Debating Counter-public Sphere and Communitarian Action: Towards A Sociological Understanding of Public Intellectual

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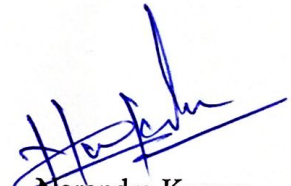**JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY**
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DECLARATION

I, **Narendra Kumar**, hereby declare that the thesis titled, **"Debating Counter-public Sphere and Communitarian Action: Towards A Sociological Understanding of Public Intellectual"**, submitted by me under the supervision of Prof. Y. Chinna Rao in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, is my original work and has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Narendra Kumar

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this thesis be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

(Prof. Y. Chinna Rao)
Supervisor

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ABBREVIATIONS

BAMCEF	**The All India Backward (S.C., S.T., O.B.C.) and Minority Communities Employees Federation**
BJP	**Bharatiya Janata Party**
BJS	**Bharatiya Jana Sangh**
BKKP	**Bharatiya Kisan Kamgar Party**
BSP	**Bahujan Samaj Party**
CPI	**Communist Party of India**
CPI(ML)	**Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)**
CPM	**Communist Party of India (Marxist)**
DMK	**Dravida Munnetra Kazagham**
D-S4	**Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti**
INC	**Indian National Congress**
NDA	**National Democratic Alliance**
OBC	**Other backward classes/other backward castes**
RJD	**Rashtriya Janata Dal**
RPI	**Republican Party of India**
RSS	**Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh**
SAD	**Shiromani Akali Dal**
SC	**Scheduled Caste**
SP	**Samajwadi Party**
ST	**Scheduled Tribe**
VHP	**Vishwa Hindu Parishad**

Contents

INTRODUCTION

The term 'intellectual' is normatively similar to expert or speciality[1] in the discipline or activities in the public. Those scholars who perform the expertise on broader socio-political issues and address the audience contextualize the role of intellectuals.[2] But this contextualisation has specificity and analytical distinction about experts and intellectuals. Patrick Baert writes 'Experts can be intellectuals, but only if they focus on topics that transcend their field and have broader political, cultural, or societal relevance. The only way intellectuals may be considered experts is if they have had formal training and have achieved great success in a particular subject before tackling more general topics. Second, there is no inherent reason intellectuals should be disproportionately concentrated in the arts and humanities or any other sector; they may, in theory, be found in any field of study or cultural success'.[3] In that sense, intellectuals and experts can contextualize their interaction and performative framework in the academics and non-specialist public.

Expertise reflects in specificity, intellectuals get the prominence through the critic with the restricted production of knowledge. But intellectuals who associate themselves from the boundary of specialist public to non-specialist public or general masses[4] then the role of public intellectual emerges. They address the broader social and political issues beyond the boundary of specificity or authority. They have the capacity to change the nature of the public sphere and popularize the debate of the ongoing crises at multiple levels. Therefore, the role of public intellectuals and their engagement with the public to be studied in the formation of knowledge society.[5] To study the intellectuals, it was limited to the sociology of knowledge during the first half of the 20th century. It emerged in Germany with the influence of Marxism and dealt with the question of science and ideology, knowledge and society, and intellectuals' role in class struggle.[6]

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[1] Patrick Baert and Joel Isaac, "Intellectuals and Society: Sociological and Historical Perspectives" in Gerard Delanty and Stephen P. Turner (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, 2022, p. 196.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Thomas Sowell, *Intellectuals and Society,* New York: Basic Book, 2010, p. 38.

[5] Richard A. Posner, *Public Intellectuals:A Study of Decline*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2001.

[6] Patrick Baert and Joel Isaac, "Intellectuals and Society: Sociological and Historical Perspectives" op.cit., p. 197.

However, the sociology of knowledge was limited to the theoretical venture without the empirical agenda. The patterns were about how scientific knowledge was influenced by social forces and affects validity.[7]

The representation of the intellectual raises questions about the functions of the intellectuals in society. The space of the intellectual is located within the public and political. It's a different understanding of the purpose of the intellectual and the range of his/her ideas with the writing and practices in society. Breaking preconceptions and reductive categories that are so restrictive to human cognition and communication is one of the traits of intellectuals.[8] However, in an oppressive society, the legitimacy of an intellectual makes the sense of the location. As Edward W. Said argued that the intellectual should question patriotic nationalism, corporate thinking, and a sense of class, racial, or gender privileges.[9] He is trying to develop an argument against the oppressive structure in society. The intellectual and the direct change evaluate with the network of powerful social authorities. But the intellectuals as outsiders of this network feel powerless due to the structural oppression. Therefore, the representations of the intellectual insider and outsider of the network reframe the question of oppression. As Gramsci argued that "all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals".[10]

Therefore, the privilege to do so is an important function in society. The category of intellectual is not only to question or not to question, it's about how to communicate with a distinctive perspective in the public sphere. In a community that is historically oppressed due to civilizational violence, then the role of public intellectuals emerged to develop the voice of assertion in that community. Gramsci's concept of intellectual construction in the "Prison Notebooks" entails not just creating a social movement but also an entire cultural formation that is connected to it.[11] The function of the intellectual persists with a different voice, ideology, and cultural baggage from an individual. However, the function of an intellectual is not only to

[7]   Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1936 [1929].
[8]   Edward Wadie Said, *Representations of the intellectual: The 1993 Reith lectures*, New York: Vintage Books, 1996, p.xi.
[9]   Ibid, p. xiii.
[10]   Antonio Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks: Selections, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith*, New York: International Publishers, 1971, p. 9.
[11]   Ibid.

criticize and expose the truth, it is also a phenomenon of distribution of power.[12] An individual (intellect) develops connectivity with the audience through the distribution of power. Democratic society can't exist in totality. Therefore, the role of intellectuals is an important category to manage the public and political community in society. Everyone has a distinct perspective in society but how does an intellectual develop the conscience to collaborate. Intellectuals are the core of the social movement or revolution or counter-revolution. A public intellectual is not the only one who questions or criticizes rather how an individual changes the methodology to understand society in the public sphere.

The writings and the vocabularies refer to someone to distinguish the paradox of popular and public. The role of language in writing and speeches evolved with the collaboration of space and location in society. Therefore, the range of an intellectual is established with his/her popular imagination about the audience. The everyday touch or feel with the targeted audience makes the perception about an individual connect with the voice of pain and emancipation. Why does someone believe in the ideas of an individual? How does an individual emerge as a public intellectual in society? How do emotions and knowledge perform the inquiry about the public sphere? Public intellectuals work in quite different circumstances now than Sartre, Beauvoir, or even Said and Sontag did. One of the central paradoxes of public intellectualism is that the more "public" or "popular" an intellectual is, the less seriously that intellectual is taken, especially by other intellectuals.[13] This contradiction is described by one commentator, "It is, in essence, hard for public intellectuals to remain intellectual".[14] But the existence of intellectuals depends upon the willingness to counter the discourse at social and political levels and trace out the past as a present.

In the intellectual history tradition, the context of 'social' exists with a distinct perspective. The debate around the 'social' in intellectual tradition is not just to understand the context but also to interrogate the civilizational violence and hierarchical structure of the

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[12]   Edward Shills, "The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1958, pp. 5-22.

[13]   Jeffrey R Di Leo and Peter Hitchcock (eds.), *The New Public Intellectual: Politics, Theory, and the Public Sphere,* US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. x.

[14]   Deborah L. Rhode, *In Pursuit of Knowledge: Scholars, Status, and Academic Culture,* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 150.

society.[15] Because the generalization to argue about the structure is strong for upper strata rather than lower strata empiricist model.[16] It happened due to the networking approach in society. Therefore, the intellectuals from upper strata got legitimacy through the exaggeration of the writing and appreciation of location to speak in the favor of lower strata. They appropriate the idea of emancipation to maintain the academic space with their networking. The networking in academics like speaking, writing, and inviting is a front stage but save the location is another networking like backstage. Marxists see the intellectuals' role in the context of class struggle and contend about the self-delusional nature of intellectuals as autonomous or free from class-interest.[17] They treat the space of appreciation like a master of truth and justice. As Foucault argued that:[18]

> ...the 'left' intellectual' was for a long time acknowledged to have the right of speaking in the capacity of master of truth and justice. He was heard or purported to make himself heard, as the representative of the universal. To be an intellectual meant to be, a little, the consciousness/conscience of everyone…. The intellectual is supposed to be the clear, individual figure of a universality of which the proletariat is the obscure, collective form.

Here, Foucault describes the phenomenon of the universality of the intellectual. But the question of the individual in universality pauses the question about the activity for all. In that context, specificity manages the role of the intellectual. The specificity engaged with the professional condition of work or their condition of life. The question about universality somewhere makes the debate about knowledge as subjective or objective framework. As John Stuart Mill argued that "intellectuals should be free from the social standard and setting the social standard for others".[19] However, the standard set by the intellectuals is not free from political influence or existing situations. According to Julien Benda, 'intellectuals should pursue justice, truth, and knowledge for these reasons alone, but that in recent years, they have become

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[15] For further explanation see, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya & Yagati Chinna Rao (eds.), *The Past of the Outcaste: Readings in Dalit History*, New Delhi: The Orient Blackswan, 2017.

[16] Gopal Guru, "How Egalitarian are the Social Sciences in India?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 50, 2002, pp. 5003-5009.

[17] Patrick Baert and Joel Isaac, "Intellectuals and Society: Sociological and Historical Perspectives", in Gerard Delanty and Stepehn P. Turner (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*, London and New York: Routledge, 2022, p. 197.

[18] Michel Foucault, *Truth and power' in his Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, New York: Vintage, 1980, p. 126.

[19] Cited in Thomas Sowell, *Intellectuals and Society,* New York: Basic Book, 2010, p. 34.

corrupted by different "political passions", whether in the name of patriotism, class, or race'.[20] Those practices reflect in every domain of knowledge production in the name of critics or exposing of truth. In his famous concept of free-floating intellectuals, Karl Mannheim proposed that intellectuals should be detached from any social force or class, creed. In the critique of existing associational politics of intellectual look through the writings of Gramsci. The distinction between "traditional" and "organic" intellectuals, for instance, was made by Antonio Gramsci. Traditional intellectual works for the status quo and ally with the interest of the ruling class. But the people who worked for the subordinate class and developed the political change known as organic intellectuals, also perform the emancipatory form of knowledge.[21] But it's all about claims or practices in the public to popularize the unrest or dominance in the society at multiple levels. The engagement with the public of the intellectuals is a recent dimension with empirical approach. In that approach intellectuals practice work against the self-deception framework and institutionalize the debate with the non-specialist masses. Thomas Sowell contended that:[22]

> However important rigorous intellectual principles may be within particular fields in which some intellectuals specialize, when people operate as "public intellectuals," espousing ideas and policies to a wider population beyond their professional colleagues, they may or may not carry over intellectual rigor into these more general, more policy-oriented, or more ideologically charged discussions.

