, the feeling of native and foreign in the Marathi mind. Dilip Chitre succinctly puts it when he says that "Shivaji symbolizes the rise of Marathi power. His success story is the success story of the Marathi underdog, who defied a mighty empire and laid the foundation of the greatest military power in India."¹

The Shiva Sena and Marmik inherited this legacy. The Marmik in the beginning seemed to put forward a diffuse ideology. Of course, there was a good deal of emphasis on Marathi Culture, and Maharashtra for Maharashtrians, but there was no fixed programme of action or policy. The cartoons in the Marmik reflected, the heavy emphasis on Marathi culture, not only vis a vis natives and foreigners but also between Hindus and Muslims. In 1963 Diwali issue, Marmik emphasizes on the grandeur of Shivaji and his fight with the Muslims. Side by side with the Marathi non Marathi phenomenon the Hindu Muslim distinction was kept alive though it received less emphasis. The Marmik issue of 2nd January 1966 openly praises the Jana Sangh and the R.S.S. for they were fighting for Hinduism and as such were the backbone of our country. This culminated in the bloody Bhiwandi riots in 1970. During Shiva Jayanti celebration they are believed to have staged a play which depicted Muslims as evil characters who kidnapped Hindu girls for their harems.²

1 Dilip Chitre. op.cit.

2 Gangadharan. op.cit. from "The Lessons Bhiwandi". 31.5.1970 Times of India.

Shivaji was a constant theme with the Marmik. Their legitimization of Maharashtra for Marathi's only and their communal sentiments were derived through the Shivaji legend. I have not come across a single issue of Marmik where there is no allusion to Shivaji. The thrust of the attack on outsiders, however, went mainly to the South Indians, and the South Indians were depicted sometimes as ridiculous items and at others as ogres and bullies, to be despised nevertheless. In one of the Marmik issue it was conveyed that the South Indians were somewhat crafty people who carried on business in the day and were bootlegging at night.¹

In the Marmik issue of 9th June 1966, the parable of the camel and the Arab is recalled. The story is related thus: A camel asked an Arab who had a tent in the desert whether he would allow him to keep his head inside as he found it unbearable outside in the inclement weather, the Arab willingly agreed. Then the camel started increasing his demands. He wanted his head in and then his legs, all the time stressing that they would be the best of friends. Eventually the camel was in the tent and the Arab out of it. But the foolish Arab said that after all they were the best of friends.

This parable was then transposed to Bombay city where the South Indians were displacing the Marathis and the latter were not realizing it. The issue invokes the

¹ Diwali Issue, 1965.

Marathis to come forward and understand their critical position. In their regular feature "Tumchi Katha, Amchi Vetha", the motify shows a South Indian made out to be somewhat of an ogre, with his bedding and trunk bullying a tiny Marathi. This feature always carries articles relating to the dispossession of Marathis by outsiders and mostly by South Indians, whom they call "Madrasis".¹

These sympathies were cultivated still further by the Shiva Sena. The Shiva Sena meetings are held amidst terrific fanfare and the Shivaji symbol is apparent everywhere. There is a big portrait of Shivaji which is garlanded and kept on the platform. The Shiva Sena symbol is appropriately the crossed swords and shield. Their first meeting was held in Shivaji Park where there is a giant statue of Shivaji astride a horse. The continuous trend was the playing up of Marathi culture and sentiments. Some of the qualities and deeds attributed to Shivaji are probably fictitious but they help create a common bond of sympathy between the Maharashtrians.

The Shiva Sena stood for the right of Marathis in Bombay. It demanded 80% of the jobs in both public and private sectors reserved for Marathis, for they believed that in other states 80% of the jobs were reserved for the locals.² After the formation of the Shiva Sena the

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- 1 In the same issue of Marmik it said that Matunga is like Madras, Kalyan as Sind, Bhandi Bazar, a small Pakistan, Girgam a small Punjab. The job was to create a small Marathi land for Marathis.
- 2 Marmik. 5th June 1966 and also 12th June when it exhorts Marathi families to join the Shiva Sena as this fought for the upliftment of Maharashtra.

ideological line in the Marmik became clearer, it was now a mouthpiece for a political organisation. Whereas previously it was mainly catering to regional sentiments, with focus on the eviction of Marathis by South Indians, it now strengthened it by linking South Indians with Communists. What is the aim of the Shiva Sena when it started? The aim specifically was to fight for the Marathis in Maharashtra. This was conveyed in term of working for more employment among the Marathi youth who were being displaced by outsiders, mainly South Indians. In their 1966 annual number, Marmik depicted Chavan lying down Gulliver style and lilliputian South Indians were on him. Chavan symbolizes the predicament of Marathis in Bombay. In the same issue it is shown through a series of cartoons picturing the horror of communism if it comes to India. A South Indian is seen in the first item seeking benediction from Mao and Chou en Lai. The last cartoon shows the death of the values and ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru under communist power. The Marmik was always critical of South Indians even before the formation of the Shiva Sena. On 2nd January 1966, Marmik states "The ideology of communism is going to decay the basis of democracy, and human freedom is in danger", and accuses the communist of "anti-national feelings".

They successfully incorporated the anti South Indian venom into the antipathy towards communism. The emphasis on the outsider has also shifted radically from the Samithi

days when the Gujarati was seen as the main enemy. The Shiva Sena narrowed down from broad regional sentiments purely parochial to a politically oriented ideology centering on South Indians and communists, which they amalgamated. So much so that Thackeray said that "..... all lungi wallahs (South Indians) are criminals, gamblers, illicit liquor distillers, pimps, goodas, beggars and communists".¹ Therefore, he wanted the illicit distiller to be a Marathi and the Mawali to be a Marathi.

Why did the Shiva Sena attack South Indians not only before it was formed, in Marmik, but even after it? According to a prominent Shiva Sena Councillor.

"The Shiva Sena fights for the legitimate rights of the Marathi people."² You ask why South Indians? We are not tolerant to those who steal your opportunities. Why should the Marathi youth suffer? The South Indians take away most of our jobs, and our boys suffer. But we are not only against South Indians but also against other outsiders. When I go to a factory and see the people working, I don't find Marathis. It is either a Mirchandani, or Iyer or Sood, Tripathi. Where are the Marathi names. I want to hear Deshpande, Naik, Godbole, where are they? Now and then I hear a Marathi name. It pains me. Why should our educated youths go unemployed.

1 P. Waidya - Fascist Menace of Democratic Unity. C.P.I. Publishers, Bombay. p.10.

2 The S.S. Speaks notes that the Shiva Sena was established to safeguard the welfare of the people of Maharashtra, and owes its origin, to the bitter feelings of taking hold of the rank and file of young Maharashtrians.

Q. Is it true then that you are fighting for the education?

A. That is not true. We are with everybody, young, old, rich, poor, whatever he may be, as long as he is a Marathi.

Q. Why is it then that the South Indians seem to get more emphasis in your programmes?

A. Why? They do not get along. Anyone who is against Marathi, it is our duty to attack him whether he be South Indian or North Indian."

(Bombay - 1972)

This is perhaps a clear statement of the position as it stands. It is, however, true that no single community has been so consistently attacked as the South Indians. Even the pledge that the Shivo Sainiks had to take prior to 1967, incorporated that they were not to eat at the South Indian restaurants. As the demographic and migration figures go we find that the South Indians mainly occupy middle class and lower middle class white collar jobs. Through the circulation of the Marmik, it is also noticed that the anti-South Indian line was kept up all along. But what makes it interesting is a gradual attributing of the insecurity experienced by Marathis first to the foreigners then to the political orientation or identity, associated with the foreigners. It is this that marks the Shivo Sena movement ^{from} just a cultural mobilization.

