

CONCEPT OF POLITICAL ELITE :

SOME INDIAN REFERENCES.

By

Vijay Laxmi Pandit

1 9 7 2

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements of the M.Phil Degree of  
the Centre for the Study of Political  
Development, School of Social  
Sciences, Jawaharlal  
Nehru University,  
New Delhi.

DECLARATION

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

*Ram Kant*  
Supervisor

*Vijay Kumar Pandit*  
Candidate

*Rashidul Hasan Khan*  
Chairman, Centre for the Study  
of Political Development.

December, 1972.

## CONTENTS

Preface	
Introduction	1
✓ Concept and Category	11
✗ Emergence and Recruitment	37
✓ Elites and <u>Social Linkages</u>	60
✓ Ideology and Consciousness	77
Elite Mass Communication	106
✓ Conclusion	118
Appendix	
Bibliography	128

\*\*\*\*\*

## P R E F A C E

It is almost a truism that India is in the throes of social and political changes. Rapid social, economic and political changes are taking place in the country today in a bid to bring about the modernization of her people and raise their general standard of living.

The elite is a crucial element in this process of social, economic and political transformation of the country. It is the elite groups who have been the principal architects of the blueprint for social change and economic development and who are now invested with the onerous task of executing it and translating it in practice. But whether our present elite groups are indeed capable of promoting the declared changes and bringing about a complete restructuring of society still remains a moot question. Whether they would be able to do this will eventually depend upon their own orientations, attitudes, and backgrounds. It is our contention that so long as an elite represents a ruling class its political aspirations are likely to be limited by that class.

This study represents an attempt to try to answer this question on the basis of a critical evaluation of the profiles, ideological orientations and outlooks of the contemporary elites. The study is based on secondary sources, and naturally the conclusions presented here are tentative in the extreme. A more empirically grounded study is contemplated at a latter stage. Meanwhile, it was hoped that an analysis based on secondary

sources will throw problems for study, point out limitations of data and raise questions which can subsequently be answered on the basis of a detailed empirical enquiry, the results of the preliminary enquiry are reported here.

This study has benefitted greatly from education at the Centre for the Study of Political Development and from academic stimulation provided by its faculty. While I am generally grateful to all of them, a special word is however necessary in acknowledgement of my gratitude to my supervisor, Mr. K. Rajani Kanth, for his continued interest and encouragement in the preparation of this study. His help throughout has been most generous. He directed me to the relevant sources, advised me regarding the organization of the material and corrected the earlier drafts of the thesis with care and patience. I am also grateful to my co-supervisor, Dr. Imtiaz Ahmad for kindly suggesting linguistic improvements and for enabling me to make it at least readable. However, I am alone responsible for the many deficiencies from which this dissertation undoubtedly suffers.

Vijay Laxmi Pandit.

## INTRODUCTION

The study of elites constitutes a subject of critical significance to the understanding of politics. It is, therefore, easily understandable that the study of political elites has attracted political and social scientists from Plato to the present day. After all, it is the leaders who, with their powers, influence decision making in a political system. Their social base, recruitment and methods of decision making, <sup>are of interest to the</sup> enable a <sup>political scientist.</sup> ~~society to develop and survive.~~ Today, old societies are passing through a process of development and change, sovereignty has changed, new leaders have come to hold offices with new ideas and play a very important role <sup>in</sup> ~~towards~~ modernization.) In a developing society like India where social change is taking place in an uncertain manner, the study of political elites becomes very essential) for a student of politics and society. In India today the political elite is not merely concerned with the ordinary problems of administration but also with the promotion of social changes. In this study, therefore, we shall attempt to examine the recruitment, <sup>and</sup> formation and profiles of the political elites in India.

The study takes as its point of departure a discussion of the theoretical perspectives on the problem, examining the views of the different thinkers. The study of elites has traditionally been approached from a variety of different

political  
scientist

theoretical perspectives, each of <sup>which</sup> them focusses upon one or the other of the aspects of the subject. The elitist, theorists, i.e. Pareto, Mosca and Michels, thought that society is dominated by some individuals. According to Pareto, the cause of the survival of societies is the presence of elites. The people must follow and accept the elites to attain social utility. The elites have the intelligence, capacity for planning, a sense of duty and solidarity. Power resides <sup>among</sup> in elites in a society, is the view of Pareto. Mosca and Michels think that power does not lie with the elites alone but is shared by the masses also who try to put influence through influential groups of the society. The elite is connected with the sub-elite and <sup>they</sup> thus both exercise power at different levels. Michels goes one step further and says that political elites derive their power not only from their own party but also from outside. They have to depend on the support of those members of the society who are outside their spheres of influence to attain power.

However, quite contrary to the elitist view point, are the writings of Karl Marx, where it is the social forces of production that determine the distribution of political power in a society. According to him economic conditions determine the distribution of political power in a society. The Modern state is represented by the interests of the bourgeois class. Material conditions determine the modes of thought and concepts of life which are formed by a class according to its material

foundations. The ruling ideas of a period are the ideas of the ruling class. The ruling class controls not only material production but also ~~the~~ intellectual production. "The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the dominant material force in society is at the same time its dominant intellectual force."<sup>1</sup>

Marx remarks that every society is divided into two categories, a ruling class and a subject class or classes. The ruling class enjoys the dominant position in the power pyramid because the means of production are possessed by it and this result in its political domination and military domination. There is always a conflict between the ruling class and the subject classes and the class conflict will bring the victory and the power for the working class. Power, according to Marx, thus, lies in the hands of the economically dominant class though in future it will be taken over by the working class.

'Power Elite' theory of C.W. Mills shows the influence of the Pareto and Mosca on the one hand and of Marx on the other. According to him, power is institutionalized in society. The different institutional heads together form the power elite. He stresses the closeness and cohesiveness in the links between the elites and the social hierarchies. The elites at the top level are powerful and determine the decisions for the people. They possess both political power and wealth through social institutions. Thus, the economic, military and political



structures are interlocked to a great extent in modern society. At the top are the economic and military elites, at the middle level of power are the political elites, while at the base are the powerless masses.

Community power studies conducted by researchers like Robert Dahl,<sup>2</sup> appeared to <sup>reveal</sup> think that no clearly defined group may be said to dominate a society. They grant that at any given time some groups may have more influence than other groups but this is a matter that must be tested from time to time, varying from issue to issue. On the other hand other theorists of community power like Floyd Hunter<sup>3</sup> seem to suggest that the unequal distribution of resources in society clearly helps to maintain a fixed stratum in power. In a way however, it seems that both these groups of theorists are aware that it is the privileged few who exercise political power.

For the purposes of our own study we tend to reject both classical elitist theory of the type propounded by Pareto, Mosca and Michels and its contemporary version as exemplified in C. Wright Mills and Robert Dahl. Our contention is that elitist theory does not explain the distribution of power but only describes its formal exercise. The term elite, in our sense is only a descriptive term helping to pin point those members who constitute the political functionaries both in ~~and~~ and out of parliament which might be termed the political elite. The uses of the term political elite differs from the larger

term power elite which is the dominant institution in elitist theory. In that sense the power elite is said to include the administrative, bureaucratic, executive, military and commercial establishments. However, since we do not subscribe to elitist theory per se we have chosen to ignore these establishments which are the instruments of the ruling class. We do not thereby under rate their importance, but we would use the term ruling class rather than power elite to describe them.

After a review of the theoretical approaches to the study of elites, we shall examine the emergence and recruitment of the Indian political elites. The recruitment and background of elites are very important aspects of elite studies. The recruitment process reflects the social system. Social forces try to influence the emergence of the political elites. In India the emergence of political elite can be studied under three periods, i.e. the pre-British India, British India and the Post Independence political elites. The pre-British India was dominated by Brahmins and the Local Rajas. With the dawn of the Moghal period the merchants, financiers and public creditors emerged. The money lending class also grew. The landed aristocracy was another elite group in the society. Zamindar system came into force in the 18th century. On the basis of caste Brahmins and Kaysthas exercised a great influence over the king.

Under British India new classes emerged. The hereditary Zamindari system came into existence. The two important classes

that appeared during this period, were the landlords on the one hand and the tenants on the other hand. The English educated elites also emerged during this period. The civil servants, doctors, writers, publishers and printers were another important elite group that first appeared in British India. The role of intellectuals and nationalist leaders can never be ignored while assessing the development of the Indian political elite. These intellectuals led the Indian National Congress. National struggle for freedom was successful by the efforts of these elites. The capitalists formed the most important elite group in the British period.

( In modern India the political elite has come to be composed of people who both directly and indirectly participate in the decisionmaking process. The ruling party, members of the opposition parties, trade union leaders, leaders of interest and pressure groups all form the political elite in modern India. These leaders by some way or the other influence the decision-making and try to put pressure over the decisionmaking process.

In a democratic country like India the <sup>programmes</sup> ideologies claimed by different elites play a very important role. The political elites try to legitimise their power through the <sup>programme</sup> ideologies. In a developing society economic, social and political changes require a radical ideology which should be put into practice. The political elites present these <sup>programmes</sup> ideologies before the masses to attract them, get their support through these ideologies,

get power and claim their legitimacy, but rarely implement it in practice. In the IVth chapter we will try to study the specific ideologies operating in the Indian political context and the consciousness of the masses as well as the elites. The programmes of ruling party and the opposition party will be taken and then their class basis and class context will be examined. Most the programmes try to claim legitimacy by representing the interests of the underprivilliged classes. Yet the class basis of all the political elites is almost the same though they claim to represent the interests of the people. However, the interests of the capitalists are always best served in practice. The slogans of Socialism, Secularism and Democracy are common to all the parties except one or two, but in practice these aspects never appear in society. The formulas are prepared to get the support of the masses, but as the election passes all the promises fade into dim memory. The masses are not always swayed by rhetoric but in the absence of real changes. They sometimes tend to accept rhetoric for the consolation it brings. The simplest way of political persuasion is to keep making pledges every five years at election times.

The legitimacy of the elites can be examined by studying the elite mass communication in a society. To claim legitimacy the leaders have to interpret the information to the uneducated masses and the circulation differs from the urban to the rural areas. The fifth chapter will be devoted to the study of mass-elite communication in India. After independence the contrast between the urbanized political elite and the rural uneducated

<sup>normally</sup>  
 masses appear and the latter finds it difficult to communicate with the former. In India after independence the public servants seem to have become the rulers while the citizens have become their subjects. The administration is used by the ruling party for its own benefit. The local administrative ruler is merely a ruler and is least bothered to serve the masses. The officers think themselves above from the rest of society and so there is a very low frequency of communication. The Mass-Media is also controlled by the political elite. Radio and press are all controlled either by capitalists or by the ruling party and that information is communicated which is felt essential and good enough to claim legitimacy and power. Thus the political elite is trapped between tradition and modernity in legitimizing its status and power.

The last part of this study shall be concerned with an analysis of the character of the Indian political elite and their potentialities for social revolution and change. The experience shows that the ruling elite in India could not bring the desired socio-economic changes. The political elite in India is appealing for democratic socialism. The power is exercised and dominated by the capitalists who try to show that they are devoted to democracy. ~~Some ideologies operate in India radical acts and revolutionary activities are considered as mindlessness by the governing elite.~~ Majority rule and minority rights are said to be the two basic principles on which democracy is based in India; and though

there is guarantee of some fundamental rights, the political elite still dominates the economic and social life. The Policies are determined by the interests of the dominant economic classes. The rights guaranteed to the people ensure neither the political nor the economic control of the people.

The purpose of this paper is to outline tendencies which suggest themselves on a cursory study of the political situation. In many senses these are critical years for the consolidation of a real democracy in India. Normally studies of democratic functioning tend to fix upon the role of the elites in the furtherance of political democracy. The stand taken in this paper is that the ruling political elite operates within the restrictive system of a class society and therefore, can only negate class rule when it is freed from the shackles of private capital. Therefore, the Political elites, no matter how radical they may consider themselves to be have still to reckon with the political force of the economically powerful classes as well as the role of international imperialism.

As will become clear we study the political elite only to uncover its class character and not because we consider that history is marked by the struggle of the elites. Considering the political socialization of the ruling elite it is difficult <sup>to</sup> ~~to~~ believe that it is rid of capitalist affiliations.

NOTES

1. T.B. Bottomore and Maximillien Rubel, Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy (ed.), Penguin Books, 1970, p. 93.
2. See R.A. Dahl, Who Governs?, New Haven, 1961.
3. Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, California, 1953.

## CHAPTER I

### CONCEPT AND CATEGORY

In the seventeenth century the word elite was used to describe the excellence of a particular commodity. Later the term was used in social and political science to refer to the superiority of social groups, such as crack military units or the high ranks of the nobility.<sup>1</sup>

It has since remained the central point of political science and political sociology. According to some thinkers the elites are the decision-makers; for some the whole community may fall apart without the elites, while for another group the elites are a threat to the survival of democracy.

Political theory projects the image of political practice of a particular time. The writings of the two Italian theorists, Vilfrado Pareto (1848-1923) and Gaetano Mosca (1858-1941), theorize the nature and control of leadership. The state was increasing its influence on all the segments of society. Government was concerned not merely with the maintainance of law and order but it was also trying to become a welfare state. Both Pareto and Mosca felt that a distinction had to be made between politics as the art of governing and the science of government. Mosca argued that in the past writers



had been making recommendations about politics rather than the principles according to which the political system could work. "They were less concerned with determining constant trends in human societies than with the arts with which an individual or a class of individuals might succeed in achieving supreme power in society and in thwarting the efforts of other individuals or groups to supplant them."<sup>2</sup> Mosca was very critical of Aristotle and Marx. Aristotle's classification of government was based on three main criterion - the number of persons who could wield political authority in a society, the degree of wealth, and whether those in authority governed in the interest of the community or only to further their own interests.<sup>3</sup> Mosca rejected Aristotle and said that one must make a distinction between the de jure and de facto authority or between formal and informal authority. A big person consults his advisors, aristocracy is guided by a small group of activists and in a democracy sovereign electorate is manipulated by the politicians. While criticising Rousseau's concept of sovereignty, Mosca said that, government in a democracy is certainly of the people, it may also be for the people but it was never by the people but only by the ruling class.<sup>4</sup> Criticizing Marx's notion of class conflict, Pareto insists:

"Suppose collectivism to be established and that capital no longer exists; then only a particular form of class struggle will have disappeared and new ones will emerge to replace it. New conflicts will appear between the different kinds of workers and the socialist state, between the intellectuals and non intellectuals, between

the various politicians, between the politicians and those they administer, between innovators and conservatives, etc. Are there really such people who imagine seriously that with the advent of socialism the sources of social innovations will be dried up? That men will no longer envision new projects, that interests will not push some men to adopt these projects in the hope of acquiring a dominant place in society.... All our efforts can never result in a fundamental change of this condition, only slight modifications of its form."<sup>5</sup>

The aim of both the Italian thinkers was to refute Socialism, Aristotle and Rousseau.

Pareto's Psychological Approach : Pareto's Treatise <sup>work of</sup> General Sociology, the Mind and Society, is the greatest classical elitist doctrine. Pareto's elites <sup>are</sup> can be wider and more comprehensive than the political bosses of Mosca and Micheles and sometimes wider than Marx's ruling class. ~~Social activity~~ <sup>5A</sup> is explained by ~~fundamental psychological factors~~. The existence of elites is constant throughout history. Individuals are 'physically, morally and intellectually different.' Some individuals are superior to others. Pareto uses the term elite to refer to the superiority in intelligence, character, skill, capacity, power, etc., and those who possess elite qualities become élites.<sup>6</sup> The human excellence can be measured in every human activity, in prostitution and theft as well as in law and medicine and the numbers can be assigned in each index ranging from 0 to 10. "Let us assume", "Pareto suggests," that in every branch of human activity each individual has been given an index

which denotes his capacity; very much the same numbers are given in various subjects in the examination. The highest class of lawyers will be given 10. The man who does not get a client will be given 1, reserving zero for the man who is an out and out idiot.... A great train robber is marked at 10 if he gets away with the money and the petty thief caught in the act gains no marks...."<sup>7</sup> The elites of a society consist of those persons who have highest indices in their branches of activity. Pareto emphasizes the inequality of individuals in every sphere of social life. His evaluation is not moral but it is based on the measurement of achievement.

✓ The elites, according to Pareto, are divided into two categories: a governing elite and a non-governing elite. Governing elite comprises of those who directly or indirectly play some role in governing while the non-governing elite comprise the rest. Together with these there is a higher stratum of society and the lower stratum of society with whose political influence we are not concerned.

Pareto uses the expression heterogeneity to designate the fact that all known societies involve a separation, and in a separation, and in a sense opposition, between the mass of individuals and those who govern, the elites. If Marx gives the account of history in terms of class struggle, Pareto sees history as the relation of elites and masses in a society. A society is characterized by the nature of its elites. There is

very unequal distribution of prestige power and honour and hence Pareto uses the Machiavellian interpretation of Foxes and Lions. The few that are governing may do so either by force or by guile. Foxes govern by gaining the consent. The ideology attracts the masses because the material interest is placed in the ideals. Political elites are naturally divided into two families, one is the family of lions who use the force to suppress the opposition and the family of foxes. So the governing elites either prefer violence or cunningness. "History is the graveyard of aristocracies; the governing class is restored not only in numbers but - and that is the more important thing - in quality."<sup>8</sup>

"Societies are essentially heterogenous in the distribution of residues, the requirement of uniformity is very strong in some individuals, moderately strong in others, very feeble in still others, and almost entirely absent in a few"<sup>9</sup>. If the requirement of uniformity were to fail, society would not hold together, and each individual would go his own way, as lions and tigers, birds of prey and other animals do.<sup>10</sup> (Pareto suggests that the use of violence is beneficial to society and the question can be solved by utilitarian calculus. Social utility is often at times best served if the members of subject class, whose function is not to lead but to accept one of the two theologies according to the case - either that enjoins preservation of existing uniformities or the theology that counsels change.<sup>11</sup> The social utility can be best served if the people accept and follow the elites.

When the rule of the governing elite is threatened, it declines to meet force with force. A small group can impose its will and the ruling elite does not use force; fraud and deceit are used to bring about changes. The subject class tries to employ force in order to topple the governing class, and its success depends on the ability of the governing class to absorb "chicanery, fraud and corruption", the more it is able to do so the more it stabilizes its position. Thus, left without leadership, without talent, disorganized, the subject class is almost always powerless to set up any lasting regime.<sup>12</sup> There will always be a subject class because it has no real leadership as its elite elements are coopted by the governing elite. Governing elite, being small, is greatly strengthened by class I residues (which incline them to rule); the subject class is at a loss of this element and is left with individuals possessed of combination instincts. However, in the long run, the difference in temperament between the governing class and the subject class become gradually accentuated, the combination instincts tending to predominate in the ruling class and instincts of group persistence in the subject class. When that difference is glaring revolution occurs.<sup>13</sup>

Pareto's theory of revolution is based on temperament and sentiments. Pareto states : "In a country where the ruling class ... is becoming less and less capable of using force, it is shirking the main duty of a ruling class. Such a country is

on its way to utter ruin."<sup>14</sup>

✓ In a democracy Pareto's elite includes the opposition and rival leadership of the political parties - only those who are unwilling to participate are outside the elite. Interest groups, trade union leaders who play a part in the domestic sphere sharing the national product also form a separate elite.