Public intellectuals have the capacity to channelise the emotions of the public towards the engagement with the crisis. In his writing Edward Said defined intellectuals "as the notion of amateurism with countering expertise, unquenched for reward and profit, thinking about the larger picture or love for ideas, making the connection beyond the boundaries, and no restriction beyond the profession".[23] This argument makes sense about distance from the nexus of power for an intellectual and works for changing the dynamics towards justice or radical inclusive position against inequality. They should propounded the idea of emancipation and not behave like a pandit to have an agency announce a truth. To take account of intellectualism, Bruce Robbins

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[20]   Julien Benda, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, NewYork:William Morrow, 1928 (1927).
[21]   Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers, 1971 [1929–35], pp. 05-23.
[22]   Thomas Sowell, *Intellectual and Society*, op.cit., pp. 38-39.
[23]   Edward Said, "Professionals and Amateurs", *Representations of the Intellectual,* New York: Vintage Books, 1996, pp. 73-83.

writes, "figure of the political imagination, a character who cannot be separated from the various political narratives in which he or she appears, grounded in the emergences and declines of successive oppositional forces and institutions".[24] Here, the question is about the political position, crises and search for the narratives in society by intellectuals. But it depends on the individual to perform their role in the context of the cultural and social field. Intellectuals work in the construction of opinion in the public sphere to articulate the common goal for society. However, the intellectuals position and positioning in the public somewhere starts from his or her work in academia but it reflects in the social capital developed within the elite intellectuals. Because the publication and production of knowledge itself is a part of politics or positioning in academia. It is sure that the positioning act can contextualize through the involvement of publications at minimal level and the changes (opinion, behavior,) occur in the public sphere at maximal levels.[25] Because the position of an individual is related to the positioning act in the field as Bourdieu contended. He writes:[26]

> Artists and writers, and more generally intellectuals, are a dominated fraction within the dominant class. They are dominant in so far as they hold the power and privileges conferred by the possession of cultural capital and even, at least as far as certain of them are concerned, the possession of a volume of cultural capital great enough to exercise power over cultural capital; but writers and artists are dominated in their relations with those who hold political and economic power.

Bourdieu analysis about the non-economic feature to maintain the power dominance or reproduction of dominance through the cultural capital and social capital. His analysis broke the gap between the theory and practices which was earlier the dominant criticism in intellectual theory. To contextualize the dominance through non-economic features, a literary field known for the cultural reproduction and construction of the public sphere. On the other side, an intellectual uses his authority to write and deliver the meaning of unrest and oppression in the public sphere. Take an example of W.E.B. Dubois, who has written thoroughly about the racial injustice with Black and changing the dynamics to think about the black lives in the public

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[24] Bruce Robbins, "Introduction: The Grounding of Intellectuals", in Bruce Robbins (ed.), *Intellectuals: Aesthetics, Politics, and Academics*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1990, pp. ix-xxvii.

[25] Laura Bieger, "Public Intellectuals, Cultural Fields, and the Predicaments of Popularity; or Richard Wright meets with Pierre Bourdieu", forthcoming in Astrid Boger and Florian Sedlmeier (eds.), *American Culture as Popular Culture*, Heidelberg: Winter, 2021.

[26] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Intellectual Field: A World Apart" *In Other Words: Essays towards a Reflexive Sociology*, (Trans. Matthew Adamson), Stanford: Stanford UP, 1990, p. 145.

sphere. On the 150th anniversary of the W.E.B. Dubois, the prominent scholar, talks about his writings about the challenge of white supremacy and racial discriminatin engagement in the public. They writes:[27]

> Du Bois's audible history invests new meaning into his work as a scholar and public intellectual. Through John Hope Franklin, Shirley Graham Du Bois, and Anna Arnold Hedgeman we "see" Du Bois lecturing and speaking, in effect the public presence of a scholar we tend to know more readily through the printed words of his publications. With Thomas Campbell and Ethel Ray Nance—and from a different vantage point his FBI files—we "feel" the power of Du Bois's words and the affective experience of his verbal constructions. Whether found in historical documents or narrated through vivid descriptions of the "clipped" aspects of his voice's literal sound, investigating Du Bois's audible history innovatively humanizes a towering scholar mostly readily known through his published words.

Du Bois's writings and his engagements with the public makes him a person of the public stage. He developed a discourse in the public with authority of writing and placed it with powerful vocabularies within the human rights groups, labor movement, feminist collectives, and the grassroot organizations to constitute a reciprocity between gaining of knowledge and shape up the thinking of the professionals.[28] Therefore, three major contributions like publications, public presence through verbal communication, and narration of past and experience, to contextualize the individual as a public intellectual. In the same line of thinking Richard Wright is known for his work which makes him a man of stage and public figure in the US. In his writing *Native Son* (1940), a famous novel which breaks the silence on racial injustice and impacts on popular perception in the society. The appearance of this novel impacted on American culture and changed it forever.[29] The process of authoritative writer and legitimation comes in the light with the process of construction of publicness, reflected as 'Native Son carved out a place in literature that changed it in ways that made it possible for its author to become an authoritative public figure, in part because of evaluations by prominent thinkers like Howe. Indeed, the novel and its reviews are seen from Bourdieu's practise theoretical perspective as actors on a public stage, interacting with other co-actors (authors and publishers, buyers and

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[27]   Report, "Most Pleasant to the ear": W.E.B. Du Bois's Itinerant Intellectual Soundscapes, *Sound Studies*, August 13, 2018. (Accessed on 22 September 2022)

[28]   Cynthia H. Tolentino, America's Experts: Race and the Fictions of Sociology, US: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

[29]   Irving Howe, "Black Boys and Native Sons", *Dissent*, (Autumn 1963), pp. 353-68.

readers, the novel's iconic protagonist) with the goal of accumulating and exchanging symbolic and cultural capital for literary fame and public authority'. Here two examples proposed the way of engagement in the intellectual arena and intra-intellectual arena. However, the speciality of Du Bois engagement encountered field practices and itinerant intellectuals beyond the acknowledgement of restricted production of knowledge and it can be found in his famous novel *The Souls of Black Folk*. Therefore, the literary field has important aspects to deliver the experiential reality and pain to construct the pedagogy of resistance in the existing public sphere. Du Bois' concern for humanity and fight against the inhuman condition at global level reflected in the conversation with Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar wrote a letter to Du Bois with sympathetic mode to encourage the step of raising the issue of Negroes of America in front of U.N.O. Ambedkar writes that in India, we (untouchables) of India, are also thinking of filing a suit in U.N.O. and ask about the copy of the statement which was put in front of U.N.O. by The National Negro Congress.[30] In response to Ambedkar, Du Bois wrote a letter and gave immense support to untouchables in India. He writes, "...of course have every sympathy with the Untouchables of India. I shall be glad to be of any service I can render if possible in the future".[31] This can not be limited only in conversation, it's a reflection of intellectuals' role and their responsibility for emancipatory discourse at global level. The connection between the Black and Untouchables also found in the first radical organisation Dalit Panther, which was influenced from Black Panther in US. In the manifesto of Dalit Panther, issues in 1971, writes, "from the Black Panthers Black power was established. We claim a close relationship with this struggle".[32]

The intellectual tradition in dalit communities can be traced to the emergence of dalit literary movement, which was took place in the 1960s.[33] It reflects in the dalit literature, which emerge as a voice of liberation, contextualisation of past, and expose the hierarchical structure of Indian society. The 'Hindi Dalit literary movement that is currently most well recognised was founded in the middle of the 1980s by a group of writers who drew inspiration from the Dalit

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[30]   https://www.saada.org/tides/article/ambedkar-du-bois. Cited in the original letter of Du Bois to Ambedkar. (Accessed on 24 September 2022).

[31]   Ibid. For further reading on the Ambedkar-Du Bois correspondence, see S.D. Kapoor, "B.R. Ambedkar, W.E.B. Du Bois and the Process of Liberation" *Economic and Political Weekly* Vol. 38, No. 51-52, 2003, pp. 5344-5349.

[32]   Sharan Kumar Limbale, *Dalit Panther*, Pune: Sugava Prakashan, 1989, p. 260.

[33]   Yagati Chinna Rao and Rajsekhar Basu, *Dalit Intellectuals: Ideas, Struggles, and The Vision*, New Delhi: Primus, 2022, p. 9.

Panthers' Marathi writing and used autobiography, fiction, poetry, and literary criticism as weapons in their battle for recognition in the Hindi literary mainstream'.[34] The dalit autobiography comes out with the pain[35] and self to articulate the civilizational violence and everyday form of oppression in the society.[36] Dalit intellectual history tradition emerge with the specificity of pain (of discardness from public life), absenteeism of manhood, and caste privilege in the society.[37] If we read Joothan written by Omprakash Valmiki, the reality and the pain of structural violence comes out in the writing.[38] Therefore, the intellectual is somewhere entangled with the everyday conscience of the public and political community in marginalized sections. Dalit autobiographies Baluta, Interrogating My Chandal Life, Karukku, Manikarnika, Murdhaiyaa, and Mera Bachpan Mere Kandhon Par, represent the discourse of resistance with the impact of structural location. These biographies were not limited to uncover the everyday oppression but develop the pedagogy of resistance and construct the counter-public. This discourse was against the mainstream literary figures and their writings developed during the colonial and postcolonial times. As Francesca Orsini writes about the development of a new class in the writing space during the colonial times, obsessed with the discourse of modernity and contextualizing the debate of citizenship, modern nation, with the emergence of the public sphere. These classes emerge with particular cultural taste and social capital to romanticize the discourse of nation and language.[39] In that contrast, the new literary field Hindi Dalit literature emerged in North India in 1920s. During that time the inexpensive pamphlets were circulated by privately dalit-owned presses to the exclusively dalit audiences on special ocassion or political meetings.[40] Sarah writes:[41]

> ...on the occasion of Ambedkar Jayanti in Delhi, while cheap Hindi Dalit pamphlets sold on ground cloths dominated the space of the Dalit *mela* (festival),

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[34] Sarah Beth Hunt, *Hindi Dalit Lietrature and the Politics of Represenataion*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2014, p. 3.

[35] Sarah Beth Hunt, "Hindi Dalit Autobiography: An Exploration of Identity", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 3, 2007, pp. 545-74.

[36] Vivek Kumar, "Caste, Contemporaneity, and Assertion", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 51, No. 50, 2016, pp. 84-86.

[37] Gail Omvedt, *Dalits and the Democratic Revolution: Dr. Ambedkar and Dalit Movement in Colonial India*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1994, p. 208.

[38] Omprakash Valmiki, *Joothan*, New Delhi: Radhakrishna Prakashan, 1997.