The Shivo Sena as we noticed consistently attacked leftist fronts, no matter whether they were Marathi or not. The 1967 General Election and the 1971 Election amply revealed this. In Marmik issue, it clearly said

that "One of the main objects of the Shiva Sena is the emasculation of Communists"¹ In a reply to M.P.'s Unnithain and Krishnamurthy. Bal Thackerary said: "Shiva Sena will secure the legitimate needs and interests of the Maharashtrians in their own state, but it will fight to the last to safeguard the security and integrity of this country. It was, therefore, firmly and uncompromisingly opposed to Communist method and ideology.. and was determined to root out this evil from our land."²

The incessant attack of the Shiva Sena on leftist fronts whether Marathi or not was apparent all through their political career. They were against all Communist fronts and strikes. Bal Thackeray declared himself to be against Jhonparpatti Wallahs. According to him there are no more than 30 Marathis in a thousand hutments. But actually the largest single linguistic group in the hutments are the Marathis. However, the reason seems to be that the hutments dwellers have associations which are left oriented,³ and this incurred the wrath of the Shiva Sena. In 1970 when there was a large state Government Employees strike of which 80% were Maharashtrians, the Shiva Sena did not support it, and this was one of the reasons why they lost a sizeable support.

1 Marmik. 10.9.1967.

2 Hitavada. 4.9.1967.

3 Quoted by P. Waidye. p.25. op.cit. Also Gangadharan. op.cit. p.32.

The Shiva Sena was born in 1966, at a period of Industrial crisis in this country coupled with a fall in agriculture productivity due to failure of rains. Large scale retrenchment of workers was taking place and it offered a potential to the leftist parties to exploit it. The Trade Union "menace" was very much in the air, and the Shiva Sena directly reacted to this. They supported the managements during the difficult period. The Shiva Sena, it should be understood, is not against the monopoly or the capitalist class. As a matter of fact Bal Thakcary said: "Whoever, gives bread and employment to the Maharashtrians is ours. They are out Annadata." On the October 23rd issue of Marmik the showed that freedom of speech, etc., would be hindered by Communists, and a cartoon depicted Tata, Birla and Limiye being taken to prison.¹ This attitude we feel is important as according to the monopoly commission report 75 monopoly houses virtually control the Economic life of India. All the top 25 houses carry or business in Maharashtra except the South Indian ones. Otherwise they are made up of One Parse, 6 Marwaries, 7 Europeans, 4 Gujarati and 4 South Indians. They (Shiva Sena) supported Harish Mahindra in the Elections even after Mahindra and Mahindra retrenched 700 workers on the plea of recession of which 80% were Maharashtrians. In many of its public meetings prominent business magnate Ramnarain Bajaj and Hiralal Walchand of Premier Automobiles are seen as the main patrons.

1 Marmik. October 23, 1967.

The Shiva Sena was a strong anti Communist force with an estimate membership of 80,000. They also emerged as a strong strike breaking force in Bombay. They used force to break up strikes and then had their own volunteers employed. This is how a C.P.I. Party leader explains:

"Q. What do you think is the main activity of the Shiva Sena?

A. The main activity I would say is the anti Red Flag work of the Shiva Sena who are wanting to break our movement. It is not Marathi or anything. It is just openly anti-Communist.

Q. How exactly do they operate when you call them anti-Communist?

A. Well, it is very simple. They beat up and frighten our men and workers. You know the murder Krishna Desai (a prominent C.P.I. M.L.A.). They also tried to murder me. I was sitting in my office here (Girni Kamgar at parel) and finishing an article. Chitris (General Secretary) was out in a public meeting, and I was all alone. After sometime a few men entered my room and said, "Well, Mr , how are you? I was a bit taken aback, as they normally call me I just replied to them, and then they left. I felt very uneasy, for some reason, so I went downstairs to an old friend of mine and stayed with him. I was told that they, I mean, some more people had come, about 25, with sticks and knives. When they did not find me they went to the C.P.I. office upstairs and terrorized an old man who is in charge of distribution of mails. They did

not know where I was, so they left. I just escaped.

Q. How do you think they break up strikes?

A. You know, how strikes are staged. All the workers are outside the factory gates, and they shout slogans against the management. Now in this, what happens is that a truck load of people come with iron rods, knives, sticks, cycle chains, anything and they beat up our workers. They already have an alliance with the management, and their men get the jobs.

Q. Who are these people?

A. They are all Kavalis, professional goondas, you can be a professional goonda and also work in a factory.

Q. How often has this happened?

A. In every factory there are always a few Shiva Sena workers, who are placed there by the management. If the management has cordial ties with the Shiva Sena they are called to break the strikes."

(Bombay 1972)

This was corroborated by a prominent journalist. Even to him black logging (strike breaking) is the only important feature of the Shiva Sena. The strike breakers are people hired by the Shiva Sena. All of them may not be professional goondas. According to the journalists:

"Not all of them may be goondas. They may be unemployed youths. But the ring leaders are the goondas who contact them. The Shiva Sena has contacts at the

local level with goondas and nefarious characters in localities, with small shopkeepers, and restaurant owners who also have a few contacts. On any issue these at the grass root level, contact others and build up a task force. Shiva Sena has no members that way, nor formal way of information.

Q. But is it difficult without having any regular channel or information through which decisions may be passed?

A. Not at all. If I am a Shiva Sena Leader and it is decided with the authority of Thackerary, normally they have contacts with certain factory owners, so it is almost decided, then I contact some of the Goondas whom I have hired and they do the rest.=

Q. Where does the Shakha Pramukh come in?

A. Shakha Parmukh is nobody. He only has an office. He is nobody officially. He can be removed. He is mostly (a) an old resident of the locality, and (b) with a large number of contacts. But I think the Shakha Pramukhs also play an important job in mobilization. They have no official work nor are they capable of decision making.

(Bombay - 1972)

I asked a Shakha Pramukh from a congested Marathi locality on his work. He said:

"I am in-charge of looking after the interest of

Marathi in this place. Whenever I find that I can help the Marathi anywhere I help them." (BOMBAY-1972)

The above can be taken as an ideal reply from a Shakha Pramukh. They do not reply to questions such as the influence of anti-social characters. They deny it strongly. This is, of course, expected. Mr Banatwalla, Muslim League M.L.A., said on record¹ that the riots over the masjid in Kausa, and those in Bhiwandi, etc., were done by truckloads of goondas, some came in cars, and motorcycles. The recent clash in the Godrej factory² was due to the clash between the Shiva Sena and a united Congress, C.P.I. Union in the factory. Mahohar Joshi was seen with notorious underworld figures. The workers had already voted for the United Union under Dhume (Secretary Engineering Workers Union of AITUC) and Samant of the INTUC. The workers were on strike because of a Secret deal brought about by their previous union leader with the management. This resulted in a re-election, and the AITUC were well placed. The case is now subjudiced.

The Shiva Sena denies that they have any anti-working class interest. But they will not allow the Communists to come into power. A prominent Shiva Sena member, Duta Salve, says in speech to the Finlay Mill

1 Maharashtra Vidhan Sabha, Political Journal. 13th March 1970.

2 ~~op. cit.~~ September 3, 1972.

workers, "workers and management are the two wings of production, and they can only operate through mutual understanding, which can improve the condition of the workers,"¹ and in the same statement condemn "Communist Showmanship".