Pareto's concept of residues poses many problems, it may assume different meanings in different political, intellectual and historical contexts. It ignores the findings of historians and sociologists because to say that "Leadership of ancient Athens and Modern Democracy both display cunningly tell us little about the policies of each."<sup>15</sup> The concept of residue remains a mysterious element of Pareto's sociology. Some times he equates them with instincts and other time interests. Apparently he really means value in a very obscure sense. Residue is said to be the constant element underlying nonlogical action. In the same context, Zeitlin remarks, "In actuality, as we have seen, this work is neither scientific nor sociological, for his grandiose structure of peculiar terms and concepts adds little, and perhaps even nothing, to our understanding of the phenomena and patterns he singled out."<sup>16</sup>

#### Mosca and Micheles: An Organizational Approach:

Mosca makes a sharp distinction between the masses and the minorities. His submission is that political elite itself is influenced by other social forces. Elites do not rule only

by force but the influential groups of the society also play a very important role. The masses also bring pressures upon the rulers. Mosca argues, for instance, "The pressure arising from the discontent of the masses who are governed, from the passions by which they are swayed exert a certain amount of influence on the policies of the ruling, the political class."<sup>17</sup> The discontent of the masses may overthrow the ruling class but another class will emerge from "masses themselves to discharge the functions of ruling class, otherwise all organization and the whole structure would be destroyed."<sup>18</sup> The elite in modern society is connected with the sub-elite from which the elite recruitment takes place. The stability of any political system depends on the level of morality, intelligence of its elites.<sup>19</sup>

Mosca held that every society will be dominated by a ruling class but the political systems differ in two main respects, the direction of flow of authority and the source of recruitment to the ruling class.<sup>20</sup> There are two principles of elite recruitment. Autocracy and liberal are ideal types of systems of authority to which any society will conform. Mosca takes a liberal conservative stand. He grants the organised majority all the gains through political formula but he does not recognize that the general level of consciousness and rational act can reject the political formula. (For Mosca the fate of 'Ruling Class' depends on its energy, wisdom and political sophistication. It has considerable control over its destiny. A ruling class of some sort is a permanent institution, and efforts to abolish it will

always be abortive.<sup>21</sup> After world war I Mosca favoured representative government, and his standpoint became more pluralistic. (The Ruling Class incorporates the leadership of the plurality of interest groups or social forces which effect major decision-making in a society. The ruling class may be divided into two or more parties, competing for votes. The under-privileged sections of the electorate will be used by the ruling class in their struggle for power. Mosca defends the representative government. It has the means of utilizing the talents of a country, permitting the abler elements of the governed classes to enter the ruling class.<sup>22</sup>

Both Pareto and Mosca base their theories on the conception that basic human nature is selfish and brutish. Karl Popper's observation about Pareto can also be applied in the case of Mosca. "His prejudice is the anti-humanitarian religion. Had he seen that his choice was not between prejudice and freedom from prejudice, but only between the humanitarian prejudice and the anti-humanitarian prejudice, he might perhaps have felt a little less confident of his superiority."<sup>23</sup> Mosca while criticising Marxism, has not quoted Marx directly in his work. However, the ideas of Marx played very little role in Mosca's own theory. The economic development and class formation relationships have been ignored in both Pareto and Mosca. "In all the 476 pages of the Ruling Class, one finds not more than one direct quotation from Marx - a fact which would hardly merit notice if the subject matter did not play such a great role in



Mosca's mind."<sup>24</sup> Mosca's elitism finally sheds its scientific clothing and is revealed as an ideology - a political theory for middle classes.<sup>25</sup> Mosca did not try to see the connection between class formation and economic development. In this connection Engels remark, "it was so easy to win the great masses of the people by the merely plausible false representations of the forward-thrusting minorities, why should they be less susceptible to ideas which were the truest reflection of their economic condition, which were nothing but the clear, rational expression of their needs...."<sup>26</sup>

(Michele's theme is elite control depending upon organization. Organizational ability grants power but any organized society gives rise to an elite. Michele's formulation was "who says organization, says Oligarchy."<sup>27</sup> The organizations studied by him were the socialist parties of Europe and in particular the German Socialist Party. These parties were dedicated to equality and democracy. According to him democracy requires organization which in turn leads to oligarchy. The leaders were regarded as the agents of the mass party. Michels contended that even such organizations displayed the 'Iron law of oligarchy'. Leadership becomes essential for the success and survival of any organization. A political party tries to gain power by canvassing and supplying information for speakers. Mass control conflicts with efficiency and is replaced by policy making, technical administration, resulting in complete control of the party

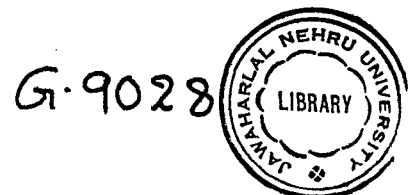
passing into the hands of its leading politicians and bureaucracy. "With the advance of organization, democracy tends to decline democratic evolution has a parabolic course.... It may be enunciated as a rule that the increase in the power of the leaders is directly proportional with the extension of the organization."<sup>28</sup> (According to Michels, true democracy cannot be installed until the fight is over between the elites and masses.)

Michels demonstrated that power breeds power. The leadership controls party funds and the channels of information. Experience and expertise are words used by the leaders to legitimise their power and position. Party plays a great role in the whole political system. The ruling party has to be very powerful both - physically and ideologically to win elections and attract people not in line with the ruling party to its programme.

The masses are apathetic according to Michels and this has been aptly termed by him as 'the perennial incompetence of masses.' The masses do not represent themselves but are represented by others... the strike, instead of being a field of activity for the uniform and compact masses, tends rather to facilitate the process of differentiation and to favour the formation of an elite of leaders!"<sup>29</sup> (People are concerned with politics when it affects their private life. The same applies to the members of the party. The inner group constitutes power



Y48.44<sup>6</sup>y7<sup>6</sup>N6  
L2



and is more influential. Even revolutionary agitations are undertaken by a small minority. The submissiveness and apathy of the masses provide ideal conditions for the establishment, giving it the ability to lead. The majority will never rule despite universal suffrage. The rule of the mass in a democracy is impossible. Democracy, however, allows the existence of rival parties; competition ensures the growth of influence. Michels says, "The defects inherent in democracy are obvious.... It is none the less true that as a form of social life we must choose democracy as the least of evils."<sup>30</sup> Finally he writes: "It may be said therefore that the more humanity comes to recognize the advantages which democracy brings, less likely it is that a recognition of the defects of democracy will provoke a return to aristocracy."<sup>31</sup>

#### Marxist Theory : Ruling and Ruled Classes:

Both Mosca and Pareto claimed to create a science of politics which was in opposition to socialism and especially to Marxist theory. Marx's theory can be interpreted in the following propositions: In every society there exist two categories of people -(1) a) A ruling class; b) subject class or classes; (2) The ruling class enjoys dominant position because it possesses the major instruments of economic production, but its political dominance is consolidated due to its hold on military force and over the production of ideas.

(3) There is always conflict between the ruling class and the subject classes and the conflict is influenced by the change in technology. "The History in all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles. Free men and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journey men, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending"<sup>32</sup>.

(4) The lines of class conflict can be seen in modern capitalist Societies, because in these societies there is divergence of economic interests. Capitalism brings more radical polarization of classes; on the one hand, there is concentration of wealth enriching a few, and, on the other hand, there is extreme poverty. "The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonism. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the antagonism. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other, bourgeoisie and the proletariat."<sup>33</sup>

(5) The class conflict in a capitalist society will bring

ultimate victory to the working classes. This victory will be followed by a classless society. The tendency of modern capitalism is to build a homogeneous working class so there will be no divisions in society. The revolutionary struggle of workers will itself promote cooperation and sentiments of brotherhood and these will be strengthened by a natural social doctrine arriving out of the process of the revolutionary movement.

Marx's theory has been criticised on various grounds. The economic interpretation of history has been attacked. Pareto and Mosca argued that historical changes cannot be explained in economic terms, but Marx did not say that all social and cultural changes could be explained by economic factors.<sup>34</sup> He said social changes could best be explained by changes in economic activity which brings into existence new interests and social groups. Marx's most damaging criticism is by Weber who said modern capitalism cannot be explained by economic interpretations alone. Weber introduced many qualifications including the recognition that protestant doctrines were mainly accepted by those groups who were engaged in capitalist economic activities. But Weber's own thesis is also not valid. The connections between protestanism and capitalism do not explain the rise of capitalism.

The value of Marx's concept of the ruling class depends on the consolidation of ruling class which requires concentration of economic military and political powers. In most of the

societies, class formation had started with acquisition of economic power. It can be said that the different types of societies conform to various degrees to Marx's model of society which is divided between a ruling class and ruled class and ruled classes.

Burnham: An economic Approach:

Most Marxists dismiss elitism as bourgeois ideology. Despite this fact there have been attempts especially by Burnham, to demonstrate that the two theories are complementary and may be combined fruitfully. Burnham's main contention is that the capitalist system will decline and will be replaced by a society, controlled economically and politically by a managerial elite. Burnham's first assumption is drawn from the elitists that politics is always a matter of struggle between groups of power and status and a small group controls the decision-making process of society. Social changes take place in the shift of composition of the elites.<sup>35</sup> The old elite <sup>is</sup> replaced by the new one. The classless society is impossible and Russia <sup>is</sup> a proof that a new class of rulers arises necessarily.

However, <sup>goes on to say</sup> Burnham ~~is a Marxist when he explains the basis~~ ~~elite's power.~~ The control of means of production provides a dominant position of a group in a society. "The controlling group will prevent others gaining 'access' to the means of production and it will receive 'preferential treatment' when the product-in money or goods-is distributed."<sup>36</sup> It is a sign of stress in a society if control of access does not bring with it preferential

treatment and status. "In normal circumstances... the easiest way to discover what the ruling group is in any society is usually to see what group gets the biggest incomes."<sup>37</sup>

Power for both the Marxists and elitists is cumulative control over production. It gives control over political power, social prestige and wealth. State institutions are integrated with the economic control. Burnham<sup>however,</sup> suggests that in a capitalist system there is separation between economy and state. The success of elites<sup>is said to</sup> depends on the monopoly of means of production. When a new technique of production develops, the position of the existing elite will be undermined.

Capitalists previously were the managers of their own enterprises but with the passage of time and the development of managerial system paid professionals became managers - controlling the finances became the sole objective of a capitalist. The decline of the capitalist class will follow the capitalists losing his grip on money. A skilled technical elite is a totally independent phenomenon free from capitalist clutches but technology is an essential factor in modern production. Control over access is decisive. The capitalist ruling will be overthrown in favour of classless society but will be ~~dis~~<sup>re</sup>placed by the managerial elite. The government will be executive in nature and will be ruled by the bureaucracy. The civil servant in Britain, state planner in the U.S.S.R. and business executives in the U.S.A are men who function more as industrial managers than as politicians.

### C. Wright Mills: An Institutional Approach:

Mills defines the power elite in much the same way as Pareto defined his governing elite. He writes, "We may define the power elite in terms of means of power as those who occupy the command post."<sup>38</sup> This elite, according to Mills, is the product of the institutional landscape of a society.

Mills distinguishes three major types of elites in U.S.A.: the corporation heads, the political leaders and the military chiefs and then enquires whether these three groups are combined together and, if they are, what combines them together. One answer is that they form a single group of power elite and are the representative of the ruling class. Some institutions occupy the 'pivotal position' in society and the upper most hierarchy enjoys the command positions. If these hierarchies are scattered, disjoined, then their respective elites tends to be scattered and disjoined; if they have many interconnections and points of coinciding interest, then their elites tends to form a coherent type of grouping.<sup>39</sup> So there should be closeness and cohesiveness in the links between the elites and the social hierarchies. For a national power elite there should be a link between the leadership of hierarchies. This 'institutional proximity' is at its strongest where individuals interchange commanding roles at the top of one another and can pass from one institutional order into another.<sup>40</sup>



The elite in U.S.A. though composed of a few great families is recruited from the wealthier classes. The power in U.S.A. is not an attribute of classes or persons but of institutions. "The power elite consists of those who are in position to make decisions having major consequences and in command of major hierarchies and organization of modern society."<sup>41</sup> The elite has potential power rather than actual exercise of power. The means of exercising power are concentrated in a few hands. The inner core of elite potentially determines the role for the others and for itself. The freedom and democratic values in U.S.A. are by the plurality of elites competing for popular support. The elite who occupy the command posts may be seen as the possessors of power and wealth and celebrity; they can be seen as members of the upper stratum of capitalistic society. They may also be defined in terms of psychological and moral criteria as certain kinds of selected individuals. "So defined, the elite quite simply are people of character and energy."<sup>42 (U2A)</sup>

#### The Reputational Approach:

This approach is mainly associated with the name of Floyd Hunter. His book 'Community Power Structure' comprises a number of stages, each of which is designed to check on the previous stage. In the first stage Hunter obtained a list of a regional city, the chamber of commerce, the league of women voters and newspaper editors and civic leaders. These named 175 leaders. The criteria for this preliminary selection vary in important

respects in the next stage. There was the selection of a panel of fourteen 'experts' or 'Judges' who were representative of religious, business and professional people'. The panel balanced young and old, male and female, Negro and White. This panel was asked to select the top leaders from each list. The judges reduced the leaders from 175 to 40. The attribution of power rests on reputation of the leaders according to judges. Hunter interviewed 27 out of the 40 leaders who were asked to name the 10 top leaders'. To know the cohesiveness it was asked how well one was known to the other'. The top leaders indicated that most of the leaders knew each other before and worked on the committees together. An inner group of twelve leaders nominated each other as friends acquaintances and fellow committee members. A gulf is noted in the leadership stratum and the professional administrators. It can be presumed that a clearly defined group dominated the public life of Regional City.

The business leaders <sup>were found</sup> are active in policy decisions including the plans of development, traffic control and introduction of sales tax. Top most leaders formulate the big policies as the representatives of policy making businessmen. Regional cities, according to Hunter, <sup>is</sup> are ruled by cohesiveness and conspiracies of businessmen'. The politicians <sup>in</sup> of legislature are also sometimes businessmen who are <sup>guided</sup> controlled by economic <sup>motives.</sup> elite. Economic institutions dominate. <sup>43</sup> Hunter fails to distinguish the community over which leaders wield power'. The method is dependent

on judges who may give a totally different picture. The whole impression is formed only by interviewing the 27 judges. The interviewed persons named 64 additional persons who are not examined in details.

The Decision Making Approach:

Robert Dahl's Who Governs? suggests the decision-making approach. He examines the question who governs in a democracy. In Dahl's view there is inequality of distribution of influence resources in a community. Power is held by those who have wealth, status or enjoy high business positions. ~~Political decisions play very little role in the decision-making process.~~

Dahl held that it would be interesting to examine the political decisions in a community and see whether one group makes decision in many aspects of the community. Dahl examines New Haven society politics from the 18th century to 1950 and <sup>mid twentieth Century</sup> shows that how the power structure changes in response to a society's changes. His main conclusion was that all communities form an identical pattern of decision-making. "In order to compare the relative influence of two actors (these may be groups, classes, individuals, parties and what not), it is necessary to state the scope of the responses upon which the actors have an effect. The statement, 'A has more power than B', is so ambiguous as to verge on the meaningless, since it does not specify the scope".<sup>44</sup>

Dahl Dahl selected three issue areas for the list of influence. These were decisionmaking on urban redevelopment, decision on public schools and decision on political nominations particularly for the post of the mayor. A number of areas were studied. The decisions which the mass community regarded important, the leaders thought them unimportant and were disregarded. Dahl distinguished three categories of potential leaders; politicians, social notables and economic notables. He examines, whether these three groups exercised influence together on one issue or they examined the three issues concerning them. The decision-making was done in a pluralist way, which Dahl has termed as 'Polyarchy' which means all such groups will have equal information, equal opportunity to participate, equal recourse to influence.

In any society political resources are not distributed equally. Some sections have more resources of influence than others and the distribution will vary from one society to another. Despite the inequalities every group has power when it has the right to vote. Each member of a community possess equal political rights although it <sup>may</sup> be minority. The politicians themselves are also a minority group competing for public office so they cannot ignore the claims of the 'majority for a long time'. The opposition will moderate its policies and ultimately all political parties will construct a programme so that they can satisfy the largest group of the community. Equal Political

participation may not exist but there is also not a single elite. The people's influence is indirect, through political voting. Their strength causes the elites to modify the policies. The awareness of masses will ensure that every minority will be heard by the leaders and actions will be taken. Most of the students of political elites agree that power is basic to the idea of an elite. Dahl suggests that the phenomena of power can be expressed in the following formula: that, group has an ability to effect political decisions.

/ In short, those who have some scope and control over the aspects of political process are the political elites. Who have power but do not actually exercise are potential elites. "The ruling elite hypothesis implies that all political systems are alike, but in practice the distribution of political systems influence seems to lie always between these <sup>two</sup> extremes; the number of possible distribution is endless; and it is reasonable <sup>to</sup> conclude that the number of different distributions that actually exist or have existed is very great."<sup>45</sup> Dahl, however, forgets that in every community there are only some who exercise power and all the community members do not actively participate.

#### Model in India:

Indian society is passing through the developmental process and so it is very difficult to discover a single trend which has developed here relating to political elites. The narrow purpose of our paper is only to demonstrate the close

linkage between the political elite and the ruling class. In fact we believe that the whole political apparatus is ideologically oriented to serve the status quo. It is further our contention that the slogan of socialism propounded by the decisive political elite i.e. ruling congress party is largely an illusory effort to check the inevitable decay of a transitional system that is giving way to revolutionary forces.

The only distinction we make is between the decisive and the influential political elite. For our purposes the political functionaries of the ruling party are the decisive elite whereas the opposition largely serves as an influential political elite which checks the movements of the government. Ideologically speaking, however, we find that the communist parties differ from the rest of the political spectrum because of their vital disagreement over the fundamentals of our constitution. Therefore, while they are considered here <sup>as an</sup> influential elite it must be born in mind that they can only be termed elite in a very special sense as the vanguard of the revolutionary working class.