[39] Francesca Orsini, *The Hindi Public Sphere: Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 43.

[40] Sarah Beth Hunt, *Hindi Dalit Lietrature and the Politics of Represenataion*, op.cit., p. 3.

[41] Ibid., p. 3.

the 'autobiographic' Hindi Dalit writers virtually ignored the mela as a space of literary distribution and instead aspired to sell their books and literary journals at 'proper' bookstores, such as the Shri Ram Centre at Mandi House, the Hindi Book Centre on Asaf Ali Road, or the bookshops on university campuses. The attitudes of the 'autobiographic' Hindi Dalit writers at Ambedkar Jayanti thus reveal that members of the same marginalised community will not always use literature in the same way to contest social discrimination. Therefore, while all Hindi Dalit writers foregrounded their caste-ist 'Dalit' identities, it was their other identities, namely their class, regional, gender, and jati identities, that largely determined their literary practices, the genres they employed and their access (or lack thereof) to the main- stream Hindi literary field.

Dalit literary developed with the discourse of knowledge and institutionalised the consciousness at political level. The intellectual tradition in dalits constructs the counter-public against the exclusionary practices of upper caste intellectuals in the knowledge production. As Nancy Fraser contended that the subaltern counterpublic is institutionalized through the parallel discursive arenas by subaltern social groups and developed the counter discourse with identity, needs, and interests.[42] However, the specificity of 'pain' is an important factor to articulate the ideology by the ideologists or intellectuals. But the patterns are important to find out the discourse in the knowledge production in a restricted network. And dalit literay field emerge against the countering of that restricted framework in the literary field. Sarah argued that 'In the middle of the 1990s, Hindi Dalit authors working in the "autobiographical field" also established a counter-public sphere, though not because they were shut out of the mainstream of literature but rather to learn certain literary elements that were highly regarded by it in order to challenge it on its own terms'.[43] Here, one assumption is clear that autobiographical fields represent the reality of experience with the identity and self. As Stuart Hall argued that represenataion is not reflection, it is about reconstruction. In further, David Bailey and Staurt Hall talk about Black identity and said that 'identities exist with the contradiction and signify the identity of black with various experiences. However, represenataion as an act denotes the multiple forms of experience of blackness rather than presenting a single cohesive identity of black'.[44] In dalit literature the

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[42] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", in Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992, p. 123.

[43] Sarah Beth Hunt, *Hindi Dalit Lietrature and the Politics of Represenataion*, op.cit., p. 20.

[44] Cited in Sarah Beth Hunt, *Hindi Dalit Lietrature and the Politics of Represenataion*, op.cit., p. 12. For further explanation see, David Bailey and Stuart Hall, "The Vertigo of Displacement: Shifts within Black Documentary Practices", in *Critical Decade: Black British Photography in the 80s*, Vol. 8(3), 1992, pp. 15–23.

experiential reality denotes the pedagogy of resistance or develop the pedagogy for the oppressed as well as oppressor to understand the emancipatory discourse. In the knowledge discourse, represenataion denotes the idea of counter-public against the elite domain of knowledge which is restricted. But epistemologically literary fields emerge with privilege of the location and impact on the public sphere. But in contrast, intellectuals exist to speak with universal value or the social realm to contextualize the unrest or undemocratic behavior in society. As Boudieu situates the debate of Emile Zola's position against the Dreyfus Affair, "...we can and must intervene in the world of politics, but with our own means and ends. Paradoxically, it is in the name of everything that assures the autonomy of their universe that artists, writers or scholars can intervene in today's struggles".[45] However, there is a gap to intervene in the struggle against the inhuman condition and hierarchical notion in the society. A public intellectual is not limited to situate the debate with his/her means and ends but to generate it. If you don't have the public appearance from civilization and face the challenge to enter into the political power, construct the network for transformation. For that, Kanshi Ram is an example, not only exposes the structural hierarchy with language of representation, but also constructs the public appearance in social and political framework. He established the literary wing among the other wings in BAMCEF. Therefore, the preliminary question is about engagement with the field and societalization of social problems to construct the counter-public. But the question is how does an individual make the bridge between intellectual and practicality of field. How does an individual make the understanding outside the academic discourse or among the unknown public? Or how does an individual generate the activities in the social and cultural field with positioning or construct the counter-public? In the democratic society as claimed, the staggering inequality restricts or constructs the challenge in the access of the public sphere. After all that, how one constructs his/her public with communitarian action.

Kanshi Ram and Societalization of Social Problems

In Indian academia so called intellectuals were very subjective with their ideologies and networking approach. In his views on Marxist in India, Kanshi Ram address the question of discrimination in the University of Calcutta, where a post of Reader was advertised in department of Geography. A well qualified candidate Dr. Ashish Sarkar from SC's Community

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[45]   Pierre Bourdieu, *Free Exchange*, Cambridge uk: Polity Press, 1994, p. 38.

appeared for the interview. He was a gold medalist and first class in B.Sc (70.5%), and M.Sc(74.2%) and had a Doctorate degree. But the interview board found him not suitable for the post and selected a candidate Mr. Ranjan Basu, from Bardhaman University, who did not have a doctorate degree. But he was a relative of the CPM leader and it was his main asset.[46] This example is about the intellectual bankruptcy of the left intellectuals and their progressiveness in India. As Kashi Ram further argued that "when the communists came to power in West Bengal, they forgot all their big songs and revolutionary slogans. Their cruel forcible eviction and tillers of the land from Morijhapi, and their other activities has given us food for thought".[47] It was the concrete example of the thinking of Kanshi Ram to articulate the restricted knowledge production by the upper caste and their ideological subjectivity.

In the Indian socio-political scenario, Kanshi Ram is a name to understand politics from a Bahujan perspective. In the categorization of the community as political and public[48] Kanshi Ram clearly understood the division in the Bahujan community. He had started magazines, and newspapers to engage with the masses. March 15, 1934, is the birth date of Kanshi Ram, the founder of BAMCEF [All India Backward (SC, ST, OBC) And Minority Communities Employees Federation][49] and the Bahujan Samaj Party, a man who revolutionized Indian politics. His legacy carries on through sharp and heightened Bahujan politics. In the Dalit public sphere, the notion of messiah is hailed due to inculcation of confidence, self-respect with self-help, and identity of the location. He developed the demarcation in society in the context of the public and political community. And inculcate the idea of assertion with the social and political consciousness. He was the one who gave them the political, social, and cultural clout to combat oppression and injustice as well as the daily humiliation and abuse they endured within the hierarchical framework.

Social Scientists and Journalists looked at Kanshi Ram with different connotations, like Rajni Kothari found him 'shallow' in the discourse of 'social justice' and 'cultural revolution'.

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46   Kanshi Ram, "Marxist in India: Interview with Illustrated Weekly", in N. Manohar Prasad (ed.), *Views and Interviews of Kanshiram*, Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2012, p. 102.

47   Ibid. p. 101.

48   Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

49   Vivek Kumar, "Dynamics of Kanshi Ram's Movement", *Forward Press*, 10.12.2019. https://docs.google.com/document/d/1D6t2gwkvbmr9-CglIiDVRam5z-n0Rlh5ImkK-dBhcZk/edit accessed on 21.9.2021.

Although he shared a platform with him and defined BSP as a 'Phenomenon'. His supporters called him a great social scientist and enigmatic demon for the upper castes.[50] Ajoy Bose called him a dalit prophet[51] and on the other hand, as a successful power player in the history of dalit politics defined by Abhay Kumar Dubey.[52] He also said that "Kanshi Ram practically did nothing to educate the dalits masses".[53] It's a falsification of the reading of a visionary leader and his vocabulary to introduce the history among the illiterate masses at ideological level. Some newspapers cite him as an opportunist after coalition with various parties during elections. Vivek Kumar writes, 'Kanshi Ram was a staunch democrat who upheld both the rule of law and democratic principles. In an effort to form the "Bahujan Samaj," or "main community," he made an effort to unite the Dalits, members of the scheduled tribes (STs), Other Backward Castes (OBCs), and other minorities. He explained to them the significance of their votes and how they may alter the democratic process. Additionally, he created the concept of the "Manuvadi," or adherent of the Manu Samhita, the social code of the higher castes, as the "other" or adversary with whom he would contend'.[54] During the NDA Government headed by Atal Bihari Vajpayee, they started to talk about the review of Constituion. Kanshi Ram challenged Atal Bihari Vajpayee and said "alleging that the proposed review of the constitution was nothing but an attempt to perpetuate the rule of socially-dominant dominant classes so as to stifle and suppress the aspirations of the newly awakened social groups… and asserted that any attempt to change the prevailing Parliamentary form of Government in the name of stability would be unacceptable to his party".[55] Further he also argued that "What we need to ensure at this juncture is not stability through Constitutional changes but stability by implementing the existing provisions of the Constitution, to ensure socio-economic justice to the vulnerable and the suppressed".[56] Similar to Ambedkar, who worked to question the status-quo and this effort to empower or enhance the consciousness of Dalits and members of lower castes was intended to benefit them.

[50]   Abhay Kumar Dubey, "Anatomy of a Dalit Power Player: A study of Kanshi Ram", in Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Dalit Identity and Politics* (Cultural Subordination and Dalit Challenge, Vol. 2), New Delhi: Sage, 2001. P. 290. See also, M.N. Srinivas, "The Cultural Revolution Moves North", *The Indian Express*, 12 December 1993.

[51]   Ajoy Bose, "Kanshiram: Leader of the Dalits" (Book Review), *Mint*, 21 May 2014.

[52]   Abhay Kumar Dubey, "Anatomy of a Dalit Power Player", op.cit., p. 288.

[53]   Ibid, p. 307.

[54]   Ibid. Kanshi Ram used this rhetoric to inform the oppressed about the source of hegemony of the upper caste in Indian Society.

[55]   Notes, "Kanshi Ram smells a rat, raises a stink", *The Hindustan Times*, 31 January 2000.

[56]   Ibid.

If Ambedkar is to be given credit for building the constitutional foundation of Indian democracy, Kanshi Ram's organizational strategies and political ploys strengthened that foundation by enlisting the support of several oppressed groups in his political endeavors.[57] He created independent leadership in the Bahujan community. Additionally, by praising the cultural assets of distinct Dalit communities, such as 'their proverbs, folklore, folk songs, etc.- venerating the heroes and saints of the numerous Dalit communities and then trying to integrate Dalits under one wide roof'.[58]

Kanshi Ram has tried to establish the counter-public with the help of the media to uncover the reality of society. The oppressed communities efforts to emancipate themselves from the oppression were blackout by the caste Hindu press. There were no reports on atrocities against dalits by the upper caste. To encounter it, he engaged with the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar to establish his own media or press. Consequently, Kanshi Ram launched "The Oppressed Indian," a monthly journal, in April 1979 following the re-launch of BAMCEF in 1978, which he described as, "a vigilant and up-to-date news service armed and operated by the oppressed Indians themselves creating proper public opinion".[59] Kanshi Ram himself used to write the editorials. For the editorial of the inaugural issue he wrote[60]:

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[57]   Badri Narayan, *Kanshiram: Leader of the Dalits*, New Delhi: Penguin, 2018, p. 11.