What does the Shiva Sena think is on their credit side? A Shiva Sena leader says:

"We have smashed the Communist movement, they cannot raise their heads now. We will not tolerate Communist meetings and demonstration".² (Bombay 1972)

This points to one interesting phenomenon. As late as 1972, they say that they are not against the South Indians in particular, but against the outsiders in general. But in their earlier issues of Marmik, the anti-South Indians feeling was strong. Further the Marmik issues do not concentrate, i.e. during the last year or so, on South Indians alone. They, of course, keep up the Shivaji cult, but the focus is strictly on Communism. They have reacted to certain structural constraints for which reason they had to define themselves more clearly every step of the way so much so that they dropped some of their anti-South Indians feeling when they published a Malayali pamphlet³ in 1971 to win over the Keralite linguistic group, and also when

1 Rajshree. August 1972. p.27.

2 ^{See} Times of India, for references on S.S., C.P.I. Clashes.

3 Times of India. 12.1.1971.

they supported General Cariappa in the same election. It has been alleged that the Shiva Sena has been patronized by the ruling class. This allegation is not without any ground. The Shiva Sena it seems did receive support from the Maharashtra Congress leadership. From the Chief Minister, V.P. Naik, Bala Saheb Desaid, Vasantdada Patel, to name a few. Mr Y.B. Chavan then Home Minister and a big wig of Maharashtra Congress said that the Shiva Sena was carrying forward the patriotic tradition of Shivaji Maharaj and Loknanya Tilak.¹ In August 1967, the MPCC presided over the celebration of the anniversary of Marmik.² Vasantdada Patel was the guest of honour in 1968 celebrations, and by reports received they were said to have praised the Shiva Sena. Mr Mahadevan of the ruling Congress and former Mayor of Bombay said that S.K. Patil was the person responsible for the growth of Shiva Sena.³ According to the Free Press journal report: "all leaders including Chief Minister Naik at one stage or another patronized Shiva Sena."⁴

The Shiva Sena had apparently no problem with the ruling party. The Shiva Sena was able to participate effectively because of official patronage. They received support not only from the industrialists and political leaders but also from the Police force. This was

1 Dange. Shiva Sena and the Bombay Riots. p.13.

2 Economic & Political Weekly. October 21, 1967.

3 Free Press Journal. 23.6.1970.

4 *ibid.*

brought out clearly during the February riots of 1969. During an unofficial enquiry on the riots held by M.V. Paranjpe, retired judge of Bombay High Court, it was brought out that the Maharashtra Government had issued a circular asking its employees not to support the Enquiry Committee.¹ The most damning evidence was given by D.R. Gadgil, former Home Guard Commandant of Lalbaugh Sion zone.² He said that Bombay's Home Guards were forbidden by the Government from mobilization to help the city during the riots. The orders were to stand by and not even go to the roads. They were forbidden to carry any arms, and a circular was issued by Commandant Manecki that they should not use the Government of India armoury. Till February 14, 4 days after the riots had begun, the political branch of Bombay Police Force had no records of the Shiva Sena.

To come back to our original problem, why if the Shiva Sena were against Communists, have they to involve the South Indians? As we have noted the South Indians were seen as the prime displacers of Marathis, and agents of Communists. We suggest that the South Indian antipathy is derived from Bal Thackerary's own experience as a journalist under South Indian editors, and that a mass of educated middle class white collar Marathi workers found the South Indians as an immediate sources of resentment. It would be quite true to say

1 LINK. June 1, 1969. p.16-17.

2 ibid.

that the south Indians migrants are more qualified for white collar jobs as a whole and are, therefore, seen as a major competitive category by the Marathis. This helped the movement achieve middle class respectability. According to ~~the view of~~ a prominent figure in Bombay wing of the C.P.I.:

"The Shiva Sena is mainly a goonda organisation. There is nothing else about it. It is not an medium for the people but is mainly an agency of the capitalist".

True as the above opinion may seem, yet it is apparent that the Shiva Sena had immense popularity. This was probably due to the belief by the middle class that the Shiva Sena is genuinely fighting for their interests against South Indians, the small businessman harassed by Trade Union demands found the Shiva Sena come as a boon to them. With the middle classes supporting it and the upper administrative roles patronizing it with the industrialists, it was fair sailing for the Shiva Sena.

Ideology and Class:

The ideology of the Shiva Sena has not changed. They are strongly anti-Communist. But quite often in order to build their base strongly with the Marathi sentiment and broaden its scope it had to go beyond the immediate demands, such as 80% jobs to Marathi youth. The 1969 riots on Mysore-Maharashtra border issue and the Belgaum problem. It has been noted that they were critical of the capitalization of the border issue by the Samithi. But

when the left wing Samithi gave it up, the Shiva Sena took it up and created a mass mobilization on this issue, which has nothing to do with the employment situation immediately relevant to them. This was because they needed to keep up Marathi nationalism. By 1969 May of the workers who had joined Shiva Sena initially left it. They still further broadened their area of sympathy by catering to the South Indians and let all other antagonism fall for the anti-Communist one. The State Government strike was not supported by the Shiva Sena and this is believed to have cost them dearly. From a purely regional to a regional cum political to a primarily political, state of transition of ideology is occurring in the Shiva Sena.

Is Shiva Sena Fascist? The Shiva Sena is accused of being Fascist; because of the nature of its organization with Thackeray at the top, and also for its fostering of anti-Communist feeling and a form of parochialism and regionalism.

Bal Thackeray claims Hitler to be his hero. He says, "Yes, I am a dictator, why should we have so many rulers. It is a Hitler we need." This feeling is reflected as late as 1972 when he reiterates his admiration for him.¹ There is a tendency to revise democracy. "Why should we want democracy? It is a Hitler that we need here."² On the lack of theory in the Shiva

1 Rajshree. August 1972.

2 Navakal. 19.8.1967. See Link also August 21, 1967.

Sena he says, "We do not have any particular rule and regulation for the Marathi youth who is behind us, and we understand each other perfectly."¹ And who is a Marathi? Marathi is one "according to Thackeray" who has naturalised himself in Maharashtra, was proud of Maharashtra culture took interest in it and was sincere about the development of Maharashtra"². Therefore, it does not make much sense when Thackeray objects to Chavan calling the Shiva Sena a Fascist organization, through he himself has tied up Chatrapati Shivaji with Hitler.³ On the level of pronouncements Shiva Sena is condemned as Fascist.

Just because Fascism has middle class sympathy and its origins there mainly, and because it arises out of as severe crisis in monopoly capital⁴ and is a rejection or so it seems of parliamentary democracy,⁵ it does not mean that it is a third force against organized labour and finance capital, and is the achilles heel of Marxism or Communist theory.⁶ The idea is that fascism essentially is not an uprising against the horror of monopoly capitalism. Though Scott Nearing VIEW that at the centre of the fascist movement is the middle class, seeking to save itself from decimation and annihilation by

1 Rajshree. p.8

2 Hitavada. 8.9.1967.

3 See Waidya. op.cit. p.27.

4 Paul Sweezy. Theory of Capitalist Development Penguin London, 1965. Chapter Fascism.

5 Mario Enadé - Fascism. International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences. Macmillan Co. and Free Press 1968.

6 View collaborated by R.P. Dutt Fascism India Publication. Allahabad.

Seizing power", may seem true, but it is incorrect when he adds that it is a socialist revolution since its success means the shift in the centre of power from one class to another" R.P. Dutt¹ disclaims the view that the fascism is petite bourgeoisie revolution against big bourgeoisie. The open and avowed supporters of fascism were the representatives of big capital. The financial backing of Hitler was laid bare during the Hitler Lidendorf trial of 1924 and the Bavarian Diet Investigation Committee. Mussolini in Popolo d'Italia writes that "they are against proletarian culture which cannot substitute even in part capitalist organization which is the result of long work and refinement".² They seek to remedy unemployment without damage to the local economic condition.³

What is the stage of Fascism?