In our usage of the term elite therefore, we make a very important distinction. We do not use the term elite to imply that the only conflict in society is between elites and masses. We are inclined to support the contention of a class struggle between the capitalists on the one hand and revolutionary forces on the other. The elites are certainly differentiated from the masses in terms of wealth, standard of living etc. In that sense the elites are privileged groups as against the masses that are

underprivileged. But the real basis of conflict is the struggle between capitalism and socialism. Therefore, it is the class factor that is relevant for social conflict and social change. We believe that our democracy is a democracy imposed from above by a ruling elite that represents the general interests of the capitalist class.<sup>46</sup> In this sense the elite is a political intermediary between the capitalists on the one hand and the *the ruling* large mass of working population on the other. The role of elite is ambiguous. To stay in power it must soothe the frustration of the working population, while at the same time securing the interests of the rich capitalist and landlord class whose wealth is as important as the votes of the poor. Therefore, like the concept of the 'mixed' economy the ideology of the ruling political elite is also mixed with both socialist and capitalist notions.

NOTES

1. T.B. Bottomore: Elites & Society, Penguin Books, 1971, p. 1.
2. Mosca: The Ruling Class, New York, 1939, p. 1.
3. Geriant Parry: Political Elites, London, 1969, p. 24.
4. Ruling Class. p. 53. WV
5. Vilfredo Pareto; The Mind & Society, Vol. II, New York, 1935, p. 455.
- 5 A. The Elitist Theorists are never quite free from the change of Psychological reductionism which is implicit in both Pareto and Mosca Society // Can rarely be explained by Psychological factors as Durkheim demonstrated.
6. Irving Zeitlin: Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory New Delhi, 1969, p. 187.
7. Pareto: Vol. III, op.cit. p. 1422.
8. ibid., p. 1427
9. ibid. Vol. IV, p. 2172.
10. ibid., p. 2172-73.
11. ibid., p. 2175.
12. ibid., Vol. VI, p. 2179/
13. ibid., Vol. IV, p. 2179.
14. ibid., p. 2191.
15. Geriant Parry: op.cit., p. 49.
16. Zeitlin: op.cit., p. 194.
17. Mosca: op.cit., p. 194.
18. ibid., p. 51.
19. ibid., p. 53.
20. ibid., p. 493
21. I. Zeitlin: op.cit., p. 202
22. Pareto: op.cit., p. 415.
23. Karl Pepper: The open Society and its Enemies, New York, 1963, p. 318
24. James H. Mical; The Myth of the Ruling Class, Michigan, 1962, p. 296-97/



25. Geriant Parry: op.cit., p. 42.
26. Karl Marx & Engels, Selected Works, Vol. I, Moscow, p. 114.
27. Robert Michels; Political Parties, New York, 1959. p. 418
28. ibid., p. 33
29. ibid., p. 349 / 50.
30. ibid., p. 407
31. ibid., p. 407
32. T.B. Bottomore and Maximilian Robel: op.cit., p. 207
33. ibid.,
34. op.cit., p. 50
35. G. Parry: op.cit., p. 50
36. James Burnham, Managerial Revolution. London, 1942, p. 56.
37. ibid., p. 57.
38. C. Wright Mills: Power Elite, Oxford University Press, 1969. p. 23.
39. ibid., p. 19.
40. ibid., p. 200
41. ibid., p. 4.
42. ibid, p. 13
- 42 A. Although C. Wright Mills was a critic of the kind of democracy that prevails in the United States it will be wrong to characterise Mills as a Marxist. He was certainly not using historical Materialism in his Critique of the Power Elite. His approach is better characterised as part of the liberal tradition.
43. F. Hunter: op. cit.,
44. Robert A. Dahl, A Critique of Ruling Elite Model.
45. Robert A. Dahl; Modern Political Analysis, New Delhi, 1965. p. 35.
46. It must be clearly understood that the ruling elite supports the ruling class and vis-a-vis only in an impersonal, general fashion. At any particular time there may well be, as indeed there are, conflicts between leaders of the ruling elite and individual capitalists. Therefore, the contention of this paper is only that political reformism in the long run can only serve the interests of capitalism by preventing a working class revolution.

## CHAPTER II

### EMERGENCE AND RECRUITMENT

The study of the emergence of political elite is very important for an understanding of their role in a society. In a sense the emergence of the political elites with which we are familiar today is really linked with the withdrawal of the British colonialists from Indian soil, and the setting up of national sovereignty in Indian hands. During the years of British rule, in the era of classical colonialism it was the deliberate policy of the English rulers to woo the more important elements of the feudal nobility like Rajas and Maharajas while also giving prominence to that section of the Indian capitalist class which fell in with British political policy. In its struggle against imperialism the struggling Indian bourgeoisie helped to sustain the more right wing leadership of the Congress party while suppressing its left wing. However, the actual struggle for independence resulted in political power passing into the hands of the moderate and centrest leadership of the congress party. Prof. Bipan Chandra remarks:

"What is of far greater significance, the class as a whole including some of its conservative members never opposed the National Congress politically and always remained within the mainstream of the national movement. Even while keeping their individual or class political position autonomous showing scant regard for the Congress

programme of non-cooperation, civil disobedience and boycott, the capitalist spokesmen supported the Congress political stand, particularly after 1928. Even when enjoying periods of economic honeymoon with the colonial authorities, they did not urge or encourage the political movement to surrender or to compromise on essentials. As a class, the Indian capitalists refused in spite of blandishments to enter into a separate political agreement with the colonial authorities behind the Congress back."<sup>1</sup>

While the ruling class exercised its power through its political wing which was fairly united on a reformist appeal it still had to reckon with divisible tendencies of caste, religion and language. Traditional cleavages based on caste and language continued to be important tension areas for the political elite long after independence. Several national crisis were seen to be linked with these phenomena like the gruesome language agitation that rocked the country with massive hartals and bandhs all over the country. The anti cow slaughter agitation which caused greater embarrassment to the ruling government in the capital seat of government itself is illustrative of the critical importance of these ascriptive phenomena.

The patterns of elite recruitment are interesting because of the light they throw on the existence of narrow cultural chauvinism that prevails and dyes the character of politics in India. We wish to suggest that apart from the class factor which plays a crucial role in orienting the policies of the ruling political elite it is also other, secondary factors like caste

and sect which also interferes in the normal process of 'secular' politics. Instances abound to show how caste preferences still influence the selection of the candidates.

The sketch that follows is a historical outline of the composition of feudal and colonial elites largely during British rule in India.

The elite recruitment process reflects as well as effects a society. Elite recruitment process determines the political participation and influences the kind of policies that will be enacted as well as effects the distribution of status and prestige and the stability of the system.<sup>2</sup> It indicates development and change, and reflects the shifts in the intra-structure and the infra-structure of a society. Recruitment is the central function of a society and embraces two processes. Sometimes the elite is changed as a result of change of ideology and attitudes, while the second possibility is due to the changes in the ability and ideas of the elites. Social forces also influence the emergence of the political elites. As Marx said the economic changes take place due to class change which in turn changes the political structure. Mosca also said, "Those who govern are unable to deal with the least flurry; and the changes that a strong and a intelligent ruling class would have carried out at a negligible cost in wealth, blood and human dignity take on the proportions of a social cataclysm."<sup>3</sup>

The recruitment process can be studied under three trends:

(1) The pre- British political elite, (2) The elites in British India and (3) The post independence political elites in India.

✓ PRE-BRITISH POLITICAL ELITES:

Traditional India was divided into tribal principalities headed by local kings or Rajas.<sup>4</sup> The rulers enjoyed the highest status and power but were restricted by the influence of Brahmins or priests. The Vedic age was dominated by Brahmins as they influenced the policies through their advise. The Vedic Age ended about the middle of the first millenium B.C. by which time the earlier institutions had become well developed. The Brahmins were now extremely influential as royal advisers, and kingship in most cases was hereditary. The caste system was gradually forming more rigid groups.<sup>5</sup>

In the eleventh century the Muslim invaders came to India and represented a foreign culture. The observations of 17th century foreign travellers to India throw light on the system of that period. Terry visited India in the time of king Jahangir. He says that "As all rivers run into the sea, so many silver streams run into this monarchy, and there stay."<sup>6</sup> The Mughal period was dominated by the merchants who acted not only as financiers but also the public creditors. The other important class was the moneylending class which used to give money on interest. These merchants were not entrepreneurs. The Indian merchants had no legal backing. They had their merchant groups. B.B. Misra remarks that their interest was the concentration

of economic power and not its diffusion.<sup>7</sup> These commercial elites aimed at the division of the society in two groups: the rich and the poor. These elites had no independent significance because they did not enjoy social prestige. The Mohmmadans belonging to this group lived with Hindus, followed their practices and controlled trade and navigation.

The landed Aristocracy was another important elite group in the Mughal period. Landed aristocracy was not only the most dominant commercial group, it also had great influence over the military and the bureaucracy. Wealth was obviously concentrated in the hands of the upper class of the nobility, landed or commercial. In view of the country's technological backwardness, however, the landed nobility dominated the commercial group through their control over the military and bureaucratic apparatus of the state.<sup>8</sup> The Mughal Amirs and nobles constituted the landed aristocracy. The government recruitment was also from this group. The Amirs got their salaries either from the royal treasury or from Jagirs. The hereditary principle was observed for the recruitment. The official aristocracy of the Mughals thus lacked both economic stability and psychological security.<sup>9</sup>

In the 18th century Zamindars formed another important group of elites in Indian society. They represented the interest of the landed aristocracy. These elites formed the feudal structure of society. The military and bureaucratic recruitment was from these groups.

The economic, political and social factors interact with one another. There is always a cycle which leads from one factor to another. Social status may promote economic status while both may promote political status. So we can examine the emergence of Indian political elite against the background of their economic and social backgrounds. The joint family system and caste were the striking features of Indian society. Caste was the basis of the occupational structure which restricted the mobility within the social organization. Caste was considered as the divine order of society according to which a man's status is determined according to karma. "Caste, as has been said was another cause of social stagnation. Its ritual basis and occupational immobility obstructed the transformation of status into contract as the principle of social organization. It was a Brahminical institution based on the law of karms, whereby a man's status in his life is determined by his actions in past lives. Under this law all living creatures, including human beings remained subject to a repeated process of transmigration or a cycle of birth, death and rebirth unless by virtue of their good deeds they secured a merger with the Brahma. Caste was thus supposed to be a divinely ordained social system under which every individual was born to fixed state of existence, to which were assigned fixed occupations and fixed status.<sup>10</sup> Indian Society recognized only the duties and not the natural rights of man. It hindered social and occupational mobility in society. The Brahmins enjoyed the prestige of the elites. They influenced

not only the social structure but also the politics of the early periods. But it cannot be said that the recruitment of elites was strictly from the Brahmin caste because the king could raise the low caste men to higher status and position if they had wealth. Caste tended to be weakened by yet another factor. Nothing could prevent a despot from raising a low caste to a position of dignity, and once a person was so raised he acquired a social significance by virtue of wealth and power. A whole community of Kayasthas rose in status through royal patronage.<sup>11</sup> The Kayasthas had considerable influence over the Mughals as they constituted the class of clerks and writers. While they were not from the higher caste, they had shrewed knowledge of Persian and love for alcohol. But Brahmins remained dominant except in some areas. They had with them the superiority of caste, simplicity, of dress, good temper, vast knowledge, character and feelings of service and sacrifice. It is pointed out by Misra that the Brahmins were not only influential among Hindus but by virtue of their knowledge and fortune they had influenced the Muslims also.

The political elites, i.e., the governors and the heads of the different departments of the states, were recruited from the Amirs and at the district level the recruitment was from the Mansabdar groups who used to execute the revenue and judicial business on behalf of the monarch. The recruitment was on the hereditary principle. The learned professionals were another important elites of the Indian society in Mughal periods.



There were physicians astrologers, scholars and priests. The scholars comprised philosophers, writers and poets who used to be in the royal Darbar and were maintained by the King and Rajas. They used to influence or participate in the political process by flattering and agreeing with the king. This is short, can be said to have been the pattern of growth and emergence of elites in Pre-British India.

EMERGENCE OF INDIAN ELITES UNDER BRITISH RULE:

Under East India Company in 1833, a new condition developed and a new elite emerged. These new conditions were rule of law, rights of agricultural class, the security of private property, education, laisses faire policy and social reform. The new demands made social mobility possible. The large scale industries and technology developed and communication and transportation improved so that the new classes developed in this period. "Radical changes accompanied the advent of the British in India. In the absence of an adequate political and economic system, they transplanted into India their own form and principles of government and economic organization which they modified only to suit local condition."<sup>12</sup> "As a result of the impact of British rule and English education, India went through a social transformation that began in a mild way late in the 18th but gathered momentum in the nineteenth century."<sup>13</sup> In this period the despotism of Mughals came to an end. The feature of British rule was that civil authority dominated the army. The

rules were for security, private property and circulation of capital. In the Mughal period there was no mobile naval power. The British entered India by means of river and road transport and got them repaired where the need was felt, but as the factories were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta the new classes emerged with these modern towns.

In the second half of the eighteenth century a new commercial middle class emerged which was engaged in business and banking-houses and was known as Banias. This group performed business functions and constituted a group of middle men. The Dalals and Brokers were also from this class. The Nawabs and Zamindars wanted to restrict these groups because they feared that these groups will take over all the trade from their hands and will become more influential in the government. Under the Mughals intermediate landed interests existed which consisted of Zamindars, Jagirdars and cultivators. Then there was a class of small landowners who cultivated their land. (The rights of these groups in pre-British period were not well defined and there was always a struggle between the higher landed interest and the lower landed interest. When the Company took over the administration, a hereditary Zamindari system developed. | These Zamindars exercised influence in their community and to a large extent in the government also, but because of this influence the government could not misuse its power. The Zamindars exercised authority to collect revenue without caring for the way how it had to be exercised and the main aim was to get maximum profit.

In the Mughal period the Zamindars and land-owners exercised policy making powers in their areas, and with the function of revenue collecting the peace-making function went hand in hand. As the government powers declined, the executive and judicial functions were also taken in hand by these elites. British rule weakened the structure of this aristocratic elite. A strong political authority which exercised judicial and executive functions left no room for Zamindars. The right of lower landed interests were recognized which gave rise to a sub-elite, i.e. the landed middle class. / It is against the background of his regard for the interest of the new landed middle-class that some of Cornwallis's other measures which weakened the old aristocracy of Bengal can better be explained. Although generally supposed to have been partial to big land holders, he recognized Taluqadars.<sup>14</sup> These smaller Zamindars could give their revenue to the government directly. The revenue collection by auction gave rise to another elite group which was known as commercial brokers or Banias. The Permanent Settlement -- encouraged another group of subelites comprising a number of intermediate proprietary lawyers.

Thus, the middle class interests were served by the Acts of the British government. Under the British land became a commodity which could be sold or bought and this became a status issue for the aristocratic class. Class consciousness developed and two classes emerged; the land lords and <sup>peasants</sup> tenants.

The former can be termed as the elite while the later as the masses. The middle class comprising of commercial group and Baniyas can be termed as subelites in society. "The revenue laws of the British effected another change of great social significance. They introduced an element of class consciousness. It arose from legally defined property rights, enforcible by courts rather than customs. It was on the basis of these rights that the agricultural classes later became divided into tenants and landlords, each class depending on its interest against encroachment by the other. A class concept of society in fact began with law and legislative authority."<sup>15</sup>

#### PROFESSIONAL ELITES:

The British education was aimed at the quality of opportunity because the main aim of liberalism was to break the monopoly of any sort. The other aim was to produce intellectually and morally strong persons so that they could perform their functions efficiently. "These ideas and institutions of a middle-class social order were imported into India. They did not grow from within. They were implanted in the country without a comparable development in its economy and social institutions'. The Indian middle class which the British aimed at creating was to be a class of imitators, not the originators of new values and methods. The west proceeded to develop education so as to satisfy the needs of an already developed economy. India under the British proceeded to develop education so as to form a class to develop its economy. That was the British theory of

'infiltration' which was to apply to both educational and economic fields.<sup>16</sup> English education was considered necessary for political requirements and demands of urbanization. The belief was that if the classes which enjoyed influence because of wealth received western education and became teachers, they could train their countrymen in the same fashion. The result was specialization and professionalism.

The significant profession that emerged from the western education system was the legal profession. The lawyers known as Vakils in Indian language used to act as the arbitrators and used to charge fees for the legal advice. The disciplinary provisions were ensured for their dignity. For instance, irregularity in Court became an offence. Persian was an essential language known by Vakils. Thus, Vakils emerged as the new professional elites in British India.

UNCOVENATED GOVERNMENT SERVANTS:<sup>17</sup>

The civil servants were divided into two categories: Covenated and Uncovenated. The former had to sign an agreement before they were appointed to ensure their honesty or public conduct. Till 1853, and in the whole period of Company's rule, no Indian was recruited to this branch. The uncovenated service was the subordinate agency of revenue collecting, administration and justice to which Indians used to be recruited in a very limited manner carrying specified salaries. From 1774 to 1786 most of the districts remained under Naibs but Europeans occupied these

posts. The requirement of public services increased and as a result uncovenanted service had also to be expended. The number of Indian civil servants employed also increased in different departments. For the sake of political purpose, a line of demarcation was drawn between the covenanted and the uncovenanted services. The recruitment of this elite was on the basis of good character, good family background and competent knowledge of English, Persian and Bengali languages. In the long run Indians began to fill in higher posts in the civil service, thus creating a new elite group during the British period. The catalytic agent in the emergence of the new class was the establishment of British power as ruler of the country and its needs for Indian personnel to help it not only in administration of the country but also during the first few decade of the Company's rule in the conduct of its trading and business operations.<sup>18</sup>

#### DOCTORS, WRITERS, PUBLISHERS & PRINTERS:

During the British period there was an advancement in medical studies. In 1835, Calcutta Medical College was opened, but the grants were not fulfilled till 1852. In 1845 Bombay took the lead and Grant Medical College was established to educate medical men in India. The young graduates did not accept government appointment and practiced privately.

Writers, publishers and printers influenced the society generally. The European Missionaries established their printing

presses for spreading Christianity in India; the press later on became the most effective means for influencing public opinion and government policies. Educated Indians contributed to the growth of literature, these were either authors or translators. In this way these new professional elites could be considered as the elites of the British India who exercised influence not only over the society but also the government.

### CAPITALISTS:

After the introduction of a factory in Bombay in 1851 a number of Cotton Mills sprang up in Bombay and Ahmedabad; thus ushering in capitalism. Parsis, Jews and Gujrati Hindus were dominating in western sector while in eastern sector the monopoly was represented by British and Scottish interests. From the 1930's onwards the Marwaries occupied the most dominant position in sugar mill industry. The other groups were Narangs, Birlas, Dalmas, Jains and Tatas. The modern capitalist elites in India emerged from the import of foreign capital and skill. The expertise necessiated the construction of roads, railways and other public works and after the experience of the first world war the government encouraged direct industrial participation and its development. By that time the capitalists became more conscious and entered the national movement. This capitalist elite started supporting the future political elite. The Swadeshi movement contributed to the growth of the textile industry and it encouraged the political consciousness of the industrialists.