[58]   Badri Narayan, *Kanshiram: Leader of the Dalits*, New Delhi: Penguin, 2018, p. iv. See also Vivek Kumar, *Bahujan Samaj Party evam Sanrachnatmak parivartan: Ek samajshastriya avlokan*, New Delhi: Samyak Prakashan, 2008.

[59]   Kanshi Ram, "Need for News Service", *The Oppressed Indian*, 1979 April, vol. 1., No.1 p.1.

[60]   Manohar Atey, *The Editorials of Kanshi Ram*, Delhi: Siddharth Books, 2019, pp.1-6. Kanshi Ram was aware about the cognitive blackout of dalit and their politics by mainstream media at that time. To construct the counter-public Kanshi Ram has an understanding about the richness of truth in the society. Therefore, Media is a means to propagate the truth and mobilize the people. And it's a history that oppressed are always discarded by so called mainstream media because they are dominated by oppressors. With that fact, Kanshi Ram published The Oppressed Indian, a monthly magazine and the editorials were written by Kanshi Ram himself. This monthly english magazine was engaged in reporting, reviewing, and revaluing the activities of BAMCEF, D-S4, and BRC.The reports of symposiums, and seminars on various topics were published in this magazine. There was a tremendous demand for it not only in India but also from England, Japan, and America to study the mission and movement of BAMCEF. He also writes about the future strategies of the movement. Before that he published a magazine *The Untouchable* on 1 June 1972. This was only to fulfill the need of looking into the aspirations and massiveness of Bahujans Samaj. The first draft of this magazine engaged with the vision and mission of Bahujan icons against civilizational violence. It discard the nationalist narrative created by the caste hindu press and realise the dalit to think about the functioning of structural hegemony. On the occasion of the golden jubilee of independence (15 August 1972) a special issue was published in this

All these people of the backward and minority communities, who form about 85% of India's population, have little share in the news service of the nation. News regarding them or pertaining to their pressing problems appear in the press in a casual manner. Youth, students, farmers, workers, educated employees, and even leaders of these communities keep groping in the dark and struggling without being fully informed.

He further writes that "The caste Hindu monopoly of the press gives only sketchy news about the outrages and the atrocities committed on the oppressed Indians. The aftermath and the actions taken, if any, are not given publicity by the caste Hindu press"[61] To quote Dr. Ambedkar and writes that "Baba Saheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar realized the importance of our own news service to ventilate the grievances of our people and to create public opinion in favor of speedy redress. He realized this some 60 years ago when there were no literate persons amongst the untouchables…."[62]

Kanshi Ram, following the Phule Ambedkarite organizational philosophy, understood the need for parallel media for the Bahujan Mass Movement. Before "The Oppressed Indian" he had published 'The Untouchable India' in 1972.[63] In 1984, he started "Bahujan Times", a daily in Marathi, Hindi, and English. Then there were more monthlies like Bahujan Sahitya, Economic Upsurge, Arthik Utthan, Shramik Sahitya etc. and weeklies like Bahujan Sangathak, Bahujan Nayak.[64] In the same inaugural issue of "The Oppressed Indian", Kanshi Ram concluded the

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[61] journal. He raised the question of Why the Bahujan Community is dependent in Independence India? Kanshi Ram was facing hindrances in the continuity and regularity of the magazine.

[61] Ibid., p.2.

[62] Ibid., p. 5-6.

[63] Vivek Kumar, Dynamics of Kanshi Ram's Movement, *Forward Press*, 10.12.2019.

[64] Vivek Kumar, *Dalit Assertion and Bahujan Samaj Party: A Perspective from Below*, New Delhi: Samyak Prakashan, 2013. Media has a significant role in the construction of the counter-public and creates the perception of ongoing crises at multiple levels. And the important aspects to know 'where are we?' in the dominant public sphere. To break this dominance Kanshi Ram started many newspapers, magazines, periodicals in different languages. In one of them, Bahujan times was the daily newspaper started from New Delhi and Maharashtra released on 31 March 1984 in Marathi, 14 August 1984 in English, 6 December 1984 in Hindi. Bahujan Sangathak, another Hindi weekly was started on 14 April 1980, day of Dr. Ambedkar Birth Anniversary. Kanshi Ram was the editor and most of his speeches published in this newspaper. On 24 November 1980, Kanshi Ram contended about the importance of daily newspapers to the Bahujan Community, 'We read the daily newspapers that are published every day. They have an impact on us and alter our attitudes. At the commencement of British administration, the country's powerful classes and castes had become aware of this, and slowly but surely, they took control of the daily newspapers. In the end, they had total control over the daily newspaper industry. For the Dalit castes, this brought to a lot of issues.' The oppressed Indian and Bahujan Sangathak were the mouthpieces of

editorial by saying "Publication of the Oppressed Indian, a monthly news magazine, is just beginning. The task ahead is challenging!"[65]

The founder and leader of the Bahujan Samaj Party (for the good of all) was Kanshi Ram. He established the BSP in 1984 as a breakaway from the RPI, Dr. Ambedkar's party, which had experienced internal strife following his death.[66] The BSP, led by Mayawati, won four elections for the position of Chief Minister in the tremendously populous northern state of Uttar Pradesh. It might be very important that Kanshi Ram passed away. Kanshi Ram, like Dr. Ambedkar in the previous century, was the only figure who had the support and respect of all of India's numerous lower castes. As a result, the lower-caste political and social movements have been frequently ripped apart.[67] He was not in the university for the production of knowledge and its legitimacy in the public. Therefore, the production of literature outside the university system does not entangle with compulsions. It's a pertinent question that the relationship between intellectuals and the public make communicative action in society. BAMCEF had over two lakh members, which included 500 Ph.D. scholars, 3000 doctors, 15000 scientists, and 70000 office staff.[68] Therefore, networking was developed by Kanshi Ram to inculcate the idea of the public intellectual.

Statement of the Problem

This research is an attempt to comprehend the extraordinary case of public voice. The historicity of the public sphere in India is restricted to reaching and writing about the caste in the public and developing the discourse with its functional characteristics to maintain the social order and pattern. Therefore, the shape of the public and the role of cultural capital to access the public sphere are absent in the academic discourse. The historicity of the public life of untouchables and

the organization. At the economic level, he started to publish the magazine and weekly to raise the question of land reform, labor, and nationalization of industries. He published aarthik utthaan in hindi in November 1980 and the english version economic upsurge was published in November-December 1981, Economic monthly (Marathi) in 1981. Bahujan Sandesh weekly was started in Punjabi and Kannad from Chandigarh and Bangalore. Bahujan Ekta weekly was published in Gujarati from Baroda.

[65]   Kanshi Ram, "Need for News Service", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 1, No.1 1979.

[66]   Jayabrata Sarkar, *Politics As Social Text in India: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, Delhi: Taylor and Francis, 2021, p. 4.

[67]   For further explanation see, Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the unfinished democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2002.

[68]   Christophe Jaffrelot, "The Bahujan Samaj Party in North India: No Longer just a Dalit Party?", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1998, pp. 35-52.

their access to the public sphere was never a debate in the academic world or also protected through bifurcation of knowledge.[69] However, Phule and Ambedkar break the protected discourse of public life to discuss the oppression and hegemony and expose its knowledge construction. How were their ideas blackout from the public space and restricted to a particular identity or region? Therefore, methodological reductionism in history writing proposes a new way of understanding the past and its consequences for the public. To take an attempt to study history and shape the public is the centrist discourse in this research. For that, if the public and audience are not aware of the past or history, the role of the public intellectual emerges which bridges the gap between ideas and the public. In that context, Kanshi Ram was a critical thinker, and his engagement with the field created a new counter-public and shared common space in the society. We will be discussing at length all of Kanshi Ram's forays into a socio-political discourse that stretched over some time; some books have documented this aspect of his biography. Instead, we will try to focus on the period, in India, when Kanshi Ram rose from relative obscurity to public prominence. We call it the Bahujan moment' because we are talking about a short period, one in which not just Kanshi Ram, but also his philosophy, caught the public's imagination.

The central question, therefore, is twofold: one aspect deals with timing, the other with Kanshi Ram's philosophy itself. First, why, between 1970 and 1996, did Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Movement enjoy such quick intellectual acceptance in India, together with a strong artistic and popular following? Second, what caused Kanshi Ram's movement to have such great success in gathering support during this time? Does his emotional connection to the public affect how the people perceive him? The other question will try to locate the everyday moment of Kanshi Ram with the public and political community. To make sense of the rapid rise of Kanshi Ram in India, the thesis will analyze various aspects of the socio-political climate at that time.

Instead of concentrating on whether incidents were more likely to be seen as traumatic or were fundamentally painful, this research will examine how Kanshi Ram wrote about the Indian society and persistence of caste hierarchy. So this research attempts to find out how effective Kanshi Ram, in comparison with others, was in making his views heard and through which

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[69] For further explanation, see B.R. Ambedkar, The Untouchable, in Vasant Moon (ed.) *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar writing and speeches*, *Vol.7*, Department of education, Government of Maharashtra, 1990.

channels his accounts of the hierarchy were disseminated. Which types of arguments did he invoke to support their views? Who was to blame for certain historical occurrences or behaviors that were deemed pernicious? According to him, how can the Bahujan people move beyond these events? How, in the process, did Kanshi Ram position himself? What needs to be explained is why at some point people started to recognize him as a man of talent, who had something significant to say? It is the intersection of Kanshi Ram and the public that is our focus of attraction, not merely Kanshi Ram's idiosyncratic qualities.

Review of Literature

Here is an analysis of important literature related to the field of research. This work is mostly engaging with published seminal works and trying to look forward to engaging with these in my research in a more nuanced fashion. The review of literature is categorically divided thematically and chronologically. Unlike anti-caste movements in the south, northern parts of India did not witness different movements against the caste system. Multiple factors were responsible for the lack of anti-caste movements in these states. Different scholars have highlighted different causes for it. Some felt unlike the oppressive caste system in the South, northern parts did not have oppressive caste practices, and leaving few Dalit communities such as Bhangi, Doms, Chamar others did not face many humiliating experiences.[70]

However, the struggle for freedom addressed all the subjects equally, therefore Dalits and other agrarian castes assimilated themselves into the national movement.[71] The book 'Congress and Congressism in Indian Politics' by Ramesh Kumar focused on the Indian party system in general and congress in Particular. The work of this book comprises a comprehensive analysis of the electoral performances of all the parties from the 1950s to the 1990s.[72] In India, identity-based politics now have a chance to flourish as a result of the breakdown of the

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[70]   Lloyd Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition: Political Development in India,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.