According to Dutt the stage arises when there is a breakdown of all capitalist institution and the advance of working class movement has reached a peak but the working class is held by reformist leadership. According to P. K. Kumbhar, General Secretary, C.ITU, Maharashtra.

"In the summer of 1966, we had a twelve day strike in Bombay. There were similar strikes in Calcutta. Workers and supporters had come from outlying districts

1 Dutt. op.cit.

2 Quarterly P. Goglofin. Fascist Government in Italian Life. T. Fischer & Unwin Limited.

3 ibid.

of Maharashtra, some on foot, Some on train, anything they got. Many of them reached in the 18th day, to learn that it was called off." (Bombay 1972)

The leadership of the trade union it is alleged worked against the strike, and the whole design was destroyed¹ and the blame is put on the MPCC dominated INTUC by the C.P.I. and to the C.P.I. revisionist leadership by C.P.I.(M). However, what actually happened is the workers failed to capitalise on the issue and the trade union movement broke up. In that case continues R.P. Dutt owing to failure of decisive working class leadership to rally all the discontented strata, the discredited old regime is able to draw support under specious quasi-revolutionary slogans all the wavering elements, petit bourgeois, the backward classes workers etc. on the basis of crisis and discontent. After the establishment of fascism their sympathy to big capital is made obvious when for instance in Italy, Mussolini gave all help to big bourgeoisie². Mowrer³ alleged that the list of financial patrons of NSDAP became extremely long. Factory owners, managers, general counsels were thick as they might be in the subscription list of the Republican National Committee in the U.S. Among foreign

1 S.G. Sardesai: Fascist Menace & Democratic Unity
P.P.H., New Delhi. 1970.

2 W.Welk. Fascist Economic Policy. Harvard University Press.

3 Mowrer W.C. - Germany puts the clock back. Pengiun Book. London 1938. p.113.

support Hitler had Henry Ford. Shiva Sena's alliance with America was also been made explicit by a letter written to Miss Margaret Cooper, an official of U.S. Consulate in Bombay, by Bal Thackerary.¹

Can Fascism conquer power from bourgeoisie dictatorship? No and never, says Dutt. In Italy's case Fascism was placed in power by bourgeoisie dictatorship of the King who refused to sign the decree of Martial Law and invited Mussolini to power. In Germany, Fascism was placed in power by the President at the time when his party was heavily sinking in public support.

From the above discussion of Fascism the following points emerge.

- i Fascism is not an independent middle class movement;
- ii Fascism arises in a stage of unrest;
- iii Fascism essentially helps the bourgeoisie in crisis;
- iv Fascism is anti-working and anti-Communism; and
- v The monopoly capitalist, small and middle business man support it together with a mass of middle class as in Germany and Italy.

The concept of Fascism was introduced above as an

1 Blitz. 24th November 1969.

interpretative category to understand a few characteristics of the Shiva Sena and to be able to fit them in a context.

So far we have only seen the class antagonisms and sympathy of the Shiva Sena on the ideological and policy levels. In our next chapter we will try to examine its class orientation on the mass level.

We have noted in the chapter the gradual rise of the Shiva Sena, and its organizational framework. We have also given a sort of synopsis of Shiva Sena activities from 1966 to 1972. But the most important aspect of this Chapter lies in the presentation of Shiva Sena ideology, which we noted started off from broad regionalism to definite political attitudes. The Shiva Sena had to gradually shed off its rabid regionalism focussed to extremely on South Indians for a more developed rightist political line of action. Because of its communal and regional leanings, some of the parties which supported the Shiva Sena withdrew their support. This was best manifested after the February 1969 riots of Bombay, when almost every party with the exception of P.S.B. condemned the Shiva Sena. Further, in actual practice it had to win over supporters from as large a group of sympathisers as possible to fight their main objective, which we have learnt in actual practice to be anti-communism. The transition of the Shiva Sena was, therefore, from a spontaneous uprising to a class conscious political movement with the express purpose of containing the red menace.

The category of fascism was inserted as an interpretive tool to see the relationship between Shiva Sena and Fascism. On the level of pronouncements, as we have said earlier, and from the authoritarian structure of the Shiva Sena, it may be called Fascist. Also its extreme hatred of communism and working class unions takes it further down the line. The tool of fascism can be used to explain the class sympathy of the Shiva Sena. The Shiva Sena hopes to attract the Marathi man who is not for communism. We have yet to see which class and type of people support the movement.

The characteristics of the Shiva Sena movement may be arranged as follows:

- 1 Duration - From 1967 onwards.
- 2 Type - Regional and Parochial.
- 3 Ideology and Origin (a) Reactionary - Extreme Rightism; and (b) Directed against non-Maharashtrian mainly South Indians.
- 4 End - to social safeguard the economical deprived of youths, and the concentration of communists.
- 5 Means - Violent.
- 6 Content - Communal.
- 7 Scope - Covering Maharashtra State - mainly in Bombay.
- 8 Organization - Mehoonk of organization in Bombay with its branches (Shakhas) through Bombay.
- 9 Strategy - Public Meetings, newspapers, and periodicals and assault on South Indians, and

*Fascistic analysis !!!
Thane class
Re. ind. only
2/1/64*

leftist forces.

- 10 Leadership ~~49~~ Charismatic and Dictatorship
(See p.8-9 of the Shiva Sena why and why not
Popular Prakashan 1967 for a vivid account
of Thackeray's Charismatic appeal)
- 11 Support - Orthodox and Traditional middle class
Professional frustrated Maharashtrians youths.

On examination of chapters 2 and 3 we find that the Shiva Sena conforms to our idea of a social movement. Though the Shiva Sena has entered the sphere political participation in election under their own party, their issues are not those of administration but of removing or supplementary some portion of existing culture, and some components of which the society is made of. Their activism is mostly on the informal levels, such as street demonstrations, and violence connected with particular issues. In the Shiva Sena Speaks for instance a reference is made that the 'don't want to enter politics, their job is to clean the set up'.¹ Now gradually the Shiva Sena, to survive, is entering the sphere of party politics.

From the beginning, i.e. from 1967 Shiva Sena canvassed for political parties but Bal Thackeray said this was not the reserve of parties alone but also of S.S. which is a volunteer organization.² The Shiva Sena fought for emasculation of South Indians. Bal Thackeray

1 See Shiva Sena speak op.cit. p.1-10. See also 'True Face of Shiva Sena' Rajini Patel, B.P.S.C. Bombay 1972. They did not issue manifesto, as they do not behave in it.

2 p.17. Shiva Sena. Why and Why Not. A.N. Confectionery Popular Prakashan 1967. Bombay.

said¹ a record in 1967 that if the government bans the D.M.K. and the Communist Party, he would disband the Shiva Sena. But still the two factors continue to exist, and the Shiva Sena we feel is gradually leaving this sphere of social movement and is becoming a political party. In the 1971 elections in the legislative assembly a slogan on the walls in Matunga campaigned for votes to Shiva Sena for a clean administration.

I asked the prominent member of the Shiva Sena, as to whether he would consider Shiva Sena to be a party or movement. He said: Every movement becomes a party. It is very natural. Ours is a party now, and we are planning to fight from a strong organizational base. It is inevitable that we should be a party.

(Bombay 1972)

The above also shows the gradual transformation of Shiva Sena, not only in ideology, but also in terms of their transformation from first a volunteer organisation, a form of spontaneous areas mobilization to a increasingly well defined political party.