From 1914 to 1918 was the period of economic and social strength of derived from industrialization. "Indian capitalist class began its upward claims during the second half of the nineteenth century from extremely modest beginnings. The traditional banking and commercial capital of India was destroyed or diverted during the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. The Indian capitalist class remained weak for years lacking in self confidence to challenge the mightiest imperialism. The consistent and continuous opportunity to grow combined with the fact that the Indian industry invariably developed at least till 1918, through Marx's second path, from the top, also made Indian bourgeoisie quite conservative in politics of modern India. All major capitalist families developed during the 19th century from rather humble beginning.... Although capitalist class did not depend on the British capital dependent on colonial administration.... Capitalist class was dependent on government for guaranteeing law and order and social peace in the period of intense social, political and labour unrest. Multifarious dependence on the government compelled the Indian capitalist class to adopt moderate political approach and to function in the economic realm in close relationship with the government."<sup>19</sup>

The Indian National Congress was influenced by the ideology of Mahatma Gandhi and his political leadership. He opposed the modern industry but the capitalists thought that the economic and political sacrifice would benefit them in future. Gandhi's



social philosophy was a defence against class struggle. The top capitalists used to give financial help to the party. The demands by the labours were self condemned because poverty was idealized. The monopoly of control in economy tended to lead to monopoly control of intellectual, political and social life of the people.<sup>20</sup>

#### INTELLECTUAL ELITES:

The role of the intelligentsia in the social, economic, and cultural development is of great importance. Before modern industries were established, the modern intellectual elite developed which studied western culture, democratic doctrines and concepts. In the 19th century the number of educated Indians was small. The British Government established more schools and colleges and in the second half of the 19th century the number of educated Indians increased. It formed the bulk of the intelligentsia.<sup>21</sup> Thus, (the elite group brought about a large number of socio-economic and cultural reforms within the government in the country. The organizers and leaders of political movement came forward and brought the ideas of nationalism and freedom through educational propaganda. The contributions of this group in the field of literature, science, poetry, philosophy and economics can never be ignored. To quote Desai: "In fact the progressive intelligentsia which assimilated modern western democratic culture and comprehended the complete problems of the incipient Indian Nation, were the makers of modern India."<sup>22</sup> English was thought necessary to be learned

by the middle class in order to maintain the administration of the country. In order to carry on the administration of such a vast country with cultural and social backgrounds so different from that of the imperial power, it became necessary to teach and train Indians not only in the official state language but also philosophy, arts, science and literature of the ruling country. The English educated middle class which came to form, in course of time, the social and political elite of the native population was thus the product of British rule in India.<sup>23</sup>

The political elite in British India came from the intellectual elite and the combination of both could be seen in the leadership of the Indian National Congress which was basically a middle class organization till 1918. After 1918, when Congress attained mass support, its leaders were from the intellectual class. Gandhi, C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Bose, C. Rajagopalachari and other socialist and communist intellectuals were all members of the educated middle class. By the end of the nineteenth century the political and economic discontent gave rise to the terrorist movement led by Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chander Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh. The educated middle class grew more conscious and a number of other organization like youth league increased, representing the interests of teachers, lawyers, engineers and the other groups in the 1930s. "The national struggle for freedom was pioneered and conducted by the new middle class. It is this class which expressed the hopes and the aspirations of the

resurgent nation. This articulate class successfully appealed to the national sentiments of the people, provided the necessary leadership and set personal examples of sacrifice and suffering in the national cause of freedom."<sup>24</sup>

From 1939 to 1945 was the period of World War II. Some of the Congressmen lost their confidence in the Congress Socialist Party's ideologies and programme and the party was composed of petty bourgeois social base. The dissident tendencies grew within the party and small parties like Forward Block, led by Subhas Bose, took shape. The Muslim League became a strong organization. The communist party spread its influence among the students, workers and other depressed groups. Later-on the kisans accepted the leadership of the Congress. The Congress Party was controlled by the capitalist class and the politically conscious left groups tried to influence the politics of the Congress.

#### MODERN INDIAN POLITICAL ELITE:

After independence, changes came in the pre-British and British trends. Educated intelligentsia was attracted by the western concept of democracy and many of them, having participated in the freedom movement, were now not only the leaders of Congress Party but also formed the Indian political elite. These people occupied a unique position in the power pyramid of the country. The recruitment of the modern Indian political elite is done by provincial leaders because the names are selected by these leaders and then final approval is made by the Central

Committees of the different parties. In this way the provincial leader became like the high command which has to be satisfied. Only then a person can enter the gate of the power pyramid. They have to bow before the provincial leader, show him their complete submission. Whenever the need for the expansion of the Cabinet is felt, the legislators would come to know the fact, they would pay a visit to the leader saying they came for 'darshan' and the process would continue till they have been taken into the Cabinet and for this recruitment neither merit nor ability are the criteria. (The corruption of upper levels leads to the corruption of lower level because when offices of political elites are misused the favours have been offered to the followers also and the rewards result in immoral consequences but the political elite is never worried for the immoral acts and the sub-elite also gets the rewards when it has been recruited to the elite group.

The basic ground for the victory of the political elite immediately after independence was its background of the freedom struggle. The other group of influential political elites in India are the capitalists, who are government beneficiaries and pay a huge amount of donation and can influence the policies of the government in any fashion they like. Although sometimes steps have been taken to defend the masses against the interests of the capitalists, but in the long run they get the benefits. Although the competition is free and open for elite recruitment, but indirectly wealth and ideology put restrictions on every man to enter elite groups.

The most important basis for recruitment into the decision making political elite is obviously the ideological concurrence with the policies of the ruling party. Atleast one would assume that this should be so. However, the evidence of this phenomena is rather confused. In this respect perhaps a reference should be made to the role of the congress party which has always been a nationalist party but without any sense of direction for a long time. Before independence it was a movement for national liberation but after independence it has largely remained a movement for the consolidation of its own power. Conflicting ideologies have all found a home within the Indian National Congress. As Rajni Kothari points out it has largely served as an opposition with-in itself.<sup>26</sup> Of late the congress under Indira's leadership has been given to radical socialist pronouncements which would make it appear that today congress is a party that stands for socialism.<sup>27</sup> But knowing the versatility of Mrs. Gandhi and the congress it would be difficult to be sure whether this policy will ever come to stay.

Moving from speculation to experience one doubts the content of this socialism that is proclaimed by Mrs. Gandhi. One cannot be sure whether ideological distinctions remain valid in political practice. The manner in which the congress has absorbed all the old pro-syndicate members who had been denounced earlier as reactionary only shows that much of the talk of socialism is so much radical posturing without any real content.<sup>28</sup>

Recruitment to the top leadership of the party is still based on a <sup>shrewd</sup> sense of political stability, whether it be a manipulation of caste, religion and ofcourse wealth. The concentration of economic power in a few hands and their close association with prominent members of congress party leaves little room for doubt as to the controlling interests behind Mrs. Gandhi's socialism.

NOTES

1. Bipin Chandra: International Seminar on, "Imperialism, Independence and social Transformation in the Contemporary World." March 24-29, 1972, New Delhi, p. 28.
2. ✓ Laster G. Seligman: "The Role of Elites: Elite Recruitment and Political Development;" in Political Development and Social Change (ed.), Finkle and Gable, New York, 1968, p. 321.
3. Mosca: op.cit., p. 119.
4. ✓ D. Mackenzie Brown: The White Umbrella, Los Angeles, 1953, p. 4.
5. ibid.
6. ✓ 'A Voyage to East India; (1665), quoted by B.B. Misra in the Indian Middle Classes, London, 1961, p.119.
7. ibid. p. 22.
8. ibid., p. 26.
9. ibid., p. 41.
10. ibid., p. 47.
11. ibid., p. 51.
12. ibid., p. 52.
13. ✓ B.M Bhatia; Dialectics of Modern India; A critique of Dialectical Materialism in relation to Indian History.
14. B.B. Misra: op.cit., p. 130.
15. ibid., p. 140.
16. ibid., p. 11.
17. ibid., p. 175.
18. B.M. Bhatia: op. cit., p. 23.
19. Bipin Chandra: op.cit., p.
20. A.R. Desai, Social Backgrounds of India Nationalism, Bombay, 1966, p. 206.

21. A.R. Desai: Op.cit., p. 196.
22. Ibid., p. 197.
23. B.M. Bhatia, op.cit., p. 24.
24. Ibid., p. 28.
25. Rajni Kothari, in his book, Politics in India, remarks, "The Congress has been more a framework of consensus than a discrete political party ..., the Congress soon became arena of bargaining, conflict, and arbitration". Orient Longman Ltd., New Delhi, 1970 pp. 152-223.
26. "The Congress is the only party which can place its programme before the people with a sense of responsibility. The Congress pledges itself anew to these challenging tasks to a social revolution ..... The Congress is the only party which has the capacity to achieve such a social revolution". Election Manifesto of Congress Party.
27. Pendakanti Venkatasubbiah -- was general Secretary Congress(O) But given Congress (R) ticket just before elections is Right now M.P. Congress (R). Men like Jaisukhlal Hathi, have come back again to Congress.



### CHAPTER III

#### Elites and Social Linkages

In a democratic, developing society such as India today, the elected legislators inevitably occupy a pre-eminent position. The modern Indian political elite comes from higher castes, class and occupational groups. The reservation of seats for the scheduled castes and tribes has encouraged a very limited number to participate in the decision-making process in India. Apart from the actual decision-making body i.e. the legislature, bureaucracy and pressure groups and interest groups also play a very important role in decision-making.

The relationship between the political elite and the capitalists has encouraged the policy of give and take. The capitalists contribute to political parties a handsome amount of finance in the hope, that they will be able to influence the policies in their own interest. The election in India are very expensive and only those who have money can win elections. In the following table the total election expenditure incurred during the third general election has been shown.<sup>1</sup>

#### Election Expenditure by Parties in 1962.<sup>2</sup>

<u>Party</u>	<u>Total Rs.</u>	<u>Average per candidate:Rs.</u>
Congress	15,853,231.01	4,769.32
C.P.I.	1,951,271.90	2,011.62
Swatantra	3,631,875.16	2,999.07
P.S.P., S.S.P.	3,110,051.31	1,598.18
Jana Sangh	2,126,347.80	1,591.58
Other Parties	2,638,874.55	1,807.45
Independents	5,829,101.00	1,334.50

Most of the parties and the elites depend upon financial support on big business houses. In the year 1961-63 contributions made to Congress and Swatantra by business houses are shown in the following table.<sup>3</sup>

Contribution to Congress and Swatantra Parties by major registered companies in 1961-63.<sup>4</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Congress (Rs.)</u>	<u>Swatantra (Rs.)</u>
1961-62	7,904,197	2,076,151
1962-63	981,970	54,200
1963-64	302,593	7,700


Both the tables respectively show that a large amount of money is needed to contest elections and a handsome amount of money is given by the different companies and capitalists to political elites.


This close linkage between big business houses, industrialists and capitalists and the political process as expressed through the elections clearly shows the prominent role which the former play in politics. It can naturally be expected that if the capitalists give such large donations to the political parties they naturally expect that <sup>policy</sup> ~~process~~ <sup>that</sup> to favour their interests. However, to the extent that the capitalists themselves do not form the political elite (some individual capitalists may be politicians, but that is another matter), it would be worthwhile to look at who are the political elites of the country, what social background do they come from, what

are their social characteristics, what stratum of society do they generally come from? Do they represent any particular stratum of society, or do they represent a cross-section of the Indian society. And, finally, what are the linkages between the elites and the masses in terms of their social characteristics.

Social background is a composite index and can be examined by reference to a number of factors or elements which go to make up the individual. We deal with each of these elements separately.

✓ Caste: Caste is a striking feature of the Indian social system. The constitution outlawed caste and Parliament declared untouchability a criminal offense, but no specific changes have been noted and caste is very deeply rooted in the whole system. Though all the leaders condemn caste but no measures have been adopted for its abolition. On the other hand, politicians use caste as an important tool in their election campaigns. Not only the ruling elite but the opposition parties also pamper caste consciousness. The communists, also do not challenge caste, "The Congress Party is not alone in pampering caste consciousness. Even the Communists do not seriously challenge it. On the contrary, they have championed politically strategic caste lobbies, including at times the anti-social and anti-nationalist interests of village landowners. The Indian Communists are in truth a thoroughly disruptive element in the body politic, for the very reason that they unscrupulously exploit particularist tendencies. In turn, they have themselves

been infected by the forces of disintegration, and, even if they ~~wanted~~, are unable to function as a unifying force capable of transcending barriers."<sup>5</sup> The caste lobbies have been championed  by the political elite. The selection of the candidates has also been done on caste consideration.

 Studies of the political process over the years have shown that caste is far from its way out in Indian society. On the contrary, they have shown that the democratization of Indian society and the introduction of representative political institutions since independence has given a fillip to the institution of caste. Caste has come to constitute a reservoir of political power and political parties use caste frequently. Caste associations act as vote banks in India. The quest for power and getting majority lead to strong caste organizations. Castes have become political groups as illustrated by the Jats and Akalis in Punjab, Kayasthas in Bihar, Kammas and Reddis in Andhra, Patidars and Kshtriyas in Gujrat, Muslims in U.P. and Harijans every where.<sup>6</sup>

There are no available studies of the caste background of the Indian political elites, legislative or otherwise, for the whole country. This makes definitive statements about their caste background difficult. Nevertheless, studies for a number of areas are available, and these provide certain broad indications which can be used to form some general impressions. These studies point to an underlying continuity in the caste composition of the Indian political elite from the pre-independence

period.) > It has been noted earlier that the traditional political elite of the country consisted almost exclusively of the upper castes. This trend was also continued during the nationalist phase.) To begin with all the prominent leaders of the nationalist movement were members of the high castes. < A shift no doubt took place in the caste characteristics of the elite after Gandhi, but the over-all picture did not change materially. The bulk of the political elite continues to belong to the relatively upper castes of society.

The available literature suggests that the situation with regard to caste has not changed materially. The traditionally superior castes continue to dominate the political scene. There are, however, two main points of difference. Firstly, the post-independence period has seen the emergence of numerous elites belonging to the so-called backward intermediate castes. Such castes are the Ahirs, Kurmis in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, Okkaliggas in Mysore, Kammas and Reddis in Andhra Pradesh, and Naidus and Chetyars, etc., in Tamil Nadu. Perhaps, representatives of the rise of the intermediate caste leaders is the emergence of men like Charan Singh in politics.

The second difference is the emergence of low caste and tribal leaders. This has been made possible by the fact of reservations. A certain number of seats in legislative bodies are reserved for the so-called scheduled castes and tribal groups and there is also reservation for them in the administration.

Members elected on these seats now constitute political elites. However, a fact worth noting is that the benefits of such reservations have usually occurred to the well-off sections of these castes who share a great deal of life-style of the higher castes rather than their own caste or tribe fellows. One should be careful about eulogising the so called changes in the caste composition of the elites. True, > the lower castes are better represented today than ever before. < But to study caste without reference to class is absurd. > The role of wealth and property is still the decisive criteria of suitability whether the caste is high or low. <

#### Bureaucracy:

The public policies are not formulated solely by the political elite. Expert advice is always a pre-requisite for decision-making. In India the bureaucracy is modelled on the British Parliamentary system. Popularly elected legislature exercises control over the bureaucracy through the ministers. The ministers are supposed to be responsible for affairs of their departments. The bureaucrate is directly responsible to his minister. It is difficult to draw a hard lines between the areas of the ministers and the civil servants.

Ordinarily a bureaucracy is assumed to be the executive wing of the political elite, serving as an impersonal organisation which translates the policies of the political elite in to practice. To a large extent, though corruption is rife in the

Indian bureaucracy as much as the political elite itself, the civil service in India retains a measure of impersonality vis a vis the masses.<sup>6A</sup> However, the bureaucracy is not an impersonal agency serving an abstract master. It would be closer to the truth that though a bureaucracy is formally accredited to the political elite it is more concretely the executive agency of the ruling class. / It is possible on the basis of a study of socio economic background to link a common pattern of education and status between the bureaucracy, the political elite and the capitalist class. "... But they help in proving the statement that for proper control over bureaucracy, a well-organized and well-developed party system is essential. Otherwise India should be prepared for arbitrary rule of bureaucracy or status quo behavior of bureaucracy. In the absence of effective party government, bureaucracy can seize the initiative and exercise effective power in the country. Or in the absence of political leadership, bureaucracy also starts playing safe and exercising the cautious role of implementing rules and procedures. Politics and parties have a direct impact on the working of bureaucracy in the country."<sup>7</sup>

However, it is not necessary to conduct empirical studies to demonstrate that the ruling class, the political elite and the bureaucracy are united in perspective. It is enough to know that they share the same premises of a system of class relations based on the existence of private property. All these agencies operate under a common class definition and often their interests

also lie in the same direction. Occasionally however, a particular political elite may have differences with a particular bureaucracy which might disagree with a particular capitalist class as the situation is today. Mrs Gandhi's congress is at odds with a primarily colonial bureaucracy that was trained under British rule and with a section of capitalists in league with international imperialism and with a set of land owners who are revivalists in character. This is obvious enough. But this does not gain-say the fact that capitalists and landlords are still vital for the congress to survive. Therefore, the class basis of Mrs. Gandhi's rule is not unlike her predecessors and neither is the caste composition of her cabinet. Even in terms of religious representation Mrs. Gandhi's Cabinet remains primarily a Hindu cabinet belonging to dominant castes all over the country. The conservative nature of bureaucracy is almost axiomatic and the Indian civil service is no exception. They are still markedly differentiated from the masses in terms of standard of living, education and social status. Mrs. Gandhi's recent call for a change in orientation of the bureaucracy is most likely to pass unheeded. Institutional orientations cannot be changed by a voice vote. Until the material basis of domination is unchanged, the administrative service even under a reformist political elite will remain essentially conservative. "We must give due thought to institutional innovations in the field of the administration of the country to save the citizen against the abuse of authority by the bureaucracy. The villain of the piece will be known."<sup>8</sup>



### Pressure Groups:

The pressure groups are organized in India, on the basis of common interest. These groups are not political organizations and they do not contest elections. The groups keep close relationship with the government agencies so that they can influence the policies. The pressure groups in India can be divided into four categories:

1. Special interest groups, namely business, trade unions, peasant organizations, working journalists, students and teachers' associations.
2. Communal and religious groups.
3. Caste, language and regional groups.
4. Groups based on Gandhian ideology.<sup>9</sup>

### Business Organisations:

Businessmen, a term which is a euphemism for the capitalist class have always played an important role in the political life of the country. The several chambers of commerce and industry which are usually the political clubs of regional capitalists serve as extremely influential pressure groups which influence political decisions both at the regional and the national level. They have a prominent if not decisive say on important financial and commercial matters like fiscal policies, credit control, regulation of trade and industry and other decisions crucial to the development of the economy. They influence the political policies giving gifts to the leaders of different parties,

institutions providing jobs to the relatives of the different political leaders in the industrial field. Big businessmen do not only make the contributions but they also control the press, being the owners of the different papers and journals. The businessmen contest the elections also, either by joining a specific party or independently.