[71]   Bharat Patankar & Gail Omvedt, "Dalit Liberation Movement in Colonial Period", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 14, No. 7/8, 1979, pp. 409-424.

[72]   Ramesh Kumar, *Congress and Congressism in Indian Politics,* New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1994.

"congress system," with Dalit identity being one of them.[73] Kishalay Banerjee's 'Regional Political Parties in India' focuses on the conditions in which regional parties emerged. This book analyzed the emergence of regional parties in India in general and in Orissa particularly.[74]

The Green Revolution in UP has contributed less for Dalits compared to their counterparts in backward castes' landowning communities who not only benefited but also strengthened their socio-economic position in society.[75] This resulted in competition and conflicts during the 1960s which orchestrated violence on Dalits by the middle castes who directly felt in danger with the rising assertion among the Dalits.[76] The outcome of the repeated violence is the formation of educated Dalits working in the government offices into an organized movement which later in the 1980s pushed for the formation of the Bahujan Samaj Party. Khanna's 'Caste in Indian Politics' has focused on the emergence of BSP through its roots in BAMCEF, a non-political organization floated by Kanshi Ram. He has focused on the role of religion, regionalism, caste, and political parties in the context of Indian polity. He has described the electoral performance of the party in the Lok Sabha and Assembly elections in UP.[77] Farhat Parveen's article in the book 'India fifty years of Independence' by Varinder Arora and Rajan Arora (ed.) has discussed the evolution and electoral performance of BSP. Likewise, in 1992 in Punjab assembly election BSP emerged as the main opposition party and in 1993 it won 67 assembly seats and became a coalition partner with Samajwadi Party in UP.[78]

Paramjit Singh Judge's article 'Green Revolution and the Bahujan Samaj Party in Punjab' in the book 'Dimensions of Social Change' by Paramjit Judge Singh and Satish K. Sharma has focused on the impact of casteism, profession, green revolution, and BSP in Punjab. This study is based on the survey method. BSP is linked to the improvement of economic conditions of SCs,

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[73] Oliver Mendelsohn, "The Collapse of the Indian National Congress", *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 51, No.1, 1978, pp. 41-66. See also W.H. Morris-Jones, "The Indian Congress Party: Dilemmas of Dominance," *Modern Asian Studies*, April 1967.

[74] Kishalay Banerjee, *Regional Political Parties in India,* Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1984.

[75] Jagpal Singh, *Capitalism and Dependence: Agrarian Politics in Western Uttar Pradesh*, New Delhi: Manohar Publication, 1992.

[76] Oliver Mendelsohn & Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty and the State in Modern India*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

[77] S.K. Khanna, *Caste in Indian Politics,* New Delhi: Commonwealth Publishers, 1998.

[78] Verinder Grover & Ranjana Arora, (eds.), *India: Fifty Years of Independence 1947-1997,* New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications, 1997.

particularly Chamars/ Addharmi castes. He mainly talked about the economic dependency of certain groups on BSP.[79] Everywhere small urban professional and entrepreneurial elite has arisen mainly among the Jatavs, the first to make use of education and job quotas. Today the Kureels/Jatavs holding Class I jobs compare favorably with the brahmin, Kayastha, or Vaishya communities, which has enabled Mayawati to place SC officers in the higher echelons of the bureaucracy.[80]

Sudha Pai in her article "Elections 1999: Uttar Pradesh: BSP's new Electoral Strategy Pays off" has focused on the strategy of BSP. She describes the good performance of BSP in the Lok Sabha elections of 1999 in UP. She analyzes the several factors which are responsible for the success of the party. She has encouraged the campaigning strategy of the party in this article.[81] Pradeep Kumar's article "Dalits and BSP in Uttar Pradesh: Issues and Challenges" focuses on the objectives of the Bahujan Samaj Party. BSP emerged with the basic objective to mobilize the Dalits and minorities. In 1989 the party won three Lok Sabha seats and in 1997 it became the National political party of India. BSP as a national party monopolizes the votes of Dalits in Uttar Pradesh, especially of Chamars.[82]

Paramjit Judge's article 'Dalits in Haryana Politics' highlights the series of rallies held by the BSP in Haryana. The author has highlighted the objectives of the party in Haryana and also the reasons for its defeat in the 1996 Lok Sabha and Assembly elections in Haryana.[83] Ashutosh Kumar and Sanjay Kumar in their article 'Punjab Elections: Decline of Identity Politics'

[79] Paramjit Singh Judge and Satish Kumar Sharma and Prakash Narayan Pimpley, *Dimensions of social change: essays in honor of Professor P.N. Pimply / edited by* Paramjit S. Judge, Satish K. Sharma*, Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1997.

[80] Sudha Pai, "Dalit Assertion in Assertion: Implications for Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 32, No. 37, Sep. 13, 1997, pp. 2313-14.

[81] Sudha Pai, "Elections 1999: Uttar Pradesh: BSP's New Electoral Strategy Pays off", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 44, 30 October 1999, pp. 3099-3101.

[82] Pardeep Kumar, "Dalits and the BSP in Uttar Pradesh: Issues and Challenges"*, Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 14, 1999, pp. 822-826.

[83] Paramjit Singh Judge, "Dalits in Haryana Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 43, 1997.

highlight the reasons for the defeat of Shiromani Akali Dal and the victory of the Congress party in the 2002 Punjab Vidhan Sabha elections.[84]

Bahujan Samaj Party was not formed as a political party from the beginning; rather it was named as BAMCEF-Backward and Minority Classes Employees Federation in 1978. It was a statist party and believed in the state providing justice to the marginalized communities.[85] According to Omvedt it allied with some major parties in the state and its objective was to capture power.[86] It was not a reform movement but rather a 'social action group'. BSP was formed after a lot of mobilization was executed by the strong workers of the organization. On 14th April 1984 on the occasion of Dr. Ambedkar's birth anniversary, Kanshi Ram formally launched the party.[87]

The late 1980s and early 90s saw three striking developments in the state of Uttar Pradesh that acquired national importance, that were: the emergence of Dalit politics through Kanshi Ram's Bahujan Samaj Party, Mandal agitation arose out of the extension of reservation to the Other Backward Classes, and the arise of Hindutva politics resulting to Babri Masjid demolition.[88] It is now a well-accepted fact that villages across India are divided into three major sections, Dominant Castes, Middle Castes, and Scheduled Castes (Dalits) and Uttar Pradesh too reflect this reality. Some major communities under dominant castes are Brahmins, Thakurs, and Bhumihars, and the middle castes are constituted by Jats, Yadavs, and Kurmis.

Along with innovative schemes such as Ambedkar Village Scheme, Dalits benefitted the most. Moreover, through reservations in Panchayat 73rd and 74th amendments, Dalits began to gather the benefits such as loans, roads, electricity, etc. from the state. Moreover, the rise in literacy rate between 1971 to 1981 and later in 1991 slowly narrowed the differences from the

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[84]   Ashutosh Kumar & Sanjay Kumar, "Punjab Assembly Elections: Decline of Identity Politics", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXVII, No.15, 2002, 1384-1388.

[85]   Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution,* op.cit, 2002. (BAMCEF-The All India Backward (SC, ST, OBC) And Minority Communities Employees Federation).

[86]   Gail Omvedt, "Ambedkar and After: The Dalit Movement in India", In (eds.) by Ghanshyam Shah, *Dalit Identity and Politics,* New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001.

[87]   Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Party Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[88]   Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh,* New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002.

national average have contributed to the rise of Dalits in Uttar Pradesh.[89] Sudha Pai in "Dalit assertion and unfinished democratic revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh" talks about the impact of BSP on Indian politics and UP. She has focused on the emerging ideologies, programs, and mobilizing strategies of BSP. In recent years it has taken place in two forms one is electoral form and the second is grassroots activism. Along with the considerable achievements of BSP, her study explores the failures of BSP in UP.[90]

The examination of the classification of Dalits in various circumstances was the main topic of P. Muthaiha's paper, "Politics of Dalit Identity." Bahujan Samaj Party was launched by Kanshi Ram which helped the Dalits in some ways for the growing aspiration of SCs, STs, and OBCs. It has given new hopes to the minorities and helped in the reduction of hegemony by upper castes in Indian politics.[91]

The working area of Kanshi Ram was broader. It was not limited to any specific area. It can be observed that Uttar Pradesh is a place that disseminated the idea of Bahujan. Uttar Pradesh which was known as the United Province of Agra and Awadh in the colonial period is now the fifth-largest state in India. It has always been a ground of various movements both in pre and post-independent India.[92] The book 'Indian Dalits: Voices, Visions, and Politics' by K.C. Das has talked about the socio-political and cultural consciousness of the Dalit community in India. The author has focused on the roles of Ambedkar and Gandhi in the eradication of untouchability. In modern India, Kanshi Ram and the BSP played the roles of raising Dalit awareness of their identity and advancing the Dalit struggle in a state like UP.[93]

Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India by Kanchan Chandra The author of this book has concentrated on the Bahujan Samaj Party from 1884 to

[89] Sudha Pai, "Social Capital, Panchayats, and Grassroot Democracy: Politics of Dalit Assertion in Uttar Pradesh", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 8, 2001, pp. 645-654.

[90] Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution,* op.cit, 2002.

[91] P. Muthaiah, "Politics of Dalit Identity", *The Indian Journal of Political Science,* Vol. LXV, No.3, 2004.

[92] Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The Rise of the Lower Classes in North India*, London: Hurst, 2003. See also, Nandini Gooptu, *Swami Acchutanand and the Adi-Hindu Movement,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

[93] K.C. Das, *Indian Dalits: Voices, Visions and Politics,* New Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2004.

1998. He states that the BSP is a multiethnic party rather than an ethnic party because it brings together many individual castes such as Chamars and Valmiki. The study within this book is enriched by BSP's role in various elections, especially in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab. It talks about the monopolization of BSP in terms of its representation of scheduled castes elites.[94]

In his essay titled "Punjab: In quest of new Leadership," Ashutosh Kumar focuses on the factors that contributed to Congress's defeat in the 13th and 14th Lok Sabha elections as well as the 2002 Punjab Assembly elections. He has also discussed the BSP's dismal showing in the Lok Sabha elections in 1999 and 2004.[95] Vivek Kumar in his article 'BSP and Dalits aspirations' talked about the emergence of BSP as an aspiration of Dalits and minorities. According to the author, with the emergence of BSP, Dalit has shifted from margins to mainstream Dalits and became conscious of their political identity.[96] Sudha Pai wrote another article 'BSP's prospects in Assembly elections' which tries to highlight the prospects of BSP in three major states i.e. Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, and Rajasthan before the 2003 Assembly elections. The author also talks about the role of the Swabhiman rallies held by BSP to increase consciousness among Dalits and minorities.[97]

A.K Verma's article 'BSP's strategy in Uttar Pradesh: Wooing Brahmins for a new Alliance' highlights the election strategies by BSP for the Assembly elections in 2006 in Uttar Pradesh. One of the strategies is holding a series of 'Brahmin Jodo Sammelan' in the state. These Sammelans were confined to the Brahmins only. The author states that the Bahujan Samaj Party was not anti-Brahmins rather party wanted to build an upper-caste-Dalit-Muslim or multiethnic party.[98] S.M Dahiwale in his article 'The Political Mobilization of Backward Classes in India: An Overview' talks about the role of caste in Indian society. He focused on the social movements of

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[94] Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Party Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Headcounts in India*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[95] Ashutosh Kumar, "Punjab: In search of New Leadership", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. XXXIX, No. 51, 2004, pp. 5441-5444.