1 Marmik 7-5-1967

CHAPTER FOURTHE SOCIAL BASES OF THE SHIVA SENA

The Shiva Sena as we have already mentioned was born in 1966, a particularly turbulent period on the Indian Economic Scene. During the year 1965-66, India did not have sufficient rains and drought struck a large number of districts in India. Agricultural production fell to a new low coupled with this, there were two wars on the borders, and it put a severe strain on her already strained economy. In 1966 there was large scale discontent, strikes and retrenchment of workers. India being a predominantly agricultural country, the failure of monsoon had a serious effect on the Indian economy. Not only food crops, but also cash crops and the availability of industrial raw material was affected.¹ The general index of industrial production which showed a steady increase until then, registered a fall in 1965-66,² and the general index of whole sale prices rose from 140 in 1964-65 to 224 in 1966-67 (Base 1960 - 100).³ The consumer price index for

1 Annual Report of Reserve Bank of India and Trend and Progress of Banking in India. Year Ending January 30, 1970. R.B.I. Bombay. 1970. See also Report On Currency and Finance 1969-70. R.B.I. Bombay. 1970.

2 The Reserve Bank of India supplement of the Annual Report. R.B.I. Bombay. 1970.

3 *ibid.* p.3.

workers was equally alarming. Sample the situation in Bombay.¹

	Base 1960	-	100
1961	-		103
1966	-		143
1967	-		158
1968	-		166

Though money earning increased in Maharashtra, but during this period the cost of living rose by more than 60% and real wage in Maharashtra tended to go down.²

	Base 1961	-	100
1963	-		103
1964	-		99
1965	-		97
1966	-		91
1968	-		95

Industrial unrest was, therefore, quite expected and more so in Bombay, being a highly industrial area. The situation was aggravated when the Congress government in Maharashtra which in the name of working class in distress induced a cut upto Rs.50/- in D.A. and passed legislations depriving workers of their right to strike. The Maharashtra Government seeing red put forward a legislation securing legal rights for the workers when it ran the mills as a distress measure.³

1 Unity and Struggle. Path before the Working Class.

B.T. Randive - CITU. Bombay 1970. p.9.

2 ibid. n.p.

3. ibid. n.p.

✓/ The Shiva Sena is largely an urban movement, and that too most of their activism is confined to Greater Bombay, and to some nearby districts such as Thana and Kolaba. Its connection with the rural areas is virtually non-existent. The problems that the Shiva Sena agitates on are not rural issues, but on issues of employment in factories and offices. Bombay in terms of population size ranks among the first ten cities in the world. The harbour and airport of Bombay give it a link to international traffic, and is on the main route between London and the Far East. The state of Maharashtra is subdivided in 20 basic areal units, called districts. Greater Bombay is one of them. Bombay is the capital of Maharashtra state as it was carved out in 1960. Greater Bombay ranks third in growth among the million cities in India. It is preceded by Delhi and Bangalore.

Barring the Bombay-Poona Industrial belt (Bombay more dominant) the other areas of Maharashtra are quite underdeveloped. Greater Bombay stands out not only in terms of sheer population, which according to 1971 Census stands at 5,968,546 which works at to a population density of 1,15,000 persons per square mile, The influx of incoming families is about 300 per day. The concentration of factories and workers in Greater Bombay is far more than any other district of Maharashtra. In Greater Bombay there were 3218 factories and 4,24,28 workers in 1959. By 1967 there were 5,56,357 workers and 4,472 factories, while the total for the whole of

Maharashtra in terms of workers was 8,93,822, and for factories 9,186.¹ Bombay carries more than half of the factories and more than 2/3 of the work force. As a result of over urbanization one in every five in the city lives in a slum.²

✓ Demography, Migration and Occupational Structure:

In the beginning of the chapter we have mentioned the general economic scene of Bombay, and the structural strain as a whole in India. Needless to say, that one reinforced the other. We are trying to find out why the Shiva Sena should have come up particularly in 1966, when the general conditions were somewhat similar for a long time. The precipitating factor was probably the industrial recession throughout the country which aggravated the situation.

✓ The Shiva Sena is a phenomenon of mass mobilization which when political in colour, is possible only when a deep felt need and deprivation are experienced by a mass of people. In this section we shall try to relate certain important aspects of the Shiva Sena to the basic structure of Bombay, and to see the existential bases behind the movement.

1 Statistical Abstract of Maharashtra State. 1967-68.

2 There are 300 slums all over the city as compared to 144 in the early 40s, and about a million live therein. In municipality language pavement dwellers are styled as hutment dwellers, and hutment dwellers are assigned into two classes - (a) hutment dwellers on roads and footpaths; and (b) hutment dwellers on municipal plots. According to 1971 Census, hutment dwellers in class (a) number to 58,242, in city and suburbs and class (b) 2,25,504. About 78% are

The Shiva Sena professes to fight for the Marathi man against outsiders, coming from other linguistic states, and resents the fact that it pushes the Marathi man from his rightful position. For this reason it is necessary to examine the linguistic breakup of Greater Bombay. According to 1961 Census the position is as follows:

Table I

Breakup of Greater Bombay Population
by Major Linguistic Communities

Sl No.	Mother Tongue	Population	
		Male	Female
1	Kannadese	53,064	26,768
2	Malayalam	48,130	17,543
3	Tamil	63,453	40,934
4	Telegu	61,493	36,500
5	Gujarati	4,34,498	3,58,273
6	Hindi	2,59,952	70,577
7	Marathi	10,48,752	7,26,362

(Source: Census of India 1961)

From the above table it is clear that the migrants from Tamil Nadu, nor those of Mysore, nor of Kerala or Andhra Pradesh are the prime removers of Maharashtrians. Even taking the migrants of all the 4 South Indian States who have stayed for over 16 years the number comes to 62,819 while those from U.P. number 66,264. (This figure is only for males).¹

DEPRIVED OF PRIVACY in the whole population of Bombay and only 4.8% residents have houses of their own. See B.K. Doman Behram "A City Killed by Politics". Illustrated Weekly of India. May 23, 1971.

1 Source: Census of India, 1961.

As far as migration figures go, during the period 1951-61 there was a fall in the rate of growth of population in Greater Bombay. The contribution of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh increased, and there was a fall in migrants from the South. In terms of total figures according to 1961 Census 2.67 million or 64% of the 4.15 million enumerated in Greater Bombay were born elsewhere. This is much lower than 72.1%, as enumerated in 1951 Census.

Between 1901-61 there has been general upward trend in volume of population of Greater Bombay, accompanied by a downward trend in the relative contribution of migrants to the total intercensal population in the city. Zacharia¹ attributes the cause for the decrease in net migration due to the increase of capital intensive industries.

We may, therefore, conclude the following points: During 1966 (i) the migration rate was going down, and (ii) the number of South Indians even if we take the 4 South Indians states mentioned together, was not the largest category of non-Marathi migrants to Bombay, (iii) during the period from 1951 to 1961, the contribution of South Indians was decreasing while these from Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat showed a steady increase. Therefore, we can not attribute the Shiva Sena attack on South Indians due to the latter's increasing rate of migration in the

1 K.C. Zacharia. Migration in Greater Bombay. Asia Publishing House, Bombay. 1968. p.337.

immediately
period during, or/prior to, the birth of Shiva Sena.

Occupational Structure, Migration and Literacy:

As it was noted earlier the rate of employment has been decreasing. This is especially true with respect to factory employment. The decline was especially sharp during the period 1966 to 1967, the years of drought and recession.

Factory Employment in Maharashtra

1965	-	965,000
1966	-	937,000
1967	-	942,000

The 1961 Census reveals that 44% of the illiterate migrant workers come from Maharashtra and 28% from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and 6% from Andhra. As a large number of Maharashtrians are illiterate when they come to Bombay their employment opportunities are also restricted.