Apart from the fact that several major monopolists elect themselves directly to parliament, there remain a host of other ways by which they manage to make their presence felt. All the ruling political elites since independence have <sup>helped</sup> ~~helped~~ to consolidate the economic and political positions of the local bourgeoisie. And one finds that in India despite the awakening of the masses, the growing role of public opinion, the wide spread nationalist feelings and the emphasis on socialism, capitalist enterprise continues to grow phenomenally. It is interesting to see how the total investment of private capital has grown rather than decreased since independence as K. Brutents points out:

"In India, for instance, the share of local companies and individual businessmen in total investment in the economy grew from 44 per cent in 1948 to 83 percent in the mid sixties. Following independence dozens of large industrial establishments slipped from under British control. Tata, Birla, Thapar, Mookerjee and other representatives of big Indian capital advanced to leading positions in the metallurgical, cement, sugar, paper and other industries."<sup>10</sup>

The political aim of the business houses is obviously to influence the policies of the government in such a way that business, trade and industries are safeguarded. A large number of industries have been protected against foreign competition. The second Five Year Plan, had to be revised to favour the capitalist class.<sup>11</sup> Sometimes the businessmen very strongly oppose the policy of the government. The nationalization of Banks and life insurance, abolition of privy purses are the different policies for which the steps of the government were not only opposed but compensation to the shareholders and the property owners was also asked for. In the policies like rationing, rice zones and anti-hoarding ordinance the interests of the businessmen and industrialists dominate. The instrument of trade was the wholesaler's grain association which controlled the marketing machinery and exerted great influence in the congress party through the financial contributions and developed relations with politicians and officials. In the foreign policy also the businessmen and industrialist play an important role. When their profit motives are found in danger by the foreign policy of the government, they oppose it and put pressure on the government to protect the business interest.

The role of private capital and business organizations has not been dimmed by the fact that a fairly large public sector exists side by side. The reasons for this are many. Apart from the flourishing corruption rampant in public enterprise the very policy of fostering the public sector undermines the

role of state control. In fact it would not be incorrect to say that the public sector acts as a prop to support the private sector. In this context Gunnar Myrdal observes:

"In weighing the reasons for and against public participation in the industrialization of India, it should be stressed that the interests of private business do not normally conflict with expansion of the public sector of big industry. Government investment is meant to be concentrated in heavy industries where little private initiative is forthcoming. To the extent that these investments create external economies or provide goods that would otherwise be scarce owing to the strained foreign exchange situation, there should be, on the contrary, a harmony of interest.... Instead of being used to supplement government revenue and help to mop up purchasing power, the public sector functions to inflate private profit."<sup>12</sup>

The influence of the monopolists can be gauged from the fact that recently the monopolist press has won a legal battle against the government which sought to curb the capitalist strangle hold over the media. It is generally seen that all key decisions relating to restriction of private capital are taken only after wide spread consultation with the leading capitalists. Beyond certain limits the political elite cannot go against private capital if it is to survive for a long period.

#### Trade Union:

Under the reformist policies of the successive congress governments that have ruled India since 1947 the state, atleast

nominally has tended to support labour as against management, at least on minor issues like working conditions and wages. While the principle of collective bargaining has been largely proclaimed as the policy industrial relations it is easy to see the power of the capitalists as against the working class. While the communist parties do take up the struggle of the working class in earnest the state has not been averse to unleash repression on defenseless workers' time and gain.<sup>12A</sup> "In a system functioning on the basis of competition private monopoly, or private profit the workers right to have recourse to peaceful direct action... should not be unduly curtailed.... (But) in an economy which is organised for planned production and distribution, aiming at the realisation of social justice and welfare of the masses, strikes and lock-outs have no place."<sup>13</sup>

While it is not relevant here to examine the claim discussed in above paragraph it is still worthy to note that the trade union movement is split along communal, regional and ideological grounds. It is also confined largely to organise large scale industry and plantations. Very few attempts exist to unite agricultural workers although the gains made by the communists in this direction in both Bengal, Kerala and Andhra are impressive.

However, state intervention <sup>in</sup> and industrial disputes is constant. It is curious that while respecting the workers right to protest against exploitation the state at the very next moment denies him that right by insisting that strikes in a planned

economy are out of place. The current political elite led by Mrs Gandhi continues this ambiguity by both supporting and threatening the working class movement. One does not demonstrate solidarity with the working class by merely electing a labour leader as President of the country.

#### Communal and Religious Groups:

Communal organizations in India represent caste and religious units and try to safeguard and promote the interests of their particular groups. Among such groups come Rashtrya Swayam Sewak Sangh, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, The Shia Political Conference and Jamate-Islami, etc.

The First group had always been very effective. The government sometimes was compelled by the R.S.S. to accept their demands. In 1964, Golwalker forced the government to release the imprisoned persons in the case of Gandhi murder. The main aim of Muslim organizations has been to protect the rights and interests of the Muslims. They also propagate the Islamic ideals by publishing books and pamphlets. Whenever they introduce their grievance the government tries to take very prompt action and steps to remove them. At the time of the elections of the second Prime-minister of India, the decision was taken by the Muslim M.Ps. to vote in favour of Mr. Lal Bhadur Shastri because they thought Morarji less sympathetic to Muslims. From time to time the Muslims have supported liberalisation of policy towards Pakistan.

Communalism and religious bigotry are phenomena very common to India and successive government have come out strongly against such conflict. Important leaders from Gandhi to Nehru have emphasized religious tolerance and pluralism. To this day the political elites maintain a secular stance while doing otherwise in practice. The Jan Sangh has been openly accused for fanning communal disturbances but while it is definitely a revivalist party in several senses it is not clear whether the congress is any different from practice. Instances abound where candidates chosen with respect to communal considerations. As Prof. Imtiaz Ahmad says, "If it is borne in mind that until the recent Parliamentary elections, the Congress usually put up Muslim candidates from constituencies having at least twenty percent Muslim voters, it would appear (a) that when a Muslim candidate is put by the Congress or some other important party, there is a clear-cut identification between it and Muslim voters on the one hand and the Jan Sangh and Hindu voters on the other, and (b) that both Muslims and Hindus tend to vote en bloc and are communally concentrated in favour of particular candidate."<sup>14</sup>

On the other hand it is strange that even communist leaders <sup>rarely</sup> ~~really~~ take a stand against religion. As Gunnar Myrdal writes, "A remarkable situation has gradually come about in South Asia. First, practically no one is attacking religion. Even the Communists do not take a stand against religion in any of the South Asian countries. In spite of its obvious relevance for all those who want to modernize South Asian society, Marx's

declaration that religion is the opium of the people is never quoted... The official views, which are a legacy of the liberation movement, do not prevent all political parties, including the Communist Party, from exploiting religious communalism for their own purposes in elections, despite public condemnation of such maneuvers."<sup>15</sup>

It is interesting to see that among most of India's political leaders only Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi have publically proclaimed their agnosticism. Nehru had written in his last testament, "I wish to declare with all earnestness that I do not want any religious ceremonies performed for me after my death. I do not believe in any such ceremonies and to submit to them, even as a matter of form, would be hypocrisy and an attempt to delude ourselves and others."<sup>16</sup> It is strange that Mrs. Gandhi herself was present when Pandit Nehru was cremated with full religious honours.

The Indian political elite claims to represent the secular character but in practice one notices, <sup>that,</sup> "Although the official ideology is secular, and the Congress party controls the country with political strength which rests on popular support at the polls, there is a constant awareness that given the slightest opportunity, communalism can exercise its powerful appeal. The left wing in India has repeatedly charged that an appreciable section of Congress party leadership itself is not unfavorably disposed toward the idea of a Hindu India."<sup>17</sup>



( I )

Notes

- 1<sup>f</sup>. Due to limitation of data, tables on all the election could not be produced.
- 2<sup>f</sup>. Gopal Krishna, "One Party Dominance: Development and Trends". Perspectives - Supplement to Indian Journal of Public Administration, 1966, p. 19<sup>f</sup>.
- 3<sup>f</sup>. Data on all the parties for all the years was not available to the tables could not be produced.
- 4<sup>f</sup>. Gunnar Myrdal : Asian Drama, Vol. I, New York, 1968, p. 279<sup>f</sup>.
- 5<sup>f</sup>. Gopal Krishna : op.cit., p. 17.
- 6<sup>f</sup>. Rajni Kothari : Political Participation and Political Integration, Economic and Political Weekly, Annual Number, 1967, pp. 179-180<sup>f</sup>.
- 7<sup>f</sup>. C.P. Bhambhri : Bureaucracy and Politics in India, New Delhi, 1971, p. 112<sup>f</sup>.
- 8<sup>f</sup>. Ibid., p. 277<sup>f</sup>.
- 9<sup>f</sup>. H.S. Fartyal : Role of Opposition In the Indian Parliament, Allahabad, 1971, p. 228<sup>f</sup>.
- 10<sup>f</sup>. K. Brutents : A Historical View of Neo-Colonialism, Moscow, 1972<sup>f</sup>, p. 58<sup>f</sup>.
- 11<sup>f</sup>. Second Lok Sabha : Activities and Achievements, 1957-62, p. 229<sup>f</sup>.
- 11a. S. Dwivedi and G. Bhargava in their book Political Corruption in India report that, "according to the government commission, Santanama, between 1958 and 1968 illegal licences were issued to a total sum 23.8 million rupees. These licences were resold to speculators for an estimated 100 million rupees, a large part of which was pocketed by government officials<sup>f</sup>. The Central Board of Revenues reports that with the complicity of public servants the state is robbed income<sup>f</sup>. Approximately 1,400 million rupees, or about five per cent of all allocations for construction, are estimated to have been misappropriated during the second five-year plan period<sup>f</sup>." K. Brutents, A Historical View of Neo-Colonialism, Moscow, 1972, pp. 59-60.
- 12<sup>f</sup>. Gunnar Myrdal : op.cit., p. 819<sup>f</sup>.
- 12a. The suppression of workers moments all over India by the armed might of the state will be ample proof to this.
- 13<sup>f</sup>. Ibid., p. 882<sup>f</sup>.
- 14<sup>f</sup>. Imtiaz Ahmad : Religion in Politics : A Comment, Economic and Political Weekly, Jan. 8th, 1972<sup>f</sup>.

## ( II )

15. Gunnar Myrdal : op.cit., p. 107-108.
16. Quoted by Gunnar Myrdal from, The Autobiography of Nehru, p. 375.
17. Satish K. Arora; Harold D. Laswell, Political Communication, New York, 1969, p. 60.

CHAPTER IV'IDEOLOGY AND CONSCIOUSNESS'DEFINITION, FUNCTION, AND ROLE OF IDEOLOGY:

"A political ideology is any body of belief or programme, possessed by a country, a nationality, a political party or any other political group which aims at some specific political end and interprets social and economic events and institutions in terms of that end."<sup>1</sup> Ideologies develop as a result of social, personal and economic forces. "Man himself and his thought result in large measure from environmental factors, i.e., the history of his nation, his personal backgrounds, the people who influenced, his family patterns and so on. Because he does not live in a vacuum, the spokesman for an ideology cannot divorce himself from the forces that have moulded his people. Also, if the concepts he expresses are to have mass appeal, they must be identifiable by the people."<sup>2</sup> Ideology helps in the establishment of unity and stability. It has the capacity to unite segments of population. Ideology has to co-ordinate itself with the organization. The practice and spread of ideology throughout the nation is done through money and mass-communication. At the same time disunity and instability can also be promoted by ideological conflict. An ideology is a political tool.<sup>3</sup> The ideologies are used, formed and articulated by the politicians to achieve certain ends.

IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL BY ELITES:

According to the elite theorists the elites exercise coercion to maintain their domination. They maintain that elite rule is accepted by the rest of the society. The masses acknowledge the legitimacy of elites and their domination. Any group must justify its activity to aspire for power. The elites must state their aims not in self-interested terms but in a way that can be acceptable to all groups and classes. The success of an ideology depends on the support it draws from the entire society and in times becomes the natural feature of that society. In modern times the appeal for equality, will of majority and other democratic principles are reflected in ideology and elites control it through mass media. The newspaper, radio and education are controlled by the political elite. Through mass-media the elites spread their ideology and legitimise their position. "The media provide much information and news about what is happening in the world, but they do not often enable the listener or the viewer truly to connect his daily life with these larger realities. They do not connect the information they provide on public issues with the troubles felt by the individual."<sup>4</sup> On the one hand, through mass-media the masses are ensured that they have been informed about all the developments taking place but in reality they are kept away from the actual happenings and the elites control the ideology through mass-media.

POLICY AND PERFORMANCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES:

Congress: The Fifth General Election was held in India in 1971 after the fourth Parliament was resolved by the Prime-Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The ruling congress party presented a radical economic and social ideology as mandate. The party appealed to the people to vote for a strong and stable government at the centre, so that the battle against poverty and inequality could be won. Self reliance has been claimed as the basic objective of the party. The ideology includes the achievement of economic independence and for that matter the restructuring of the economy was ensured. Workers' participation was considered necessary in the management. The social and economic inequalities had to be abolished and the level of income of the weakest section of the population had to be raised, so that they could achieve the minimum necessities of life. Economic Planning at both the levels, i.e., State and Centre, was ensured.

Education was thought as the major instrument for the achievement of social objectives, social values, promotion of secularism and national integration. The students' personality according to the manifesto will be developed. The condition of colleges and universities will be ensured. Social Revolution was another important aspect of the ruling Congress ideology. "Social revolution is not possible until the most deprived section of our people are enabled to receive education, and the talented among them can get the highest education.... The

quality of Secondary education and course content will also be provided with adequate scholarships."<sup>5</sup>

Land reforms were thought the key to the efficiently in agricultural production and the evolution of an egalitarian society.... Ceiling should be applicable for the family as a whole, the term family being defined so as to include husband, wife and minor children.... The ceiling for a family of five members may be fixed within the range of 10 to 18 acres of perennially irrigated land capable of growing two crops.... The progressive features of this legislation need to be adopted more widely."<sup>6</sup> The Congress ensured the development programme providing the poorer section of society and public servants adequate transport facility, power, water supply, and public sanitation.

The foreign policy reflected the commitment to democracy, secularism, socialism and non-alignment, promotion of peace, friendship and co-operation with other countries. The party pledged to start a social revolution, "The congress pledges itself anew to these challenging tasks, to a socialist revolution which is peaceful and democratic and embraces all our people and permeates all spheres of national life. The congress is the only party which has the capacity to achieve such a social revolution."<sup>7</sup> The last para of the ideology indicated: "We reiterate our objectives: Poverty must go. Disparity must diminish. Injustice must end. These are but essential steps towards our ultimate goal - the goal of an

India which is united and strong and which living up to ancient and enduring ideals, yet modern in thought and achievement, meeting the future with vision and confidence."<sup>8</sup>

However, moving from manifesto to practice it is easy to see yawning gaps between policy and performance. The content of the three main slogans of the congress i.e. Democracy, Socialism and secularism, seem to be an eye wash if one follows the political practice of this party. Let us take the commitment of Congress to democracy. In the recent state Assembly elections in Bengal it was seen that countless charges of rigging, corruption and Gundaism were leveled by the opposition parties against the congress.<sup>8A</sup> On several occasions during this election voters were intimidated and supporters of C.P.M. were kept away physically by the youth congress volunteers active in collaboration with the local police and gangsters.

As far secularism while tolerance for plural religions is maintained, the congress is not beyond communal considerations while selecting candidates contesting on the party ticket. With reference to Mrs Gandhi's socialism, the less said the better. Merely social control, Nationalisation and other such regulation of the economy, by no means constitutes socialism.<sup>8B</sup> In fact the so called green revolution in which the congress leaders personal pride is only creating a rich landlord 'Kulak' class i.e. increasingly becoming active in regional politics. In any case there are very few signs that the landlord-capitalist alliance is weakning because of the socialist policies of the government.

Communist Party of India

The communists believe in the destruction of capitalism and establishment of socialism. They think that the working class is capable of bringing revolution. Socialism can be achieved when the working class attains power and there is nationalization of the means of production. The National Liberal movement can lead to a proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat is essential for building up socialism and this is the line of demarcation between the ideology of social democrats and the Marxist Leninists'.

After the establishment of socialist democracy through the dictatorship of the proletariat the distribution will be on the principle. "From each according to his ability to each according to his needs." There has been a debate whether the Chinese or the Russian path should be adopted. The Communists believe in proletarian internationalism.<sup>9</sup> The C.P.I. claims to bring socialism through peaceful means. C.P.I. ideology indicates: "It is possible that by developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority in Parliament backed by such a movement the working class and its allies will be able to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform parliament from an instrument serving bourgeoisie into a genuine instrument of people's will for effecting a fundamental transformation in the social, economic and state structure."<sup>10</sup> The C.P.I. does not say that it will take the path of armed struggle. If the ruling class does not



surrender power voluntarily, the C.P.I. declares that working class will adopt violent means. They want to work for revolution if possible in a peaceful form, but if necessary armed civil war is not completely ruled out.

According to the manifesto of the C.P.I., the judges of the Supreme court, including the Chief Justice, shall be appointed, approved by the Parliament and in case of High Court by the State Assemblies. The minimum age for voting shall be lowered to 18. The upper house and the posts of Governors would be abolished. The constitution should be amended to ensure more powers to parliament and Union Government. Radical ceiling legislation should be passed and the distribution of the surplus ceiling land should take place. Adequate Houses and wages for agricultural labour shall be ensured.

In the field of industries, the Communists want nationalization of monopoly concerns. Take over by the State of foreign Capital, Oil Companies and Banks, facilities for employment are some of the slogans of the party. It also calls for promotion of industries, effective measures to hold the price line, distribution of daily necessities, all protection to minority communities, ban on communal propaganda and stoppage of all form of oppression against backward castes and Harijans, complete overhaul of the present education system and full participation of the students in the management of education. To attain economic independence more funds should be made possible for science and technology. The C.P.I. holds that the Indian

State is the class rule of entire Capitalist class who have their links with the landlords. A fully capitalist economy has not been established in India so it can be possible to reverse the gears of capitalist development before she reaches the stage of full capitalism, and socialism can be achieved in the transitional non-capitalist stage.