[96] Vivek Kumar, "BSP and Dalit Aspirations", *Economic and Political* Weekly, Vol. XXXIX, No. 18, 2004, pp. 1778-1781.

[97] Sudha Pai, "BSP's Prospects in the Assembly Elections", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 30, 26 July 2003.

[98] A.K. Verma, "BSP's Strategy in Uttar Pradesh: Wooing the Brahmins for a New Alliance", *Economic and Political Weekly,* Vol. XL, No. 26, 2005, pp. 2647-2648.

the deprived section of society. The author talks about the hierarchical order of Indian society that needs to be abolished through the political mobilization against Brahmanism. This article focuses on the contribution of Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram, and Jyoti Rao Phule.[99] Dalit politics reached Uttar Pradesh much after it did in Maharashtra, but seen in the context of power, politics, and electoral mobilization, the success graph of Dalit politics has been much higher in Uttar Pradesh. As Kanshi Ram would like to put it, "Dalit Politics was a small plant in Maharashtra which I have transplanted and nurtured in the grounds of UP".[100]

Surender S. Jodhka in his article "Return of the Region: Identities and Electoral politics in Punjab" highlights Punjab politics from 1980-2004. The author talks about the rise of the Khalistan movement in Punjab. Paramjit Judge in his article 'Caste Conflicts in Punjab: An Examination of Recent Jats-Dalit clash in Village' focused on the clash between Jats and Dalits in Talhan Village of Jalandhar. The author has examined the reason behind the clash between Jats and Dalits over Gurudwara management. He also focused on the role of political parties in this clash i.e., Shiromani Akali Dal, BSP, and Congress.[101]

Anand Teltumbde in his article 'An Enigma Called Kanshi Ram' talks about the leadership of Kanshi Ram and how he has emerged as a creative leader of the Dalit movement. The author talks about the BAMCEF and BSP which were established by Kanshi Ram for the development of the depressed section of society. In his other article 'Mayawi Revolution' he focused on the basis which led to the victory of the Bahujan Samaj Party in the 2007 Assembly elections in UP. The author focuses on several strategies by the party. This study has shown that the victory of BSP was not the victory of Bahujans but Savarjans as including many upper castes participants by adopting the formula of social engineering.[102]

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[99]   S. M. Dahiwale, "The Political Mobilization of Backward Classes in India: An Overview", *Man and Development*, Vol. XXV, No 3, 2003.

[100]   Cited in Badri Narayan, *Women Heroes and Dalit Assertion in North India: Culture, Identity, and Politics*, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2006.

[101]   Surinder Singh Jodhka, "Return of the Region: Identities and Electoral Politics in Punjab", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XL, No. 3, pp. 224-230.

[102]   Anand Teltumbde, "An Enigma Called Kanshi Ram", *Economic and Political Weekly,* 2006, Vol. XLI, No. 43, 2006, pp. 4531- 4532.

Badri Narayan says, here the ground of Uttar Pradesh means the social, cultural, and political environment of the people. It also stands for the cultural psyche of the Dalits which has been giving shape to their political language. The experiences of daily oppression and humiliation faced by the Dalits have been converted into a language of dissent.[103] In his work "The Political and Social Movement Today," Harish S. Wankhede emphasises the contributions of Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram, and numerous Dalit groups to the mobilisation of Dalits and their identification. The author has also focused on the significant roles of BSP and several factors of its victory along with its limitations.[104]

In their work "Mapping Dalits Contemporary Reality and Future Prospects in Punjab," Paramjit Singh Judge and Gurpreet Bal conducted an empirical study to investigate the changing status of the Dalits in Punjab.[105] They took four variables: education and occupation, empowerment, entrepreneurship, and emigration. They have examined the caste division and economic inequality among scheduled castes. The living standards of urban Dalits are better than the rural Dalits and international migration is a unique feature of the Dalits of Punjab.[106]

Yagati Chinna Rao (ed.) "Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub Categorization of Scheduled Castes" provided a comprehensive study of the sub-categorization of Scheduled Castes. Caste is considered an important category in the analysis of Indian politics. This book has traced the shift in the collective consciousness of Dalits in India as India transformed itself into a modern society. In other words, this book is an attempt to examine the reasons for the emergence of the sub-categorization of castes and heterogeneous voices.[107]

BSP through both Kanshi Ram and Mayawati gave steady leadership and organization to Dalits for the first time in Uttar Pradesh. Slowly elections after elections BSP grew in stature,

[103]   Badri Narayan, *Fascinating Hindutva: Saffron Politics and Dalit Mobilization,* New Delhi: Sage, 2009.

[104]   Harish S. Wankhede, "The Political and the Social in the Dalit Movement Today", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIII, No. 4, 2008, pp. 50-57.

[105]   Ashutosh Kumar, "Deras as a site of electoral mobilization in Indian Punjab: examining the reasons that political parties flock to the deras", *Aisan Ethnicity,* Vol. 15, 2014, pp. 335-350.

[106]   Paramjit Singh Judge and Gurpreet Bal (ed.), *Mapping Dalits: Contemporary Reality and Future Prospects in Punjab,* Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2009.

[107]   Yagati Chinna Rao (ed.), *Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub- Categorisation of Scheduled Castes,* Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2009.

especially in the 1990's it acquired new political heights. It not only generated self-belief and vigor among Dalits, but Mayawati went on to become Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh twice 1997 and 1999 with the alliance of the Bharatiya Janata Party, and in 2007 BSP came to power with the majority of its own.[108] The delayed Dalit consciousness due to the non-presence of any major anti-caste movements in Uttar Pradesh has resulted in a lack of economic development, educational deprivation, and political submission in Uttar Pradesh. But Sambiah Gundimeda counters that narrative with the example of strong social movements in Uttar Pradesh.[109] In his book 'Role of Kanshiram in Indian Politics,' Manik Manohar Shinde points out the journey of Kanshi Ram in Indian politics. He also mentioned the socio-political change in Indian society by Kanshi Ram.[110]

After decades of alliance with Congress and the Janata Party, Dalits felt the need to wage their struggle alone. Thus, in the 1980s, the Dalit movement in Uttar Pradesh entered a new phase of separation and hostility to mainstream parties and caste Hindus.[111] In addition to the political vacuum in Uttar Pradesh, the 1970s and 80s saw economic transcendence and a rise in literacy rate, especially amongst Scheduled Castes.[112] Dalits in the western districts of Uttar Pradesh have economically benefited more compared to other regions.This phenomenon was just as significant for Dalit consciousness and assimilation in the state during the early 1980s as Kanshi Ram and the Bahujan Samaj Party's debut.[113]

Most of the scholarships focus on political transformation and assertion in dalit communities. The scholarships do not fill the gap in the social movement practices on an everyday basis and developed the network approach. How has he got the public prominence in the public? How does Kanshi Ram channelize the knowledge and emotions in the Bahujan community? However, the role of Kanshi Ram has been limited in the political space. But he was

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[108]   Sebastian Schwecke, *New Cultural Identitarian Political Movement in Developing Societies: The Bharatiya Janata Party*, London & New York: Routledge, 2011.

[109]   Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, Oxon: Routledge Abingdon, 2016.
[110]   Manohar Shinde, *Role of Kanshiram in Indian Politics*, Jaipur: Ishika Publishing House, 2014.

[111]   Samuel Paul, Kala Seetharam Sridhar, *The Paradox of India's North-South Divide: Lessons from the State and Regions*, New Delhi: Sage, 2015.
[112]   Ramnarayan Rawat & K. Satyanarayana, *Dalit Studies*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2016.
[113]   Jayabrata Sarkar, *Politics As Social Text in India: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*, Delhi: Taylor and Francis, 2021.

beyond that, due to his ideas, practices, and everyday challenges. Therefore, the question of the representation of an intellectual is an important aspect of the writing of intellectual history. This thesis is an attempt to fulfill these gaps with the spread of ideas in the public and political community. In this research, the discourse of public intellectuals will be discussed on the basis of emancipatory ideas projected within the public, whether in academics. These different writings perform the reductionism to elaborate on him as a Dalit leader, raising the question about the intellectual hegemony all over the period in India. Therefore, it is necessary to engage the idea of the public intellectual in his journey of emancipation. He was effective in creating a pedagogy of oppressed people's resistance. Instead of concentrating on which incidents were inherently traumatic or were more likely to be seen as such, this research would examine how Kanshi Ram wrote or spoke in public about the caste hierarchy. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to determine Kanshi Ram's relative effectiveness in expressing his opinions and the methods by which his reports of the hierarchy were propagated. What kind of justifications did he provide to back up their claims? Who was to blame for certain historical occurrences or behaviors that were deemed pernicious?

Theoretical Adaptation

The colloquial usage of intellectual as a noun comes in the context of the Dreyfus affair in France. It did, however, become a voice in defense of knowledge and truth against an injustice at the time even if it was not a descriptive phrase. Different types of intellectuals, including "organic intellectuals," "free-floating intellectuals," "existentialists," "cold war warriors," and "particular intellectuals," helped shape the 20th century.[114] The term public intellectual was coined by Russell Jacoby in 1987.[115] He maintained that in a democracy, intellectuals must engage with the mass populace.[116] On the other hand, in his 1993 Reith lecture, Edward Said talked about the empowered marginality to save the universal values against personal interest. The role of the intellectual in society varies distinctively. The idea that all intellectuals represent something to their audiences and, in doing so, represent themselves to themselves, is stated by

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[114]   Jonathan Lane, "Loyalty, Democracy, and The Public Intellectual", *Minerva*, Vo. 43, No. 1, 2005, pp. 73-85.

[115]   Russel Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe*, New York: Basic Books, 1987.

[116]   Jonathan Lane, "Loyalty, Democracy, and The Public Intellectual", op.cit., pp.73-85.