Zacharia calculates¹ the correlation co-efficient between educational attainment and per centage in industrial division.

1 Zacharia's ibid.

Table II

Rank Correlation Co-efficient Between
Educational Achievement and Industrial
Division in Greater Bombay.

<u>Industrial Division</u>	<u>Illiterate</u>	<u>Primary</u>	<u>Matriculate</u>	<u>Degree</u>
Manufacturing of textiles	+ .87	- .54	- .65	- .60
Metal and Chemical based manufacturing	- .62	+ .09	+ .85	+ .75
Construction	+ .37	+ .05	- .36	- .31
Commerce	- .55	+ .49	+ .12	+ .14
Service	+ .45	- .04	+ .16	+ .18
Transport	+ .27	- .13	+ .16	+ .18

The above table shows the degree of literacy required for certain types of industrial divisions. Those of service, metal and chemical based manufacturing and commerce need literate workers in greater degrees.

Now, the following table¹ will give us an idea of how the literate and the illiterate migrants from the states occupy themselves in the industries of Greater Bombay.

On analysing the table (No. III at page No. 72) we find that a large number of Maharashtrians are engaged in textile mills where rank correlation co-efficient with respect to illiteracy is the highest, i.e. + .87. Keralites number the most in metal and

¹ Source: Special Migration Table No. IV, Greater Bombay. Census of India 1961.

Table No. III

Per Centage of Migrants from the major states in some of the Industrial Divisions in Greater Bombay (Males only)

<u>State</u>	<u>Textile Manufacture</u>	<u>Metal and Chemical Based Engineering</u>	<u>Construction</u>	<u>Commerce</u>	<u>Transport</u>	<u>Service</u>
All States	23.05	18.98	2.74	18.32	11.57	22.21
Gujarat	12.18	18.31	2.51	40.73	6.53	16.73
Mysore	14.63	21.25	1.95	13.55	11.50	35.42
Kerala	10.87	27.48	1.09	15.69	10.46	32.36
Madras	16.14	21.01	3.02	13.08	17.11	26.28
Andhra	32.24	13.70	16.39	5.92	11.28	18.69
U.P. and Bihar	29.67	15.87	1.06	20.39	9.80	18.60
West Bengal	14.08	27.09	1.21	14.97	11.03	29.71
Rajasthan and Punjab	11.50	14.06	7.58	30.03	8.74	25.89
Madhya Pradesh	12.26	18.96	1.81	24.35	14.40	26.39
Maharashtra	28.90	19.67	2.36	10.21	13.48	22.14

chemical based Engineering and also in services which require a high degree of literacy. In these professions which require a high degree of literacy with the exception of Andhra Pradesh, the migrants from the South Indian states are higher than Maharashtrians.

The following table¹ gives us per cent of migrant workers in each occupation by State of birth:

Table No. IV

Per cent of Migrant workers in each occupation division by state of birth, in Greater Bombay

State of Birth	Occupation Division							
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All States	4.1	4.1	12.4	12.8	4.3	29.2	19.8	14.0
Maharashtra	3.3	1.8	12.0	5.8	4.2	33.9	24.0	13.5
Gujarat	6.0	7.0	17.4	29.6	2.7	15.7	11.0	19.5
Mysore	5.5	7.0	18.9	7.8	6.1	20.3	13.2	20.6
Kerala	4.6	9.1	27.4	9.1	4.4	16.7	9.9	17.9
Madras	4.6	5.6	14.3	8.0	3.7	23.1	24.6	15.2
Andhra	2.7	2.8	4.0	4.4	2.5	37.8	34.4	10.8
U.P. and Bihar	2.0	2.1	4.5	16.7	4.3	27.9	23.8	16.3

0 - Professional, technical and related workers.

1 - Administrative, executive and managerial workers.

2 - Clerical and related workers.

3 - Sales workers.

4 - Workers in transport.

5) - Craftsmen, production, process workers and
&) labourers not elsewhere classified.

6)

7 - Workers not classifiable by occupation.

¹ Source: Special Migration Table V. Greater Bombay.
Census of India, 1961.

On a preliminary examination of Table No. IV we find that the South Indians occupy quite a dominant position in categories 1 and 2. We find that in the occupational division 5 and 6, relating to craftsmen, production workers and workers elsewhere classified, the per centage of Marathi is more than that of the "all States" per centage. In categories 0 to 4 they are lower and the difference is quite large in categories 0 to 3. South Indians occupy a better position in respect to white collars jobs. Their composition we may say is mainly of the middle and lower middle class occupation. By matching Table No. II on Rank Correlation Co-efficient of Degree of Literacy with Industrial Division and Table No. III on per centage of migrants in each of the Industrial Divisions we come to this conclusion. Our point is further substantiated by Table No. IV, as has been mentioned above.

However, we must point out that these give us only rough tendencies, for we find that the number of South Indians is quite high also with respect to category 6, which is not supposed to be exactly middle class. On strict analysis of our data we may say that the South Indians (with the exception of those from Andhra Pradesh) tend to be more dominant than Marathis in white collar occupations, though they, i.e. the South Indians, are by no means non-existent in lower class occupations. The Marathi man does not have a better chance than South Indians in middle class occupations but

neither does he overwhelm in lower class occupations. Horizontally, he seems to fare better as we progress from occupational division 0 to 7. It is by no means true that South Indians occupy only the better placed jobs. As a matter of fact the percentage of South Indians in lower class occupation are higher than those in lower middle or middle class occupations. But, relatively speaking they seem to be better placed. The somewhat anomalous factor, however, is that the Gujaratis rarely occupy lower class occupation and belong to literate upper class group. The Gujaratis, however, are not attacked by the Shiva Sena. The Uttar Pradesh migrants are very strong among the lower class as both Tables III and IV, show, but they are not persecuted or atleast not noticed by the Shiva Sena. The Shiva Sena apparently places some importance on middle levels of occupations too. It so happens that the migrants from Kerala and Madras have a better command over the English language which makes them acceptable for posts of stenographers and typists as well. The reflection of competition at this level is seen in one of the pledges of the Shiva Sena in the 22 line handbill, mentioned earlier, which refers to learning stenotyping or some technical trade. This perception also explains their demand that English be made the medium of instruction in Marathi schools in Bombay.¹ We should note again that the Gujaratis are not considered as outsiders by the

1 Shiva Sena Speaks. p.47.

Shiva Sena, though their distributions runs on similar patterns as those of South Indians and they form a substantial proportion of the population of Greater Bombay.

The other significant factor which heightens the tension among the educated unemployed, is that in Bombay the literacy rate is fast growing and stands at 63.96% in 1971,¹ the per centage for males is 71%. The increase in literacy is mainly among the younger generations between the age group 15 - 24. They form the bulk of the category 'first time unemployed', i.e. about 74% according to an earlier estimate.² Especially revealing is that of those in this age group who had worked previously are as high as 37%. The discontent of this group of people could be a vital factor in propelling the Shiva Sena. Especially according to an estimate 80% of Shiva Sainiks during 1966-67 were around 25 years of age.

Shiva Sena and Popular Support:

✓ We shall now go a little deeper into the core of the support structure of the Shiva Sena. We have so far said in a roundabout way of the tensions prevailing during the Shiva Sena uprising. We have referred to the Shiva Sena's attitude towards the South Indians, the Marathi disenchantment about them at the middle class level mainly. In this section we will examine the

1 Provisional Population Tables, Census of India, 1971.

2 Census of India, 1961.

relationship between the popularity of the Shiva Sena and the various linguistic groups of Bombay - those who have been born and brought up there, and those who have migrated. We shall also see if there are any tangible facts expressing the class support and popularity of the Shiva Sena.