Although the C.P.I. claims to be a revolutionarily party standing for a classless society it is difficult to accept these statements, judging from its political maneuvers. The fact that it is collaborating with the ruling party in India exposes it more as a class-collaborator than a revolutionary agent.

#### THE IDEOLOGY OF C.P.M.

The C.P.M. remarks that C.P.I is a revisionist party and has deviated completely from Marxism and Leninism. The C.P.I.(M) aims at establishing peoples' democracy whereas the goal of C.P.I. is the establishment of national democratic state. It is the aim of the C.P.M. to bring about revolution at present and to replace the present bourgeois - landlord state headed by big bourgeoisie by peoples' democracy under the leadership of the working class. The big bourgeoisie and non big bourgeois may be allies and so they should not be allowed to participate in the leadership. C.P.M. wants to destroy the Indian state completely and to establish people's democracy. The Chief allies of the working class would be agricultural labourers. The petty bourgeoisie are also considered allies but they are enemies of

the revolution as are the monopolies, big bourgeoisie and imperialists.

The C.P.M. asserts that Russian theory of nationalist democracy and non-capitalism as a transitional form for socialist revolution are nothing but opportunism. The C.P.M. has also gone to the extreme in its ideology and has declared that it wants the constitution to go, "lock, stock and barrel." C.P.M. wants complete disintegration of the state and the centre but more powers for states are not wanted at the national cost. Its economic programme seeks to usher in a socialist revolution.

The C.P.M. in its short history has tended to be sectarian in out look. While claiming to believe in parliamentary democracy it has very often resorted to violence in settling political disputes particularly in west Bengal. Equally inexplicable in its alliance with reactionary parties like the Jan Sangh in the elections. Anti-Congressism rather than anti-capitalism seems to be the political motivation of this party which failed miserably in the west Bengal elections. Its slogan of 'Indira Hatao' proved to be as empty as Mrs. Gandhi's 'Garibi Hatao'.

#### NAXALISM:

In 1964, when the C.P.M. was formed, the C.P.I. was ideologically nearer to Russian Communism while C.P.I. (M) to Chinese Communism. The C.P.I. considers that India is ruled by class interest of national bourgeoisie, the revolution in

India is at a national democratic stage, the enemies of the socialist movement are the imperialists, landlords and big monopolists and with the socialist consciousness of the people the C.P.I. will be able to win the majority in Parliament to work for the socialist reconstruction of the society. The C.P.M believes that Indian state organ is headed by big bourgeoisie collaborating with foreign financed capital. The present state will be overthrown by people's democracy and its allies would be the two working classes, peasants and lower middle class. The enemies are big bourgeoisie and foreign monopoly capitalists. The people will have to remain vigilant to adopt the violent means when the time comes.

The Naxalities consider even C.P.M. a revisionist party. They believe in armed struggle and gave a call for the boycott of the mid-term polls held in Bengal in 1969. Besides Bengal the two other places of Naxalite activity are Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. They have been active in the political field and have been engaged in various violent activities in Bengal, Andhra and Kerala. Naxalities believe in Marxist methods and are supported by Peking Radio. This C.P.I. (M) called upon the youth and the students to go to the villages and work among peasants and labourers. This party has pledged to bring an agrarian revolution as pointed in Mao's teachings. The party wants to defeat their class enemies by arms. It places the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. under the same category. The Naxalites believe that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. Franchise

is only a means for deceiving the masses. Although it has been opposed, still C.P.I.(ML) has set itself to bring about an armed revolution through peasant guerrillas.

Judging from recent reports the main strength of the naxalite movement seems to have doubts in the areas where it was for sometime a successful movement i.e. in Naxalbari and Srikulam. Also the pro-chinese stand of the naxalites (particularly the slogan China's Chairman is our Chairman) seems to have lost the favour of the masses particularly after China's infamous intransigence over the issue of Bangla Desh. With the recent death of Charu Majumdar in police custody it seems that Naxalism will have to be content with licking its wounds for a long time to come.

P.S.P.

P.S.P. claims to have radical democratic socialist policies. On the home front the party has consistently warned the people against the disastrous economic policies that have led to economic stagnation, exploitation and widening of economic inequality. The party at the same time pleaded for positive and concrete policies on problems which are of vital importance to the nation. The P.S.P. will introduce co-ordinating food policy, equitable distribution of food. The ceiling act will be revised by the party and all facilities in respect of seeds, fertilizers, credit, electricity will be provided. The party will encourage cooperative farming and integrated price policy and prices will be fixed in proper relationship with the cost of production.

The economic planning will imply increase in scope and authority of the public sector. The party is strongly in favour of public sector organized on sound business principles. For the success of industrialization and production, the P.S.P. will try to get the cooperation of labour. The party favours uniform progressive labour codes and guarantees the security of worker's life, better housing and old age pension. Equality and social justice are the guiding values of socialist policies and programmes. "The P.S.P. favours ceiling on urban property and elimination of the disparity between the salaries of the central and the state government, cheap housing, clearance of slums, etc."

The system of education will be reoriented in order to make it responsive to the youth. The difference in the educational institutions will be bridged; and for political participation the age will be reduced from 21 to 18 years. There will be separation between the executive and the judiciary. In its foreign policy the party will oppose all sorts of military alliances and friendly relation with the Arab World. The party will prevent the accession of Kashmir.

D.M.K.:

The D.M.K. says that it believes in 'Duty Dignity and Discipline'. It was the main opposition party in 1971 and claims to be engaged in the struggle with central government to safeguard the interests of Tamil Nadu. It was declared that D.M.K. will fight against Hindi Imperialism. It will strive

for the welfare of the Tamil language and that Madras should be called Tamil Nadu rather than Madras according to the party.

Only those should be taxed who are able to bear them and land should be reduced from 30 standard acres to 15 acres. Control on food will be removed. There should be a separate department to look to the interests of the minorities. There should be an advancement of depressed classes, peaceful life for slum dwelling people, pensions for retired people, educational development, grants of Pattas to landless and homeless people and construction of 18 railway overbridges are other programmes included in the D.M.K. ideology. In the manifesto it has been pointed that it shall be the goal of the D.M.K. to establish a socialist society suited to the scientific age. Again it is remarked, just because our ideal is socialist society, it does not mean that our objective is to destroy the fundamental rights and distribute poverty among all. D.M.K. shall strive steadily to brighten the life of the poor, to achieve and consolidate social justice, to translate socialism into action without impairing those property rights that are the basis of the life of the individual.

System of joint sector will be promoted in which large and medium scale industries will operate. The D.M.K. claims that the Planning commission disregards the basic needs of the states. It will sketch a ten years plan for Tamil Nadu. Agricultural Productivity Council and Industrial Marketing Society shall be established in order to assist small scale industry. D.M.K.

claims itself to be a servant of the society and describes itself as a 'lamp unto your home!'. The D.M.K. is essentially a South Indian regional party and its ideology is naturally directed towards the problems of that region.

At one stage the D.M.K. had separatist aims. During the critical years of the anti-Hindi agitation there was lot of talk of secession in the D.M.K. led ministry. However, the firm handling <sup>by</sup> of the Centre of problem states like Kerala and Bengal seems to have quietened any talk of separation. Besides at one stage it was the D.M.K. membership in Parliament as the largest opposition group which prevented a down fall of the Indira regime. For sometime after smashing electoral victories the D.M.K. had assumed a tone of great moderation and discretion. However, it is rumoured that moves are afoot to topple the Karunanidhi ministry.<sup>10A</sup> It remains to be seen as to what postures the D.M.K. will adopt to remain in power. It is certainly not likely to give up its narrow regional and cultural chauvanism which is its main stay.

#### JANA SANGH:

Jana Sangh declared war on poverty and charged the ruling party that it had neither the capacity nor the desire to tackle the basic problems threatening the country. The party criticised the Prime-minister for supporting the Naxalites for socio-economic reasons and blamed them as the agents of Red China. The Government was criticised for its failure to maintain law



and order in West Bengal. Jana Sangh regards India as one nation and all Indians as one people. Jana Sangh believes in the ideal of a non-communal state and no discrimination on the basis of religion, protection to all faiths, feelings of tolerance and respect for other faiths. Jana Sangh pledges to create an egalitarian society where there will be no difference on the basis of birth, heredity, caste or creed. The war on poverty was declared by Jana Sangh and the victory over the war was considered the basic objective. The vicious circle of poverty had to be broken and more employment facilities had to be provided.

Jana Sangh regards agriculture as the biggest industry of India. So the party asked for self-sufficiency in the time span of five years. The surplus land was to be redistributed among the landless labourers and farmers, particularly belonging to Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes. Equal share for Baidars, formation of service co-operatives, cheaper supply of improved tools, seeds, manures and fertilizers were the other facilities promised by the party in the agricultural field.

A house for every family was another programme of the Jana Sangh. The licensing of small industries will be taken from the hands of the politicians and the ministers. There will be a check on the growth of monopoly. Jana Sangh said that it will set up a "National Commission" on the patterns of industrial ownership. It will convert the nationalized banking industry in

an autonomous monetary authority incharge of credit. Sale tax will be replaced by excise duty. It will nationalize foreign banks. Jana Sangh will stand for equal opportunities to women workers. No retrenchment, fair deal for prisoners, right to property were the other aspects of Jana Sangh's ideology. Jana Sangh remarked that it will bring about national integration through Indianization by implementing directive principles of state policy, positive and moral education in our cultural heritage and preventing riots. Compensation for refugees, equal opportunities for backward classes, removal of untouchability, feeling for Indianness, developemnt of all the Indian languages, independent and friendly foreign relations, mass-media communication were other principles on the basis of which the holy war on poverty had to be won. Apart from the holy war on poverty that the Jana Sangh often declares in manifesto it regularly wages a more concrete holy war on minorities. It is an open secret that the Jan Sangh incorporates aspects of Hindu revivalism in its political chatter. A frequent slogan of the Jana Sangh is to "Indianise the Muslims". The only close parallel and ac remembers in history is Hitler's plea to phosphorise the Jews. It is interesting to not&ce the presence of Jan Sangh at every communal conflict, this country has witnessed since independence. The anti-cow slaughter agitation as well as the anti-English agitation were primarily backed by the Jana Sangh. The close connection between the R.S.S. and Jan Sangh further incriminates this party on several of the grounds already listed. Their

continued hostility to Pakistan and their persistent anti-Soviet stand brands it easily as a communal reactionary party.

SWATANTRA PARTY:

The party claims to offer clean and good government. In its programme, the basic ideology was defence of the constitution, fundamental rights and liberties. In its manifesto the party said, 'A stable democracy must be based on the sanctity of the constitution which should not be tampered with. This calls for unqualified acceptance of the important role assigned to our judiciary by our constitution and equally unqualified guarantee of the maintenance of law and order'. Surity was given for employment through productive work, extension of manufactured goods in rural areas, and bridging the gap through transportation and communication. The rising prices will be controlled, agricultural production had to be stepped up and monopoly had to be combated. The protection for backward classes and minorities had to be given. The religion, language and culture of such groups shall be respected and equal opportunity in the field of education shall be given.

Class Basis and Class Content of the Important <sup>political programmes</sup> ~~Ideologies~~

Prevalent in India:

The political elite in India is mainly from the upper castes, English educated and shares a common social and intellectual background. There is no clear line between the social background of the opposition and government elites so that

both fall in the category of the ruling elite. "Congress gets its support from white collar workers, villagers, and unemployed populations. Jana Sangh is supported by the middle class businessmen and shopkeepers and some white collar workers. The C.P.M. draws its support from the urban educated class, while the C.P.I. from the agriculturists, and cultivators. S.S.P. gets its votes from the agricultural workers, employed urban youth and unskilled workers. Swatantra's majority comes from the landed class." <sup>108</sup> However, ideology is used as a weapon by the political parties to attract and divide the masses. All the parties claim to represent the masses but they are worried at power level only to represent the interests of the classes which give them financial support.

This is borne out by the careers of most political elites. In the beginning, they start their political careers with excellent principles, but as soon as their position in the organization becomes secure an automatic change occurs in their behaviour. Once power is acquired no one wants to come back to the former position because self-denial is too hard for an average man. The ideology is a coin having two sides, which are positive and negative. The positive aspect remains on paper only for canvassing and the negative aspects start when the question of translating the ideals into practice arises. All the parties say something in their manifestoes but they practice something else. In fact, the basic principles of all the democratic and socialist programmes are *progressive* but they easily get *subverted* in the hands of their leaders. As the

leaders rise in power they loose interest in masses and indulge in party politics in order to maintain their own positions. The accumulation of power in the hands of the leaders gives rise to numerous abuses.<sup>11</sup> K.P. Karunakaran also feels that even the press and the mass-media at one time ~~have to~~ criticise while at the other time to support the same lines and policies. He says: "Another feature of the Indian situation which shows the non-ideological, if not the conservative, nature of the ruling party is the widespread support it is given by a large number of newspapers and journals owned by big businessmen. The same press had once opposed all the radical measures of the ruling party. There is no doubt that to some extent the editorial staff of the newspapers were compelled by the circumstances to support the radical line. In other words it was not a matter of conversion on their part. But it is also true that the proprietors of these newspapers also hoped to sabotage the policies of the government from within the ranks of the government's supporters rather from the opposition. The government on the other hand are taking steps to control the newspapers by diminishing the powers of the proprietors."<sup>12</sup> So the fear of control compells the press to support the ideology of the ruling elite.

### Theory and Practice:

The chasm between ideology and practice of the Indian elites can be seen from the gulf between the ideological positions stated by the different political parties and their

actual practice of stated ideals. We shall do this by reference to the four basic principles, socialism, secularism, nationalism and democracy, which form the key elements of most political <sup>programmes</sup> ideologies.

### Socialism:

When the authority of the leaders is challenged, the political elite takes shelter under the shed of socialism. They try to satisfy the masses by telling them that socialism will lead to progress and prosperity, the masses are entrapped in these slogans of socialism. In our country socialism appeals to the political elite for maintaining their power and the poor masses instead of sharing the goods, share the good wishes of the prosperous classes. "But the concept and the philosophy of socialism made greater appeal in India than in other countries. Even the most well organized conservative party of India - the ruling Congress party professes allegiance to it. This may not be without any significance and this feature of the present Indian political situation may make its own impact on the future."<sup>13</sup> In democratic societies every caution is taken while preparing the manifestoes because these are the most important means to reflect the ideologies of the political elites. In our country there are many more personality cults than principles, and institutions and the masses are the victims of their surroundings. Socialism in reality turns to be merely a blue print when it comes to realism. Although all parties, including the ruling party, print their commitment to socialism in their manifestoes,

but their aims can easily be judged from the selection of their candidates who all belong either to the capitalist class or to landed aristocracy.

The economic policy of the Congress has led India into a paradoxical situations. On the one hand, since the beginning of economic planning, the socialistic pattern of society has been realised in so far as public sector has been extending and in this sense the planning has been <sup>some what</sup> thoroughly socialist'. On the other hands, it has proved very expensive and there is <sup>a</sup> very low rate of economic development'. If one observes with care, one will find that the poor have not been able to come out of the vicious circle of poverty and the rich are growing richer. So the socialist pattern of society seems to be a myth rather than a reality. Again, take the issue of land ceiling through which the ruling elites think that they will be able to bring socialism.

When bank nationalization took place the people felt jubliant as if they really were expecting some radical changes in the society but nobody can deny the fact that Mrs. Gandhi took these steps to boost her own public image. The split in the Congress was also due to personality clash rather than for any ideology. Mr. Ranadive's statement seems to be true when he remarks, "Mrs. Gandhi's love for socialism as reflected in the nationalization of fourteen major banks was a big hoax - She had no special love for socialism and had taken the steps only to consolidate her position within the Congress party...; one

swallow could not make a summer; similarly one significant action of Indira Gandhi would not usher in socialism."<sup>14</sup> Bibhuti Das Gupta, the leader of the Lok Sevak Sangh also remarked in the same tune. "The congress was a reactionary capitalist organization dominated by vested interests. Indira Gandhi, who was part of it could not be called a progressive, but circumstances had compelled her to nationalise banks in order to fight the syndicate. But mere nationalization of banks could not transform it into progressive organization."<sup>15</sup>

During election time Mrs. Gandhi's speeches to bring socialism, secularism and establish democracy were rather convincing but she knew that she could enter the heart of the common man only through these slogans. The ruling party in its ideology ensured employment facilities but the growing rate of unemployed and hungry masses are posing a threat to the survival of the system itself.

On paper <sup>the</sup> ruling congress is more socialist than the socialist parties, but the fact remains that there is neither any set direction nor a determined will on the part of the ruling elite to usher in socialism. Congress is vague in its presentation of a socialist structure of society. On the one hand, there are slogans of socialism, while on the other side the tax payer has to bear the cost of a minister amounting to about Rs.11,000 per month. They are housed in large, luxuriously furnished houses with extensive grants and an army of clerks and attendants while



on the other hand millions can be seen sleeping on the footpath and parks made from public grants, and when they show symptom of unrest they are silenced by the 'lathi' of the policeman. When the facts are pointed out to a member of the ruling party, he simply and very lightly answers that all these things are essential for ministers. The Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh disclosed the fact that the state had to spend Rupees 40 lakh for the visit of the madam Prime-minister, while in other countries ministers use public transports to go to their offices and to come back to their homes and do not feel affronted when they rub shoulders with their fellow-citizens. They do not feel insecure while living and working with their countrymen. In India socialism will remain an empty word for as long as the industries on which livelihood of more than eighty per cent depends are not nationalized.

No revolutionary approach has been adopted by the ruling party to bring about social revolution. "These are no doubt pre-requisite for a social revolution and rapid economic change. But they are not by themselves revolutionary actions. The Ruling Congress Party, as it is constituted so far, is incapable of taking any revolutionary measures. Its sources of power are not any strong peasant movement, well organized trade unions or a group of intellectuals with strong socialist convictions.... They express alligiance to radical ideas because it helps them to get elected to various legislatures."<sup>16</sup> So the means through which socialism will be brought by the political elite in India are still unclear.

### Secularism:

Secularism is another ideology of the Indian political elite. The constitution of India ensures all sorts of equalities to citizens and the political elites in their manifestoes and ideologies also ensure secularism but this concept is meaningless in the Indian context because the role of religion and caste cannot be denied in Indian politics. When elections are contested, the selection of candidates is made in the hope that the particular man will be able to get more votes because he belongs to a particular caste or community. While campaigning, once again, the factors of caste and religion are brought in. Complete neutrality is not seen in the religious sphere of the society.