Edward.[117] To understand the crisis, an intellectual goes beyond the imagination of the ordinary person. Can an ordinary person be an intellectual or does it depend upon the function in society? But it's a question that intellectual and production of knowledge engage with the location itself. The crisis in society exists already but to question or not to question or expose the truth trace the contextuality of the intellectual.

The criteria of an intellectual are not just to set the narratives about the crisis. It's also the position of the intellectual to change the aspects of the public and political community. The same context we found in the pragmatist discourse, where an ordinary person can be an intellectual. You don't need to belong to an academic institution. Therefore, the construction of the public intellectual is not just to preserve the knowledge with their self-interest, it's about the reciprocity between society and individual.

Here, a clear demarcation exists with knowledge and power. In critical inquiry, the space is not taken for granted by everyone, it depends on the function of the society. There is a detailed distinction between 'intellectual' and' critics. Intellectuals produce their intellectual works and occasionally critique the works of others. Whereas, critics comment on the work which is highly circulated and they occasionally produce their own work. Critics play the role of the gatekeeper because they help in the circulation of intellectual work.[118] Second, the terms "public intellectual arena" and "intra-intellectual arena" are used differently.[119] In the "intra-intellectual arena, professional intellectuals address other professional intellectuals but in the public intellectual arena they address a large audience". Three main distinctions have been made between intra-intellectual and public intellectual arenas[120] for more clarification. The first categorization is determined by its link to the academy. Although there may be some government influence in the form of budget cuts, audit culture, etc., universities still have some autonomy. The academic world is mainly regulated by academic producers, much as the intra-intellectual world operates under self-regulatory principles. The intra-intellectual world also addresses

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[117]   Edward Wadie Said, *Representations of the intellectual: The 1993 Reith lectures*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996, p. xv.

[118]   Patrick Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015, p.13

[119]   Ibid, p. 14.

[120]   Simon Susen and Patrick Baert, *The Sociology of Public Intellectuals: After the Existentialist Moment*, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.

writers outside of universities, yet his works are only available to a few creators. It is not just the domain of academia.[121]

The second classification of intra-intellectual and public intellectual is associated with Bourdieu's field of "restricted cultural production and generalized cultural production".[122] It is said within the book that intra-cultural producers address other producers and they defy the economic model whereas, public intellectuals cover the huge public and hence embrace the economic model.[123] But it is important to find what are the cultural products both produce? Professional production is not necessarily pure work; it could be a cultural and ideological product. It is important to understand who has hegemonized the academic space? How can we understand the role of produced cultural products whether they are based on an economic basis or whether it is based on promoting ideologies? We need to understand the strategies and motives behind the developed intellectual discourse. Here we don't need to confine ourselves to the intellectual field.

Public intellectuals are more reliant on the media and criticism since the public intellectual world is comparably less closed off. They may gain attention through the media as a platform or from detractors.[124] Public intellectuals can be raised by the common public who can raise their views whereas the intra-professional arena is restricted by elite intellectuals in some ways. Intra professional arena is excessively professionalized and it is not considered a public sphere.[125]

Understanding individual methods and having awareness of larger cultural and social structures are essential for understanding the intellectual field. So how do intellectual fields and external factors truly isolate themselves from each other as mentioned within the introduction? Baert says that the spread of intellectual doctrine undoubtedly depends on two things:

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[121] Ibid., pp.14-15, See also, Edward Shills, "The idea of the university: obstacles and opportunities in contemporary societies", *Minerva* Vol. *3*0, No. 2, 1992, pp. 301–13.

[122] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge: Polity, 1993b.

[123] Simon Susen and Patrick Baert, *The Sociology of Public Intellectuals: After the Existentialist Moment*, op.cit., 2017.

[124] Peter Dahlgren, "Public Intellectuals, Online Media, and Public Sphere: Current Realignments", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 4, Dec-2012, pp- 95-110.

[125] Patric Baert, The Existentialist Moment, op.cit., p.15.

charismatic personality or qualities and the structural relationship of the intellectuals.[126] In the pragmatist discourse, every ordinary person is an intellectual due to his/her connectivity to the masses. It is not necessary or compulsion that his/her come from an academic institution.[127]

Edward Said in his book 'Representations of Intellectuals'[128] tried to make a distinction between the work of the writer or artists and the work of the intellectuals. According to Said's discussion of the tasks of intellectuals, one of their main responsibilities is to reflect the pain experienced by a certain group, nation, etc. However, in their artistic works, poets, novelists, and authors have captured their people's historical experiences. Writing may aid in preserving a group's or country's memories and history. He says that intellectuals are someone who stands as marginal figures outside the comfort of privilege and power. Bourdieu states 'an intellectual in structural terms as a dominant fraction of the dominant class. Writing and publishing are dominated by those who have political and economic power, but intellectuals inside structural institutions have the power and privilege that comes from their cultural capital.[129]

John Rodden tries to understand the factors of the emergence of intellectuals. He focuses on the relationship between an intellectual's personal life experiences and the social organization of his generation.[130] How can one understand the political orientation of the intellectual through his experiences, social context, education class, and caste origin? Kurzman and Owens try to understand the identity of the intellectuals because within the field of sociology of intellectuals Bourdieu treated intellectuals as 'class in itself', Gramsci, and Foucault treated intellectuals as class-bound, and Shils, Collins, and Mannheim treated Intellectuals as classless. Thus, Kurzman and Owens try to point out what is the collective identity of the intellectuals.[131] This study, in our

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[126]   Patrick Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual,* Polity Press: Cambridge, 2015, p.13

[127]   John Dewey, *Experience and Education*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.

[128]   Edward Wadie Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, New York: Vintage, 1996.

[129]   Lazarus Neil, "Representations of the Intellectual in Representations of the Intellectual", *Research in African Literatures*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2005, pp. 112-123.

[130]   John Rodden, "On the Political Sociology of Intellectuals: George Orwell and the London Left Intelligentsia of the 1930s", *The Canadian Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 15, No. 3, 1990, pp. 251-273.

[131]   Charles Kurzman and Lynn C. Owens, "The Sociology of Intellectuals", *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 28, 2002, pp. 63-90.

opinion, fills a vacuum in the body of literature on the sociology of intellectuals, which has hitherto focused on the intellectual trajectory of writers, – their social background,[132] their formative years,[133] their intellectual development,[134] or their influence.[135] Instead of conflict, this literature has a tendency to concentrate on the unified or cooperative facets of intellectual life, such as how authors or thinkers interact and build networks or how intellectual schools are established and maintained.[136]

The theorization of public intellectuals lapses the space for recognition through social movements of the marginalized section. The networking is different as well as language, vocabulary, and ideological ground also different in the marginalized section. However, the criteria of public intellectuals make sense when most of the members of the marginalized community were illiterate. Therefore, the public intellectual is not just indulged by the academics or the critics within the network of intellectuals. The question of representation 'in which community' constructs the depth of an intellectual. The other aspect engages with the emotions of the audience. How do emotions take place in the emergence of the public intellectual?

Research Objectives

1. To assess the idea of the public sphere and its limitation in the public discourse, which is restricted to a particular place or public realm.
2. To determine the historicity of the shape of the public in the context of knowledge construction and power discourse in the writings.
3. Examine the emergence of a counter-public with communitarian action and critical inquiry of the existing public sphere by public intellectuals.

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[132]   Pierre Bourdieu, *Language, and Symbolic Power*, US: Harvard University Press, 1991.

[133]   Neil Gross, *Richard Rorty: The Making of an American Philosopher,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

[134]   Charles Camic, "The making of a method: a historical reinterpretation of the early Parsons", *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 52, No. 4, 1987, pp. 421–39.

[135]   Michèle Lamont, "How to become a dominant French philosopher: the case of Jacques Derrida", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 93, No. 3, 1987, pp. 584–622.

[136]   Marcus Morgan and Patrick Baert, *Conflict in the Academy: A Study in the Sociology of Intellectuals.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2015, p. 7.

4. To understand the process from critical inquiry to being a public intellectual and making a political agency in the oppressed.

Research Questions / Hypothesis

1. What are the theoretical debates on the public sphere and changing dynamics in the context of representation in the public i.e., counter-public?
2. Examine the historicity of the shape of the public in India from the perspective of knowledge construction and discourse of writings on emancipation?
3. What are the processes of emergence of a counter-public with communitarian action developed by public intellectuals with special reference to Kanshi Ram?
4. Why was Kanshi Ram's movement so effective in gaining popularity at this time (1970–1996)? Or the change of the public sphere with his emotional connectedness and making of political agency in the oppressed?

On these bases, three concrete hypotheses will guide this research. The ideas about emancipation spread rapidly through networking in academics or through the public or political community in society. Secondly, the ideas of a public intellectual (from the downtrodden) capture the space of recognition in the marginalized community, not in the class of intellectuals. And thirdly, even the most complex concepts or counter-public will fall flat if they can't make an emotional connection to the participants' previous and current experiences.

Research Methodology

In this research, the Historical Sociology and Public Sociology methods have been followed. Following the prevalent functional paradigm in sociology, it's critical to comprehend social history and the idea of public intellectuals. The present social phenomenon is a trajectory of history and responds to the future. C.W. Mills quotes Paul Sweezy's famous phrase to determine historical sociology in contextualizing 'the present as history'.[137] Structure, history, and biography, in his opinion, are the three key components to comprehending the social trajectory. The concept of social structure focused on the reality of the social environment and the idea that

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[137]   C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1959, p.146.

certain social interaction patterns—the fabric of society—constantly influence and shape how people behave. The idea that these social structures are always particular to certain periods and locations, that they differ greatly from one era or environment to the next, and that they are also prone to change through time was contributed by history. Finally, Biography made a connection between these more generalized phenomena of structure and change and the experiences of individuals. And showing how these processes were formed by their lives and, in turn, were influenced by their agency. Mills came to the conclusion that "classical social analysis" had 'developed an idiom of thinking through the triangulation of these three registers that was so rich and compelling that it served as the "common denominator" for contemporary social sciences and maybe the humanities as well'.[138]

Epistemologically, 'historical sociology contended with the macro and micro approach, where macro indulged with one extreme and micro approach conglomerate with the deconstructionist and traditional history on the other end. Historical explanation is the revaluation of its former significance within sociology.[139] A special theoretical-methodological area centered on long-term social processes as well as the investigation of contrasts and similarities across various historical epochs is known as historical sociology. It also studies the changes in societies over time. As Richard Lachmann argued that "historical sociology is a way of doing sociology that recognizes change as the true subject of the discipline."[140]

Lachmann expertly examines the historical method's application to the study of seven distinct sociological topics, including capitalism and its development, social movements and revolutions, empires, states, social stratification, gender and family, and culture, as well as to studies that are either predictive or counterfactual.[141] Therefore, in the historical context, temporality manages the question of history as a present phenomenon. According to Lachmann, "failures to identify the origins of social change, and to base theoretical claims on empirically supported accounts of how temporal sequences come into being and are made to matter necessarily invalidates sociological attempts to grasp the meaning and significance of social

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[138]   Ibid., p. 225.
[139]   Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982.
[140]   Richard Lachmann, *What is Historical Sociology*?, UK: Polity, 2013, p. 140.
[141]   Ibid.

transformation."[142] The fundamental tenet of historical sociology is that transformative human endeavor, as well as its origins, impacts, and consequences, must be positioned within a sequential chronological framework. It is curious to know how an individual develops public engagement outside the academics and people heard him as a face of charisma. In this context, the public sociology debate comes out to know about the concern and opinions of the public like sociology for the public.