We shall first begin at the level of Shakha Pramukhs. During my field trip in Bombay I managed to have a quick encounter with 87 of the estimated 105 Shakha Pramukhs. Due to the shortage of time by questions to them were restricted and I received answers in yes and no fashion. My investigation of them, and the data collected thereby were put under seven divisions, referring to their (i) Age, (ii) Mother Tongue, (iii) Educational Qualification, (iv) Job experience before becoming Shakha Pramukh, (v) Duration of stay in Bombay, (vi) Political background of the family, and (vii) Father's income.

Answers to questions such as father's income were somewhat arbitrarily given. One person for instance said his father died early and was unemployed. When asked for the source of his sustenance, he said that some relations and friends helped him. Few difficulties of this variety were there. Further, the answers to high, middle and low income were given according to respondents own criteria. I present the tables below. In some of the categories given in the tables V and VI (see page 76) I could not place some of the answers given by the respondents as they were too vague. Hence in some cases the responses recorded do not number upto 87 which is the number of Shakha Pramukhs interviewed.

Table No.VAge, Education and Mother Tongue of 87 Shakha Pramukhs of the Shiva Sena in Greater Bombay.

No. of Shakha Pramukhs of the Shiva Sena	Age				Mother Tongue		Education			
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35 and above	Marathi	Non-Marathi	Illiterate	Primary	Matric	Degree/Dip.
	12	42	23	4	87	-	-	15	35	32

Table No.VIJob Experience, Duration of Stay, Father's income and Political Background of the family of the Shakha Pramukhs of the Shiva Sena in Greater Bombay

No. of Shakha Pramukhs of the Shiva Sena	Job Experience		Migrants	Non-migrants	Father's Income			Political Background	
	Yes	No			High	Middle	Low	Yes	No
	21	62	13	74	1	43	37	15	72

From the Tables No.V and VI it is clear that the majority of the Shakha Pramukhs are in the age group 25-35. Almost all of them are literate with a sizeable section who claim to have degrees and diplomas. The other interesting point is that most of them have been born and brought up in Bombay. The class from which they come or largely the middle and the lower middle class. This in itself is not a surprising fact which is peculiar to the Shiva Sena. Leaders at this level are normally from the lower and lower middle class. The only significant points that emerge are (i) their youth, (ii) all of them are Marathis, and (iii) over 80% of them are born and brought up in Bombay.

Masses and Politics:

In order to estimate the popularity of the Shiva Sena I have taken the voting figures as indicator of popularity. I have studied the 1968 municipal council election. I have calculated the rank correlation co-efficient between voting for Shiva Sena and the linguistic group of Bombay in terms of (i) those born and brought up in Bombay, and (ii) of those who have migrated to Bombay. This was made in order to bring out in relief the regional and or linguistic nature of the movement. I have also calculated the rank correlation co-efficient between voting for the Shiva Sena and a sample survey of the levels of income of Greater Bombay. I present the rank correlation metrics below not only in terms of the Shiva Sena but also of the other major

parties who contested the elections for the readers who may wish to interpret something from the. For myself I will restrain to pure interpretation of the figures in connection with the Shiva Sena alone.

Table No. VII

Rank correlation coefficient between votes polled for the Shiva Sena and other major parties, and the linguistic groups of those born and brought up in Greater Bombay.

<u>Political Party</u>	<u>Marathi</u>	<u>Gujarati</u>	<u>South Indians*</u>	<u>Uttar Pradesh</u>
Shiva Sena	+ .95	- .75	+ .52	+ .34
Congress	- .66	+ .54	- .4	- .66
Kana Sangha	+ .467	+ .367	+ .039	+ .3
Swatantra	- .11	+ .55	0	+ .234
S.S.P.	- .783	+ .267	+ .034	+ .489
P.S.P.	+ .167	+ .367	- .483	+ .1
Communist Party of India	+ .559	- .208	+ .059	+ .192

Now we present the rank correlation coefficient matrix between the linguistic breakup of the Greater Bombay migrants and voting for the Shiva Sena.

* South Indians composed of those from Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, the four major South Indian states.

Table No. VIII

Rank correlation coefficient
between votes polled for Shiva
Sena and other major parties
and the linguistic breakup of
migrants to Greater Bombay.

<u>Political Party</u>	<u>Marathi</u>	<u>Gujarati</u>	<u>Uttar Pradesh</u>	<u>South Indians</u>
Shiva Sena	+ .209	- .416	+ .538	+ .45
Congress	+ .15	+ .44	- .33	- .59
Jana Sangha	+ .33	+ .59	- .21	+ .9
Swatantra	- .17	+ .52	- .7	+ .02
S.S.P.	+ .33	+ .35	+ .19	+ .14
P.S.P.	+ .26	+ .492	- .05	- .13
Communist Party of India	+ .15	- .28	+ .25	- .04

The following table relates to the correlation coefficient between the popularity of the Shiva Sena and the levels of income.

Table No. IX

Rank correlation coefficient Matrix
between votes polled for Shiva Sena
and the other major parties, and the
levels of income in Greater Bombay

<u>Party</u>	<u>I n c o m e</u>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Middle</u>	<u>Low</u>
Shiva Sena	- .08	+ .04	- .08
P.S.P.	+ .1	+ .27	+ .05
Jana Sangha	- .06	+ .04	+ .05
Congress	+ .07	- .11	+ .17
Swatantra	+ .34	- .33	- .36
S.S.P.	+ .35	- .03	- .01
Communist Party of India	- .45	+ .012	- .05

On analysing the data ~~pnopre~~-page a few significant points may be reviewed. (i) The relationship with Marathi and Shiva Sena performance is very strong, as high as + .95, (ii) the other interesting fact is that even the South Indians vote quite highly for Shiva Sena. The rank correlation for their voting for Shiva Sena is + .52, (iii) the Marathis who have been born and brought up in Bombay vote more for Shiva Sena than the migrants. The migrants correlations stands at * .209, which shows a positive direction but insignificant correlation ~~migrants~~ superseding the migrants South Indians prefer Shiva Sena for voting figures shows even a higher correlation (of + .45) than that of the Marathis, (iv) by examining the rank correlation with respect to household income we find that the Shiva Sena voting figures have a negative low rank co-efficient correlation with high and low income, standing at - .08 and - .08, respectively, and positive but low rank correlation with middle income group, (v) the Gujarati settlers in Bombay are strongly against Shiva Sena with a negative yet significant correlation of - .75. Even the migrants Gujaratis are not for Shiva Sena. Their rank correlation being - .416.

The attitude of the migrant groups of various categories toward Shiva Sena is farther corroborated when we examine the rank correlation coefficient of the migrants by period of stay with their preferences for Shiva Sena Table No.X below presents the figures.

Table No.X

Rank Correlation Coefficient between
votes polled for the Shiva Sena and
the major linguistic groups of Bombay
according to period of stay.

State	Period of Stay				
	Less than one year	1-5 years	6-10 years	11-15 years	16 years and above
Marathi	- .07	- .16	- .83	- .16	+ .1
Gujarati	- .01	- .63	- .83	- .8	- .76
Uttar Pradesh	- .17	- .16	0	+ .45	+ .42
South Indians	+ .78	+ .54	+ .37	+ .49	+ .30

At this stage we do not know of the other variables which guide the South Indians to vote for the Shiva Sena. This needs to be gone into with an entirely different frame of reference. We have also noted that the class support of the Shiva Sena is at the moment not quite in harmony with our postulated hypothesis. Though the relationship is positive between preference for the Shiva Sena and middle class income (as compared to the negative direction of the other two classes), yet it is not as significant as we had supposed it would have been.