Although the government or the state does not recognize any specific religion but allows all the religions to exist. When a temple or any religious institution or trust is built, it has some money to its name, which is not taxed by the state and thereby black money becomes white through investment in religious trusts. That money further is then taken by industrialists at a specific rate of interest and thus again becomes a source of income. This promotes the turn over of black money into white money. The state does not tax the religious institutions, while those should also be taxed. The minorities are allowed to have their religious propaganda in their educational institutions. The communal riots are also not far from

abating. Under these circumstances, the practice of secularism by the political elites seems to be a fraud rather than reality.

Nationalism:

"Nationalism is no guarantee to democracy but democracy without nationalism cannot survive."<sup>17</sup> In India today nationalism is used as an ideology rather than for national interests. Ideologically, nationalism is a radical programme which tells us to organize the society, strengthens the unity, but when independence was achieved the magic word lost much of its force. States are asking for more and more autonomy and regionalism and communalists are raising their heads. For an uneducated, straved man, nationalism has little value. Nationalism for the elites as well as the masses has meaning only in the days of national emergency otherwise the word remains on paper and is presented as a revolutionary ideology only for ideology's sake and not for practice. Nationalism had a very real meaning in the days of national liberation struggle. In the struggle of the national bourgeoisie against imperialism under the banner of nationalism parties of the left and right both united to throw out the British colonialist.

With the advent of neo colonialism and international imperialism, nationalism as an economic term lost much of its use. However, the struggle between that section of the industrial bourgedsie that has direct links with western capitalism and the local capitalist with jurisdiction over regional areas developed to

the extent that the monopolists with their internationalism are being pushed out of the political scene by the petty-bourgeoisie with its accent on nationalism. The political and military connotation of the term nationalism remain primarily because of India's location between hostile neighbours. For the ruling political elite nationalism is a convenient slogan for diverting the energies of the masses from internal class struggle.

### Democracy:

Elitist theory raises the fundamental question; who rules in a democracy? The elitist solution to this question is a simple answer that power is always exercised by a ruling minority. They maintain that the masses are normally incapable of ruling themselves and that only those who are competent to rule should run the government of a society. In a sense it is easy to understand why the masses play such a small role in their theory of democracy which becomes then the rule of elites for the people. Historically elitist theory was reaction to democratic and socialist ideas that were prevalent in the age of the enlightenment. As Micheles puts it, "It is organisation which gives birth to the domination of the elected over the electors, of the mandatories over the mandators, of the delegates over the delegators."<sup>18</sup> Who says organisation says oligarchy." Micheles - who is as representative of the elitist theorists as any other, saw society therefore as divided between elites and followers. As Lipset points out Micheles accepted the idea that the best government is an elitist system under the leadership of a charismatic leader.

Democracy, said Micheles, " Is a treasure which no one will discover by deliberate search."<sup>19</sup>

To be sure conditions of formal political democracy exist in India: Technically speaking all the pre-requisites of classical democracy, like separation of powers, constitutional government, fundamental rights, free speech and assembly are doubtless present and enshrined in statutes. However, it is quite a different thing to ask the meaning of political democracy with the economic foundation of private capital. As is already been pointed out earlier democracy is often subverted when the interest of the ruling elite are questioned. Police repression, detention without trial and intimidation of voters are not typical of democratic rule. Doubtless it may be argued that these are more in the nature of exceptions than the rule. This is a difficult question to speculate, but at least this much can be said that political activity is more often on behalf of the ruling class than the masses. Although the key implements of policy formation lie in the hands of the political elite it is generally seen that these hands are often tied by large scale capital through a system of ramified ties. The facade of democracy is not always co-existent with real democracy.

It will be safe to say that for the majority of Indians political democracy is a fact which becomes absolutely meaningless because the right to vote does not guarantee the right to work, employment and welfare. Perhaps Prof. Yuri Krasin is not far too wrong when he says, "The vast ideological machine is

employed in the bourgeois world to one end: to inculcate an outlook in people which confines them to notions and prejudices that serve the interests of society's capitalist overlords. In the final analysis, everything depends on who pulls the strings of the spiritual production and formation of public opinion. Formally, free speech and freedom of the press carry the right to speak your mind and convey any opinion to all and sundry. The facts speak differently: the big newspaper concerns, radio and television companies dominate the selection and interpretation of information... what matters is the general tenor of cultural affairs in modern capitalist society which sets stringent restrictions on freedom of thought and creativity, and impoverishes people's spiritual world for the sake of capital's philistine class interests."<sup>20</sup>

If the peaceful resolution of political problems is an index of democracy then there is little room for contentment. Every day the newspapers carry reports of indiscriminate violence whether this be police violence, student violence or political.

## I

NOTES

1. George B. De Huszar and Thomas H. Stvenson: Political Science Bombay, 1965, p. 148.
2. Fred R. Vonder Mehden: Politics of Developing Nations. Prentice Hall, 1964, p. 128.
3. *ibid.*, p. 136.
4. C. Wright Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 314 / 315.
5. Indian National Congress, Election Manifesto, 1972, p. 8.
6. *ibid.*, p. 10
7. *ibid.*, p. 16
8. *ibid.*, p. 16.
- 8 A. In just one armed raid in Dum Dum on March 5, six days before polling, a large number of persons were killed, over a hundred were injured and arrested, hundreds of houses and shops were gutted. All the election offices of the CPI (M) were burnt down. With this, the whole constituency of Dum Dum was "occupied" by the ruling Congress gongsters. Sonarpur was the target of attack everyday. In the morning of February 17, Nirmal Chatterjee, a CPI (M) worker, was killed by known notorious anti-social elements mobilised by the Congress and according to the complaint made by the wife of the man they had just murdered, she was raped by these Congress hoodlums.
9. Sankar Ghose: Socialism and Communism in India. Delhi 1971. p.397.
10. Politics of Nagi Reddy, in Liberation, October, Vol. II, No. 12. pp. 39 - 45.
- 10.A. For instance, a veteran D.M.K. Member, Mr. M.G. Ramachandran has formed a rival party named Anna D. M. K. came, with the help of other political parties in the State. At available sources indicate that that the Congress Government is helping Mr. Ramachandran to topple the D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu. Corruption charges on swindling party and government funds have been levelled against the Karunanidhi Government.
- 10 B. Gopal Krishna, " One Party Dominance: Development and Trends ". Perspectives, 1966.
11. R.C. Gupta; Who Rules a Country, New Delhi, 1969, p. 68.
12. K.P. Karunakaran: Indian Political System at Work. A Seminar Paper, p. 22.
13. *ibid.*, p. 8
14. Sankar Ghose, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
15. *ibid.*, p. 254
16. Karunakaran, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 - 8.

## II

17. J.D. Sethi: India's Static Power Structure, Delhi, 1969, p. 160.
18. Michels: op.cit.
19. Lipset: Introduction to Political Parties, op. cit.
20. Yurikrasim: Sociology of Revolution: A Marxist View, Moscow, 1972., pp. 163 - 164.



CHAPTER V.ELITE MASS COMMUNICATION:

The leaders of political parties and pressure groups perform the function of interest articulation through communication. The legislators make laws, executive administers them and the judiciary adjudicates when they get information from one another and from the society. Autonomy is the basic requirement for the free flow of communication and political information. "Thus it is essential in characterizing a political system to analyze the performance of the communication function. Just because of the fact that all the political functions are performed by means of communications, political communication is the crucial boundary maintainance function. Where there is an autonomous system of communication convert communications in bureaucracy, the interest groups and political parties may to some extent be regulated and controlled by publicity."<sup>1</sup> The communication system should be neutral so that articulation can take place independently. The autonomous communication system regulates the 'regulators' and preserves the autonomy and freedoms of democratic polity.<sup>2</sup>

The communication system differs from one country to another. The homogeneity of information depends on the autonomous and specialized media of mass communication. In a developing society the communication system is heterogenous and its impact on the people is also very limited. Moreover, mobility of information is also a difficult process in a developing society because the

different leaders have to interpret the information to the educated and to the uneducated population who differ both in their values and their objectives. The information in a transitional society is not very quick and rapid so that it becomes difficult to make decisions accurately and quickly.

The problem of political communication is a very important problem for developing societies. As national independence is achieved the prominent nationalist elite becomes the political elites of the society. The power is attained by the political elite and now they are least bothered about what the masses want and what are the needs of the different groups of society. Different pressure groups and interest groups are organized in order to make the government aware of the needs of masses and to influence the policy making process. There comes a gulf between the urbanized political elite and the illiterate masses. These two groups find it difficult to communicate with one another. According to Almond, the problem of mass communication sometimes leads to revolts and violence. The communication of more advanced ideas are helpful in the proper functioning of the political elite.

#### PUBLIC SERVANTS AND CITIZENS:<sup>3</sup>

In India, because of the alien character of the rule, there was absence of a direct relationship between the bureaucracy and citizens. The location of the schools, loans, roads and other matters were used to be decided by the administrative officer. It has been replaced by the rule of the political elite.

The local leader is confident of his position and sometimes speaks with pride that he can arrange many things for the villagers. The local administrative officer is reduced to a non-entity and is least bothered to solve problems. On the other hand, he does as the higher authority demands. There is thus, neither the system of reward nor that of punishment to encourage the administrator. The local administrator tries to serve the interests of his superiors rather than the people. The upper level administrators maintain distance from the masses due to their education and virtue of power. From the lower to the upper level every body is busy in finishing his own paper work first and cares for the public only afterwards. Moreover, local administrative level is controlled by the wealthy people. This makes the administration more irresponsible. Congress politicians before independence looked upon them as conservative and disloyal. Indian politicians felt that the administrative services must be kept aloof. It was essential to maintain its authority and its impartiality. The power enjoyed by the British official was that of a ruler rather than of a servant in the modern administrative sense.

The low level of performance has given birth to corrupt practices. The administrators refuse to go against the rules unless those who can afford are willing to pay the bureaucrate something so that a decision is taken quickly. This system of bakshis is prevalent in Indian administrative services at all levels though its precise form differs from rank to rank.

Persons with money pride themselves that they can get their work done at any time while the ordinary man can not hope to get governmental actions. They are naturally dissatisfied with the political process and adopt a pessimist attitude about the functioning of free India.

The new government rests on a new systems. The political elite is responsible to the voters because they have been elected by them. It was declared by the political elite that instead of becoming the masters the bureaucracy will be the servant of the people. In the newly emerged democratic structures, some of the members of political parties found it difficult to mix with people while the others could mix freely. "The political elite feared that too much intimacy would reduce his authority and too intimate contact with the voter might destroy the charisma associated with the power of the political elite."<sup>4</sup>

The ruling party in India has tried to act as a link between the public and the administration. In times of elections, the party officials of the Congress help the villagers obtain permits, licenses, wells, roads, schools and other facilities which they would otherwise have to obtain directly from government officials. Because of the dominance of political elite at regional and central levels, the ruling party serves as a link between the villager and the complex government administrative machinery. The power of newly emerged political elite has been of much concern to the bureaucracy. The lines of merits have but off by patronage because the community leaders use administration to

their own benefit. The political elite always likes to appoint or take its own favourite men into administration rather than to take them through competition on the basis of merit. Myron Weiner observes: "Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that powers are being transferred from administrative to political body."<sup>5</sup> The important decisions concerned with maintaining law and order are to be able to adopt themselves to a government concerned with social and economic change and encouraging local participation in its development programme. The local politician has especially disturbed the administrator."<sup>6</sup> In India the bureaucracy is dominated by the political elite and does as the higher authority commands.

#### Mass Media:

The mass media is regarded as an important link for communication between the elites and masses. Government and the public both reach one another through the mass media. The leaders inform the masses about their policies through it and the masses try to express their views through public criticism. This enables the masses to influence and participate in political life directly, if not indirectly. The interest group leaders also try to articulate their messages through the mass-media. On the one hand, the television, radio and the cinema serve to focus attention on different problems while on the other hand they help publicity of new things. Nobody would deny the control of the political elite and leaders over the means of mass-media

communication. Radio and cinema are controlled either by the ruling party or by the capitalists. The radio and the television are particularly controlled by the state and they serve as the most effective instruments of government propaganda.

The press is equally dominated by capitalists and serves as an instrument of their ideological warfare. Recently, the Government has recognized the capitalistic orientation of the press and tried to introduce controls on it in a bid to democratize it. But it is debateable whether this has really resulted in any opening report of the press to the general public. If anything, the controls introduced by the government on the press seem to have increased the hold of the former and rendered it incapable of reflecting popular will and aspirations. The stand taken by the Indian press on some of the issues of public concern clearly show that the news papers have chosen to fall in line with the government rather than serve as means of expression of the public will. Under the circumstances, as it has been rightly concluded, "The communications....are so organized that it is difficult or impossible for the individual to answer them back immediately or with any effect. The realization of public opinion by authorities who organize and control the channel of actions. Masses have no authority, on the other hand agents of authorized institutions penetrate this mass. In a mass society, the dominant type of communication is the formal media and the public becomes mere media-market."<sup>7</sup>

The public opinion and mass elite communication is said

to exist in a democracy when people are allowed to express political opinions and their reactions towards public policies freely and to influence them in a successful manner. In this formal sense mass-elite communication functions through mass media. In India channels of such communication no doubt exist but real practice shows that the political elite is far from the masses and all the means of mass communication media are used to serve the interests of the political elite rather than the masses.

Heterogeneity of Linguistic Pattern and Regional Politics:<sup>8</sup>

Language is the most important means of communication. A single language and the ability of both the elites and masses to communicate in it makes not only for political and administrative unity but for a smooth and swift flow of political messages from one to the other. On the other hand, the diversity of language contributes to the heterogeneity of communication patterns and serves to divide the speakers of the different languages. This is especially the case where the elite and mass communicate through different languages and linguistic barriers tend to divide the two.

The linguistic diversity of India is unique. The constitution of India recognizes fourteen languages for official purposes. All but three of them (Sanskrit, Assamese, and Kashmiri) are spoken by over ten million persons and five are spoken by over 25 million. In addition, almost one-tenth of the population (32 millions) speak dozens of other mother tongues

belonging to four categories: Indo-European, Austroasiatic, Dravidian and "non-Indian" languages such as English and Persian.

After independence the states were reorganized on the basis of languages. The new States were bound to develop the local language through every means and thus its inclusion in the educational system was also very essential. The re-organization Act provided two checks: the advisory body under the chairmanship of the union minister, consisting of chief minister and two other ministers from each state. The other provision was the establishment of a commissioner for linguistic minorities. The constitution had also distinguished between languages of India, and the 'official language' for All India purposes. Although Hindi was chosen to be the All-India official language, English was to continue so that communication would continue in India through a variety of languages i.e. regional languages as well as through the link language i.e. English.

Before independence, English was introduced in Schools so that the rulers and the ruled could communicate with each other. At that time English served as a link language but could not become the language of masses. Being the most important link language of past, even at present it serves as the co-ordinating link language of all the regions of India. It is the most important language of academic communication at higher level and the language of national administration. Apart from English language, the development of Hindi has also been encouraged.



The governing elite of the country thus encouraged three languages policy according to which, English had to be used for Central Government and Hindi and other regional languages for different regions. At present, along with English, Hindi and other regional languages have been existing side by side.

During British rule the political provinces almost never coincided completely with language boundaries. Thus Madras State included not only Tamilians but many people speaking Telugu, Malayalam, and Kannada, not to mention minority languages. The Bombay Presidency included speakers of at least four major languages. The principal result of this lack of congruence was that persons belonging to different speech communities were forced to interact and therefore to apply the principles of inter group tolerance that underlie so much of Indian life. On the other hand, English tended to emerge almost automatically as the *lingue franca*, on politics especially. English enjoyed a comparatively neutral status, since it was for the most part the prerogative of a supraregional elite, members of which are often scattered over many states in a network of sub-castes, reaping the benefits as mediators and leaders. Many of these intellectuals and administrators have opposed the organization of the linguistic states. But against this fading *intelligentia* stand the lower-caste leaders, rising rapidly in the democratic atmosphere.

The languages of the country's central elite today is English. The mass languages are regional. This difference

creates problems in mass-elite communication in the country. No direct communication between the elites and masses is possible because both have different languages. When the elites can not communicate directly with masses the information becomes diffused because the interpretation by a body of political mediator is involved. The problem becomes more complex when a series of intermediate level agents are required to communicate. The problems like diffused information and intermediate level agents make the elites and masses stand apart from each other, and give rise to separatist tendencies.

It is generally seen that given inadequate channels of communication like in India the elite becomes comparatively stronger. Public debate of major issues being only confined to a certain section of the literate population becomes less important as a manner of preserving domination. For significant changes in policy the political elite normally does not require the consent of the masses. By using the narrow communication channel within a restricted audience is comparatively easy for political elite to manipulate the few who are educated. It is doubtful for example whether Mrs. Gandhi's slogan of 'Garibi Hatao' really ever reached the masses or was understood by the masses except for a few metropolitan centre.

The ruling political elites find it convenient to evoke the emotions of a few critical phases of history to win support for their own power. For example, the elites constantly reactivate their links with the freedom movement to justify

their rule. Several times names like Gandhi and Nehru are evoked in public broadcast to rationalise the domination of the leadership. Ideals like non-violence and patience as taught by Gandhi are resurrected in current times to counsel the masses against impatience or revolt. The masses are constantly advised against revolutionary aspirations. Nehru was reported to have declared during an election tour in Andhra Pradesh, "I read in the papers today that one of the communists candidates for election here said at a public meeting that he was speaking with a loud speaker in one hand and gun in the other. It is an extra ordinary thing to say. We are a grown up country, mature country, civilized country, with two thousand years or more of cultural background. Are we going to tolerate this fantastic nonsense? I am astonished at the temerity of these people." <sup>9</sup>

In one respect it can be said that elite mass communication are not really a two way system. Normally the elites preach to the masses. Apart from this when illitracy and ignorance are as high as they are in India one can imagine how the communication system geared to an elite press can operate as a close system out of the reach of the masses. The means of communication particularly the elite press are part of the total process of decision but a controlled net work like all India Radio, can only serve the ideological system of the ruling elite. " The ideological frame work affects the recognition of an event as news worthy." <sup>10</sup>

NOTES

- 1<sup>1</sup>. Gabriel, A. Almond: A Functional Approach to Comparative Politics, in Politics of Developing Areas, (ed.), Almond and Coleman, Princeton University Press, 1960, p. 46<sup>1</sup>.
- 2<sup>1</sup>. ibid., p. 47<sup>1</sup>.
- 3<sup>1</sup>. Myron Weiner: India: Two Political Cultures, in Political Culture and Political Development, Princeton University Press, 1965, p.
- 4<sup>1</sup>. ibid.
5. ibid.
- 6<sup>1</sup>. ibid.
- 7<sup>1</sup>. C. Wright Mills, op.cit., p. 304.
8. Rajni Kothari; Politics in India, Orient Long Man Ltd., 1970, p. 322.
- 9<sup>1</sup>. Arora & Laswell: op.cit. p. 54.
10. ibid.