CHAPTER FIVESUMMING UP

In the last three chapters we have touched upon various aspects of the Shiva Sena. There is enough evidence pointing out to the fact that the Shiva Sena is a movement arising from a deepfelt need of the masses in Bombay. In Chapter III we have stressed mainly on the ideological performance of the Shiva Sena, and noted the gradual transitions in its stances, from more regional to regional-political to political.

The experience of Bal Thackeray who served as a journalist under South Indians helped building up the anti-South Indians feeling in the Shiva Sena, as propagated by the Marmik earlier. The hatred of the South Indians was mainly manifested in the middle class occupation of the white collar category. Though, we have noted that the South Indians in absolute terms occupy strong enough position at all levels. The question then arises of occupational competition. It is true that in white collar occupations the competition is stiffer, selection being based on the criteria of achievement. This is only as far as we can talk of the middle class element of the Shiva Sena. We shall come to this later.

Now we may analyse the class orientation of the Shiva Sena. As we said above, the class orientation comprises of three factors:

- i The economic background of the Shiva Sena;
- ii The class lines that it follows theoretically, i.e. its class alliance and class antagonism; and
- iii The class of the masses that are attracted to the Shiva Sena or repulsed by it.

We have noted the situation in Bombay when the Shiva Sena came up. We find that the factors, such as population, number of migrants, physical condition of workers, etc., are not correlated with growth of Shiva Sena movement. We have shown that the conditions, such as shortage of space, over-population and migration remained more or less constant all along the years that the Shiva Sena grew in strength. As a matter of fact the rate of migration during the period 1951-61 had even gone down. As Shiva Sena highlights its antagonism towards the outsiders, this tends to be a significant point.

What we feel, acted as a vital factor in the rise of the Shiva Sena, is the sudden recession, and retrenchment of workers. It is this phenomenon that may have worked up the crisis. In such a situation any movement has two alternatives, either (i) to strengthen the existing frame of structure of (ii) to work against it, to overthrow it. Shiva Sena chose the former. Its

patronization by the state power and also by monopolists reveals that if there is any class element, it is a rightist one. The extremist rightism is further accentuated by the ideological pronouncement of the Shiva Sena, which attacked the Communist Working Class Unions, and supported the Capitalist and State Powers. Further, the Shiva Sena does not support strikes and are notorious for "blacklegging" and strike breaking activities.

What is the actual social composition of the Shiva Sena functionaries? From a survey of 87 Shiva Sainik Shakha Pramukhs, it was revealed that they are mostly literate and come from lower middle classes. This in itself is not a startling fact, as leaders on this level are normally from these origins. The only two significant factors are their relative youthfulness and their linguistic confinement to the Marathis. The Shiva Sainiks generally belong to the age group 25 to 35 and all of them are Marathis.

Next, by seeing the actual mass popularity of the Shiva Sena we come to the following tentative conclusions.

It may be said that the Shiva Sena is strongly dependent on Marathis for their support. But this does not make them a 100% linguistic movement. Our rank correlation with Marathi migrants shows that it is very low. This reveals that being a Marathi alone does not mean strong ties with Shiva Sena, but being a Marathi who is born and brought up in Bombay does. We had noted earlier the preponderance of young unemployed workers in

Bombay within the age group of 30. They are also the people brought up in Bombay while their fathers were migrants, some of whom who had stayed for 16 years and above. We may infer that this youthful unemployed group may have formed the main support base of the Shiva Sena. The point remains that it is the settlers of Bombay, those Marathi born and brought up in Bombay who make up the active supporters of Shiva Sena. This shows that Shiva Sena does have an existential moorings for its growth. It is, therefore, a regional movement.

However, upto date there have been no strikes and agitations staged by the Shiva Sena to press for 80% jobs for Marathis. They have exclaimed this to be their specific aim. As a matter of fact their anti-working class sympathy has not lost them much support from the lower class as my correlation matrix shows. The correlation table shows only that Shiva Sena during 1968, was a generally felt need by most of the Marathis who have been born and brought up in Bombay, and more by the middle classes, though not overwhelmingly. It is true, therefore, that the petit bourgeoisie and the middle classes reacted more strongly than the other classes in favour of Shiva Sena, perhaps because they felt that they were being deprived and Shiva Sena would be their active agent. The fear of South Indians domination was probably felt more on this level, and also that the Trade Union and Working Class activities were a threat to the small businessman.

Is Shiva Sena fascist? By examining the class support we may say that they have for their support more or less the Marathi discontented strata who have been born and brought up in Bombay and come largely from the middle classes. In spite of Shiva Sena's strong anti-Communist and anti-Trade Union lines it had the support of the Working Class, or at least the Working Class were not against it. Is it true, therefore, as R.P. Dutt says, that a fascist movement rises with the lethargy of Working Class leadership in a period in which it can march forward? The class element of fascism relies mainly on a strong sense of primordial loyalties, loyalties of a region, favoured by certain actual grievances which arise from the economic system. Fascism does not propagate to set this system right, but remove the contradiction posed to the system within the system, through extremist rightism and dictatorial authorities.

The Shiva Sena is not a fascist organization to that extent of NSDAP, or Mussolini's Fascist regime. It is on a very small scale, but in a miniature it represents similar tendencies.

From our brief study the following conclusions emerge:

- 1 Shiva Sena is a movement strongly supported by the Marathis born and brought up in Bombay of whom the sizeable section are very young and unemployed.

- ii The Marathi migrants do not support Shiva Sena to a significant extent.
- iii We cannot say strictly that the Shiva Sena is a middle class or upper or lower class movement, though the middle class is its, as our correlation matrix shows, positive supporter.
- iv Shiva Sena professes to be a movement to protect the right of Marathi youth and to fight Communism. Bal Thackeray had said that if the Government of India banishes the D.M.K. and the Communist parties he would disband the Shiva Sena.
- v Progressively the Shiva Sena has shed much of its anti-South Indians stand and concentrated on anti-leftism.
- vi Essentially, the Shiva Sena exhibits Fascist characteristics.

Many of the allusions and popular notions regarding the Shiva Sena which I thought to be true and were part of my hypotheses have been disproved. Some of these are:

- i that Shiva Sena is a purely linguistic movement attracting only and all the Marathis in Bombay, those who have settled there and also those who have migrated to Bombay;

- ii that it is strongly a middle class movement; and
- iii that it has very low or significant negative relationship with the Working Classes. Its support is from the orthodox and traditional, professional Marathis.

The surprising and somewhat unexpected data on the South Indians show that the South Indians vote is quite high for the Shiva Sena,¹ higher than those for U.P. and much higher than of the Gujaratis. This is especially surprising as the Shiva Sainiks, have carried on mass antipathy towards them. Dimensions of this phenomenon may be further explored. There may be three possible reasons:

- i The South Indians vote for Shiva Sena as they are afraid of persecution, and want to live with their antagonists as best as possible. Many Udipi restaurants in Bombay during the period 1968-70, carried a notice saying:
With the permission of Shiva Sena.
- ii They form social contacts with Marathi youth and gradually lose their sense of being South Indians; and
- iii Other reasons.

We are not expressing any opinions on this, but the

1 This calls the lie to Thakceray's statement that in the South Indians constituencies of Bombay they are voting for Menon because he is a South Indian. The Jana Sangha's Organizer of 9th April 1967 wrote

data pattern shows that the relationship of South Indians with Shiva Sena is not as simple as it appeared.

Our hypotheses have been quite modified by the study and are more focussed. The directions are clearer. That is all we have accomplished.

that the South Indians instead of dividing themselves politically stand solidly behind prominent South Indians irrespective of their political need. See also Shiva Sena Why and Why Not? op.cit. p.17-18.

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