CHAPTER VICONCLUSION: POTENTIAL AND POSSIBILITY:

The present study tries to bring out the concept of political elite with some references to India.

First, elitist theory has been expounded by Pareto, Mosca and Michels. These three authors declared that their aim was to demolish the myths of democracy. It is only a myth that the majority rules in a democracy, otherwise it is always the elites who rule. Power is always exercised by minorities, remarked Pareto. Mosca acknowledged that in a liberal democracy, where there are many competing parties, there is complete demarcation between the elites and masses, i.e. the rulers and the ruled. Michels also felt that leadership is very essential for the success and survival of any organization. Citizens play very little role and it is always the elites who decide the way for masses. Without elites the society cannot survive and the elites will always rule in a society. Second, there is the theory propounded by Marx. According to him, ruling class is the product of economic forces. Ruling class is formed by those persons who occupy privileged positions because they own means of production. All the capitalists belong to the ruling class in a capitalist system. The whole society, according to Marx, can be defined by its ruling class. Ruling class makes and shapes the policies and influences decision-making. There is always a conflict between the ruling class and the subject class classes. The

class conflict will bring the victory of the working class in a capitalist society which will be followed by a classless society.

C. Wright Mills and Burnham have tried to combine the elitist and Marxist theories and point out that the basis of the power of elites is their dominance over the means of production, but at the same time, they point out that there will never be a classless society and a small group of individuals will always control the decision-making process. State institutions will be integrated with the economic control. According to Wright Mills, the elite at the top level are very strongly organized and it is the masses who are disorganized, so decisions are determined by the organized top group.

Bottomore offers the<sup>a</sup> radical democratic theory and remarks that the concept of equal participation is an ideal and that participation in a democracy is discouraged. Man can be a political animal only when he is encouraged and trained to become political. Unless the individual is given a chance to develop his personality fully in democracy, it will have no value for the newly developed or developing societies.<sup>1</sup>

For the purposes of our own study it clearly emerges that the ruling political elite in India bears a direct, if complex relationship with the ruling class. Elitist theory is fundamentally inapplicable to the Indian case because of the presence of class conflict. The Marxist concept of class is much more relevant for an understanding of the political behaviour of the ruling elites.

After the end of colonial rule the Indian capitalist class has asserted itself through the successive political elites which have always defended its larger interests. The situation is illustrated of the term, 'Bourgeoise democracy' as used by the Marxists. That is why we consider the democratic ideology of the ruling political elite as being inconsistent with the real situation. Until these ruling elites divest themselves of the support of landlords and capitalists all talk of socialism or democracy will be meaningless.

(Traditional India was dominated by local Rajas and Brahmins.) These two groups enjoyed the highest status in the society and were dominant in the decision-making process. So the Brahmins and local Rajas can be termed as the political elites of traditional India. The Mughal period was dominated by merchants, money landed class, Zamindars and public creditors who enjoyed control over military and bureaucracy. During this period also the Brahmins enjoyed dominant position. Kayasthas had also a considerable influence over the Mughals. The Political elite during this period comprised of the Governors and the heads of the different state departments who used to be recruited from the Amirs and Mansabdar groups. The system can be described as feudal.

With the growth of new conditions and developments under British India, new elite groups emerged. During this period 'Banias', and 'commercial middle classes' appeared. The lawyers, civil servants, doctors, writers, publishers and printers were

the other elite groups which emerged in British India. The industrial development encouraged capitalists who were influential not only during that period but have been so even after independence. Indian intelligentsia played a very important role in social, economic and political development of the country. On the one hand, they contributed to, art, literature, poetry and philosophy and on the other hand they played very active role in national struggle. The group of nationalist leaders was dominated to a great extent by upper professional, high caste and land owning people who were from upper middle class with British University Degrees.<sup>2</sup> The composition of political elite during this period was infact very mixed, but predominally was influenced by the capitalist class.

(Modern Indian political elite is complex and mixed in its social and economic composition. Yet a general conclusion can be drawn that the political elites in modern India come from the upper castes classes and professional groups. The actual elites came from Brahmin, Non-Brahmin and backward castes. Due to one party dominance, the competition among the elites is not found in India. A recent study of political leadership in Uttar Pradesh shows that political elite comes from middle class and its power is based upon property ownership.)

'In all four rural districts studied, the leadership and the major sources of support for local congress organizations have been drawn from the high caste ex-tenants of the Zamindars



and Talukadars and from the petti and middle ex-Zamindars. Power in the country side rests upon control of the land. The power of the congress rests upon its network of relationships - established through its leadership and control of local government and co-operative institutions - with the locally influential communities in the villages, with those who control the land.<sup>3</sup>

The above statement can be said to apply to the whole group of political elite in India.

The political elite, especially ruling elite has to deal with the traditional politics of the villages and on one hand and on the other hand they have to deal with the politically and economically conscious people and for them they have to present the ideologies like socialism, secularism, nationalism and democracy. Some of the members of political elite group are more deeply concerned about cow protection and the prohibition of alcoholic drinks while others about the industrial and the economic development of the country. There are some differences over the issues like socialism. The practice of all these ideologies is very slow on the part of the political elite. There are no commonly accepted issues on which the political elite wants to bring democratic socialism. There is no internal democracy left. The chief ministers are handpicked men rather than leaders in their own right.<sup>4</sup>

Present style of leadership is likely to ruin congress party in future which claims to be democratic in character. The freedom of press also cannot be said to be safe and can survive

only with a very conscious, courageous and determined fight.<sup>5</sup> Democratic Socialism is flashed only for propoganda's sake. The ways in which the election funds have been collected, election expenditure incurred, capturing of polling booth all these things have reduced the election to a mere formality. The corrouption at all the levels is very degradim. Secularism also seems to be formal without effective measures to stop the corruption in all religious places.

One striking feature of the present system is the contrast between the traditional Indian system and the present system. Traditionalist religious groups cannot influence the policies due to their religious status as they were able to do in traditional India. D.P. Mukerji remarks: "Everywhere the old elite groups have disappeared; here too they are going; and now new ones barring the professional politician and the bureaucrat, are to be seen.... Ten presidents can wash the feet of ten thousand Brahmins but the Brahmin's prestige in this field can not be restored."<sup>6</sup>

It has been an attempt in the study to expose the pretension of elitist theorists of democracy. Pareto, Mosca and Michels were wrong in their contention that it is the most competent who rule. In fact the ideology of the elitist theorists is antagonistic to both democracy and socialism. Our findings in this theoretical discussion is rather that the political elites rule as instruments of class domination. The effective power elite

as distinct from the political elite is really the capitalist class. Political elites capture power with the support of capital and not merely by the support of a constitutional document. We believe that India is in a transitional stage where the power of capital is increasingly being challenged by the power of the people. The Indian political elite finds itself trapped at the centre of this conflict. Therefore, to remain in power the ruling elite talks of socialism while encouraging capitalism, talks of nationalization while promoting the joint sector.

Therefore, the ruling political elite in India remains ambiguous in political pronouncements votes from the people are necessary to it as finance from the capitalists. It will be interesting to see how long ~~the~~ it can perform a balancing act. Another factor which is of relevance is the international struggle between imperialism and socialism which is also contested in the political life of this country. The influence of both the American and the Russian Camps must not be under estimated. GA Internal policy can sometimes also reflects external pressure.

Future of <sup>ruling political</sup> ~~Political~~ Elite in India:

Experience shows that the ruling elite in India could not bring desired socio-economic changes through its plans. Some pessimist people think that democracy has started folding up in India. The feeling is that the ruling party has not taken any socialist measures in India. In July, 1969 Mrs. Gandhi herself said that the party had not made any impact on the public, that

it was a socialist party or that it was going all out to achieve socialism and that was why it was losing support'.<sup>7</sup>

It may be said that, although the political elite in India is appealing for democratic socialism, what Marx wrote seems to be true that 'the proletariat have nothing to loose but their chains.' The alternative to democratic socialism is radical democracy. A revolution is imminent in India for which a new democratic theory is required.

It is wrong to say that the society will remain unchanged, although the revolt of the revolutionary classes have been considered as acts of mindlessness because they cannot be understood in term of the liberal ideologies. The leftists have been regarded as the aggressors. Everywhere, what once looked like the golden age of democracy has turned out to be an illusion'.<sup>8</sup>

The development of a radical political theory in India will come from the struggle of the masses against exploitation. Democracy in India at present is based upon two principles: majority rule and minority rights. The second basic principle is the gurantee of certain fundamental rights but these gurantees are not enough. The most important aspect is the presence of capitalists, who dominate the system politically. The most important task of the futhre potential elite will be to gain the economic system under public control. Marxist tradition will have to be rediscovered for the new democratic establishment.

The social institutions should be brought under the control of those who live and work in them. Revolution and social changes are very important aspects which cannot be ignored in the future development of India. Man should be allowed to have control over his working situation.

Some intellectuals in India find a kind of satisfaction in the ideology of Marx. They hope for advancement and the development but the basic goals can be realised only when they join the movement to gain the real power not just as individuals but as the members of a democratic radical movement. The educational institutions need not produce the leaders and managers of the social system but workers for the development of the society. If the test of the efficiency is extended to include the quality, as well as the quantity of objects produced, a productive society, is one which produces not only better goods, but also better men, who are able to control their own lives.<sup>9</sup>

\*\*\*

NOTES

1. T.B. Bottomore, op.cit., pp. 129 - 149.
2. Andre <sup>Bdille</sup> Detille; Elites, Status Groups and Caste in Modern India, in India and Ceylon: Unity and Diversity.(ed.), Oxford University Press, 1967, p. 239.
3. P.R. Brass; Factional Politics in an Indian State: The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh, University of California Press, 1965, p. 229
4. Jaya Prakash Narayan: A Hopless Situation. Indian Express, September 6, 1972.
5. Ibid.
6. D.P. Mukerji; Diversities, New Delhi, 1958, p. 73.
- 6 A. In this respect signing of Indo -- Soviet Treaty is significant as much as the weaking of Indo-U.S. ties because of Bangla Desh Conflict.
7. M. Rityunjoy Banerjee; The Fifth General Election, vis-a-vis, Democratic Socialism, Calcutta, p. 64.
8. Magill; The New Democratic Theory, Free Press, New York, 1970, pp.7-8.
9. Ibid. p. 135.

**APPENDIX**

INFORMATION REGARDING POLITICAL ELITES

IN TERMS OF

SEX

EDUCATION, OCCUPATION, ~~RESIDENCE~~, AGE.



Education of Members in the First, Second and Third Lok Sabha

Level of Education	1st Lok Sabha		2nd Lok Sabha		3rd Lok Sabha	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Foreign Educated	45	9	46	11	52	9
Graduated in India	246	49	202	52	261	51
Under Graduates	66	14	35	9	71	14
Matriculation	60	13	50	12	54	10
Less than Matriculation	15	2	30	8	55	10
Religious education	16	3	13	3	28	5
Privately educated	8	1	15	4	6	1
No Information	43	9	6	1	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>499</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>397</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>100</b>

Level of Education in Fourth Lok Sabha

Level of Education	No.	%
Foreign Degree	53	10.6
Graduates	251	50.0
College	74	14.7
School	47	9.4
Religious Education	3	0.6
Private	12	2.4
No Response	62	12.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Occupation of Members in First, Second and Third Lok Sabha

Occupation	Ist Lok Sabha		IIInd Lok Sabha		IIIrd Lok Sabha	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture	93	19	121	25	110	22
Commercial and Industry	49	10	51	11	63	13
Law	127	25	110	23	99	20
Teaching	34	7	20	4	20	4
Journalism	38	8	20	4	20	4
Government Service	10	2	6	1	18	3
Social Work	85	16	131	27	146	29
Others	24	5	5	1	26	4
No-Information	39	8	19	1	8	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>499</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>510</b>	<b>100</b>

Occupational Distribution of IVth Lok Sabha

Occupatio	NO.	%
Law	88	17.5
Agriculture	153	30.6
Traders and Industrialists	39	7.7
Civil and Military Service	16	3.2
Medical Practitioners	14	2.8
Teachers and Educationists	33	6.5
Journalists	24	4.8
Former Rulers	7	1.4
Political and Social Workers	115	22.9
Engineers and Technologists	7	1.4
Industrial Workers	1	0.2
Religious Missionaries	4	0.8
Activists	1	0.2
<b>Total :</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>100</b>

Age Distribution of First, Second and Third Lok Sabha

Age Group	Ist Lok Sabha		IInd Lok Sabha		IIIrd Lok Sabha	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 30	28	6	13	3	12	2
30 to 39	112	25	151	31	99	20
40 to 49	142	31	135	28	158	30
50 to 59	140	30	146	29	147	29
60 to 69	39	8	37	8	85	17
70 and over	1	-	4	1	8	2
No Information	32	-	19	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>494</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>509</b>	<b>100</b>

Age Distribution of Fourth Lok Sabha

A G E	NO.	%
25 to 30	22	4.3
31 to 35	39	7.7
36 to 40	61	12.2
41 to 45	85	17.0
46 to 50	86	17.2
51 to 56	70	14.0
56 to 60	55	11.0
61 to 65	40	7.9
66 to 70	26	5.1
71 to 75	13	2.6
76 to 80	5	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>502</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Level of Education in Fifth Lok Sabha

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	NO	%
Foreign Education	48	9
Graduated in India	343	68
Under Graduated	10	2
Matriculation	32	6
Less than Matriculation	8	1
Religious Education	7	1
Privately Educated	14	2
No Information	58	11
<b>Total</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>100</b>

Age Distribution of Members in Fifth Lok Sabha

AGE GROUP	Total No	%
Under 30	7	1
30 to 39	78	15
40 to 49	153	30
50 to 59	163	32
60 to 69	74	14
70 And Above	23	4
No Information	21	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>520</b>	<b>100</b>

Occupational Distribution of IVth Lok Sabha

O c c u p a t i o	N O .	%
Law	88	17.5
Agriculture	153	30.6
Traders and Industrialists	39	7.7
Civil and Military Service	16	3.2
Medical Practitioners	14	2.8
Teachers and Educationists	33	6.5
Journalists	24	4.8
Former Rulers	7	1.4
Political and Social Workers	115	22.9
Engineers and Technologists	7	1.4
Industrial Workers	1	0.2
Religious Missionaries	4	0.8
Activists	1	0.2
Total :	502	100

---

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

- Almond, Gabriel and Coleman James (ed.): The Politics of the Developing Areas, Princeton, 1970.
- Aron, Raymond: Main Currents in Sociological Thought, Vol. I & II, London, 1970.
- Bhambhari, C.P.: Bureaucracy & Politics in India, New Delhi, 1971.
- Bhaskaran, R. (ed.): Political Leadership, Geneva, 1964.
- Bottomore, T.B.: Elites and Society, London, 1971. ✓
- Brown, D. Mackenzie: The White Umbrella, Los Angeles, 1953.
- Burger, Angela: Opposition in a Dominant Party System, Los Angeles, 1970.
- Burnham, James: Managerial Revolution, London, 1942.
- Colin, Leys (ed.): Politics and Change in Developing Countries, Cambridge, 1969.
- Dahl, R.A.: Modern Political Analysis, New Delhi, 1965.
- Dahl, R.A.: Who Governs? New Haven, 1961.
- Desai, A.R.: Social Backgrounds of Indian Nationalism, Bombay, 1966.
- Dijilas: New Class, London, 1970.
- Finkle, Jason, L. and Gable, Richard, W.: Political Development & Social Change, New York, 1968.
- Fred, R. Mehden: Politics of Developing Nations, New Delhi, 1964.
- Gateano, Mosca: The Ruling Class, New York, 1939.
- George, B. De Huszar & Thomas Stevenson: Political Science, Bombay, 1965.
- Ghose, Shankar: Socialism and Communism in India, New Delhi, 1971.
- Harold, D. Laswell: Power Personality, New York, 1948.
- Harold, D. Laswell; David Lerner and Easton Rothwell (ed.), : The Comparative Study of Elites, Stanford, 1952.
- Harrison, G. Selig: India the most Dangerous Decades, Princeton, 1960.

- Hunter, Floyd: Community Power Structure, California, 1953.
- James, H. Miesel: The Myth of Ruling Class, Michigan, 1962.
- Jones, Morris, W.H. : Government and Politics in India, London, 1970.
- Karunakaran, K.R.: Continuity and Change in Indian Politics,  
New Delhi, 1966.
- Keller, Suzanne: Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elite in Modern Society, New York, 1963.
- Kothari, Rajni: Politics in India, New Delhi, 1970.
- "- Party System and Election Studies, Bombay, 1967.
- Leach, Edmund and Mukherji, S.N.: Elites in South Asia, Cambridge,  
1970.
- Mannheim, Karl: Ideology and Utopia, London, 1966.
- Mason, Phillip (ed.): India & Ceylon: Unity & Diversity, London,  
1967.
- Megill, Kenneth: The New Democratic Theory, New York, 1970.
- Michael, Brecher: Political Leadership in India, , 1969.
- Michels, Rober M. : Political Parties, New York, 1968.
- Mills, C. Wright: The Power Elite, New York, 1956.
- Misra, B.B.: The Indian Middle Classes, London, 1961.
- Mukerji, D.P: Diversities, New Delhi, 1958.
- Pareto, V.P The Mind and Society, New York, 1935.
- Parry, Geraint: Political Elites, London, 1969.
- Pye, W. Lucian and Verba Sidney (ed.), : Political Culture and Political Development, Princeton, 1980.
- Ranciman, W.G.: Social Science & Political Theory, London, 1963.
- Seal, Anil: The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge, 1958.
- Sethi, J.D.: India's Static Power Structure, New Delhi, 1969.
- Shils, E. : The Intellectuals between Tradition and Modernity: Indian Situation, The Hague, 1961.



Jhoenes, P. : The Elites in Welfare State, London, 1966.

Vidyarthi, L.P. : Leadership in India, New York, 1967.

Zeitlin, Irving: Ideology and Development of Sociological Theory,  
New Delhi, ~~Prakashan~~, 1969.

Election Manifestoes:-

Election Manifesto of Congress Party.

Election Manifesto of C.P.I.

Election Manifesto of C.P.I. (M).

Election Manifesto of D.M.K.

Election Manifesto of Jana Sangh.

Election Manifesto of S.S.P.

Election Manifesto of Swatantra Party.

News Papers:

Patriot.

The Hindustan Times.

The Indian Express.

The Times of India.

Periodicals:

Mainstream.

The Economic and Political Weekly.

The Indian Journal of Public Administration.

Indian Left Review.

Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies.

Socialist India.