Burawoy has portrayed a four-dimensional model of sociology and all these forms of sociology are interdependent, there is no clear distinction in all these four forms i.e. critical, public, policy, and professional sociology. But, Burawoy's major focus was on public sociology. Burawoy states that it is "a sociology that seeks to bring sociology to the public beyond the academy, promoting dialogue about issues that affect the fate of society".[143] Public sociology has two manifestations: traditional and organic public sociologies. Public sociology is the antithesis of traditional sociology because it doesn't interact with their 'publics' whereas organic intentionally engages with the general audience in the public sphere.[144] Public sociology is inclusive and engages a large group of audiences outside the professional field though. Under public sociology applied sociology is located.

Public sociology is an agenda towards "Sociology for publics" rather than "Sociology of Publics". Sociology of public imposes certain limitations likewise, no interference of public. The limitations of professional sociology can lead to disciplinary problems.[145] Does professionalism only count as intellectualism? Can't a public sociologist generate work as a sociologist? Can't a university-based sociologist work as a public sociologist outside of academia? What about sensual cognition such as observation, impression, etc? How should we count intellectualism as a matter or immaterial? In other words, intellectualism is free from the limitation of space and

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[142]   Seantel Anais, and Richard Lachmann, "What is Historical Sociology?" *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 39, No. 1, 2014, pp. 130-2.

[143]   Michael Burawoy et. al., "Public Sociologies: A Symposium from Boston College." *Social Problems,* Vol. 51, No. 1., 2004, pp.103-130.

[144]   David Boyns and Jesse Fletcher, "Reflections on Public Sociology: Public Relations, Disciplinary Identity, and the strong program in Professional Sociology", *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 36, pp. 5-26.

[145]   Michael Burawoy, "2004 Presidential Address: For Public Sociology", *American Sociological Review.* Vol. 70, February-2005, pp. 4-28.

time? The process of intellectualism is better understood with the relation to sensual cognition and intellectual cognition.

Sociology as a discipline needs to grow which cannot be possible without public opinion.[146] Sociology needs to go 'public'. Thus, we need to question the hegemonic structure of the sociological discipline? Why is there the monopolization of ideas by professionals? Why do some universities give more emphasis to traditional public sociology? Can we assume that traditional public sociology is only acceptable and effective for professional advancement as it doesn't involve public opinion? However, it is crucial to recognize the aim of universities behind it. There could be the possibility of misrepresentation of knowledge. According to Burawoy, "legitimizing sociology through greater public engagement is a necessary project".[147] Thus, public sociology is a program developed within the discipline to rectify such disciplinary problems. The methodological agenda of public sociology is majorly concerned with public opinion. It cannot simply ignore the public opinions.

The first question that comes to me is: Why is public sociology necessary? According to Burawoy, Mills is purportedly the inspiration for public sociology.[148] The emergence of public sociology is linked with the fact that sociology is detached from the public consciousness. Why does public sociology within a field need to be institutionalized? According to Burawoy, the relationship of sociology with the public is very limited. The public is not aware of the discipline, thus there is a very limited conception of what sociology is.[149] However, sociology is not publicly visible, that's why it is necessary to resolve the situation to earn disciplinary respect. For Burawoy, sociology as a discipline lacks public interface and standing and hence results in its major failure of being less recognized.

Public sociology has connections to the extra-academic social realm and impacts a larger audience through informing them.[150] The evolution of public sociology, in particular the

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[146]   Gianpaolo Baiocchi, "Interrogating Connections: From Public Criticisms to Critical Publics in Burawoy's Public", *Critical Sociology,* Vol. 31, No.3, 2005, pp. 339-352.

[147]   Michael Burawoy, "The Critical Turn to Public Sociology", *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 313-326.

[148]   Michael Burawoy, "2004 Presidential Address: For Public Sociology", op.cit., pp. 4-28.

[149]   Ibid., p. 7.

[150]   David Boyns and Jesse Fletcher, "Reflections on Public Sociology: Public Relations, Disciplinary Identity, and the strong program in Professional Sociology", op.cit., pp. 5-26.

emergence of sociologists as public intellectuals, is severely constrained by the environment of public opinion formation. Sociologists have long recognised the importance of intellectuals in advancing public discourse, concentrating public attention, and enhancing the ideas that are disseminated in society.[151] The primary role of the intelligentsia has always been the close interaction between intellectuals and civic society.[152] Public sociologists will undoubtedly need to learn a valuable lesson from those who work in the fields of education, politics, and religion once the current cultural context of public discourse has been properly taken into account. Those who have spent decades battling with the problems of effective public involvement.[153]

Public Intellectual in a sociological perspective, proposed the criteria of representation in society. Therefore, it would attempt to study and investigate the historical origins and emergence of Kanshi Ram as a public Intellectual in India. This methodology will investigate the patterns as major factors in the origin of public intellectuals along with the assertion of Dalits. Why did Kanshi Ram successfully develop the concept of Bahujan in the hierarchical society? And also look at public currency through the relationship between knowledge and emotion.

This research has largely depended on the available primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources of data were collected from the study area. This includes case studies, interviews, and Focus Group Discussions. The interviews with the people who were associated with Kanshi Ram. On the other hand, the data was also collected through his articles in the Oppressed Indian and Bahujan Sangathak. The analysis of the cadre is important to understand the language and vocabulary used by Kanshi Ram. In the secondary sources, data was collected through several newspapers, and magazines like Amar Ujala, Dainik Jagran, Sunday Mail, and India Today, for reportage about Kanshi Ram's rallies and activities.

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[151]   Talcott Parsons, "The Intellectuals: A Social Role Category", in (eds.) by Philip Rieff, *On Intellectuals*, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1969. See also, Edward Shills, "Intellectuals and the Powers" *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 1958, pp. 5-22.

[152]   Alwin Gouldner, *Against Marxism: The Origins of Marxism and the Sociology of Intellectuals*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

[153]   Michael Burawoy, "2004 Presidential Address: For Public Sociology", op.cit., pp. 4-28.

Chapterisation

Introduction:

This chapter would introduce the work to the readers. It would place the work in the larger body of scholarly studies already exploring this research theme. It would cover the aspects of what has already been done in this area of research and what I would cover as new. This chapter would contain a review of the literature and different theories produced by the scholars.

1. **Debating about Public Sphere and Counter-public: A Theoretical Perspective**

This chapter is an attempt to engage with the debate on the emergence of the public sphere and its exclusive nature within the public discourse. Different scholarships critically engage with the concept of the public sphere and found the lacuna in this concept. The public sphere helps to create the narrative or perception in the society which maintains the space as a restricted form of reach-ness or space of class. The public sphere develops the individual's interest with habitus and transforms it into an everyday form of interaction. But assertive identities raise the voice for their representation in the public domain and find the public sphere exclusionary and restricted for them. The question of representation identity-based assertion exposes the dominance in the public space.

2. **The historicity of Shape of Public: Knowledge Construction and Discourse against Hegemony**

This chapter examines the idea of public shape through knowledge construction and history writing. Those communities don't have public life and feelings of homelessness, how they perceive the life of being a human to thinking, judging, and arguing in society. To shape the notion of public emerge with the discourse of emancipation and hope for being equal in society. Different schools wrote about knowledge construction and history, but writing history is not about providing the unknown archival source in academia; it's about exposing the history of prejudice in the public domain. Therefore, this chapter dealt with the ideas of Phule and Ambedkar to expose prejudice and proposed a counter-narrative with the shape of the public against civilizational violence.

3. **Thinking with the Public: Rise of Kanshi Ram**

The vantage point of the thesis starts with a special reference to Kanshi Ram and his earlier period to engage with the ideas of Ambedkar and introduce him to the oppressed communities, which were restricted or stopped by Congress. In the 1970s, Congress's clientelistic politics and Indira's authoritarian-populist politics were the main sources of understanding of the notion of the public. During the emergency (1975-77) the public sphere was changed, and the reach was very limited for the elite intellectuals and activists from different political parties. The voice of Dalit or backward communities was silent in the public sphere. But the emergence of the Dalit Panther was new hope of Dalit liberation against oppression. On a political level, RPI and SCF were another case study of why these parties did not succeed in leading the movement. After all, the emergence of Kanshi Ram and his critical inquiry about the ongoing movement is the main task of this chapter. How was he successful in uniting the oppressed and propagating the Bahujan discourse?

4. **From Critical Enquiry to Public Intellectual: Strategies of Political Engagement**

This chapter will try to locate the debate about the emergence of public intellectuals at a particular time. It's pertinent to trace the historicity of oppression and crisis in society and how an individual engages with that trauma and delivers it to the public. How does a public intellectual write about the cultural space in politics? Responsibility to write or interact with the public allows us to see why an individual gets public prominence? To strengthen the idea of the public intellectual and his public reflection of his/her understanding of the field. For a public intellectual, it's not about what you are understanding and writing; rather, to write as socialization or wrestling with the condition. To make sense of the rapid rise of Kanshi Ram in India, it will analyze various aspects of the socio-political climate at that time. What type of language and vocabulary has been used by the public intellectual (from the margins) for cultural expressions? Kanshi Ram, after studying Ambedkar, made the understanding from the field and gathered the people on one platform.

Conclusion:

It will cover the concluding remarks and findings of this study. It will also propose a new dimension and scope of the study of the public intellectuals.

Chapter-1

Debating Public Sphere and Counter-Public: A Theoretical Perspective

A key theoretical foundation for the public sphere and civil society[1] is highlighted in Habermas' work "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere."[2] His concept of the public sphere has been reexamined by many scholars in various circumstances. Since the public sphere is not a static idea, its development is not a new phenomena. The public sphere has always undergone and continues to experience a fresh structural alteration.[3] Habermas's theoretical version of the public sphere is based on the rationalist perspective[4], although diverse fronts have strongly been questioned. Numerous academics have debated and questioned his idea of the public sphere since it limits some groups' access to the discussion space and supports the normative structure of the public sphere. Therefore, the normative form of the public sphere has always been essential to contemplate. However, this chapter will be focusing on the different functions in the formation of the public sphere with definite norms and values to preserve its ideal form.[5]

This chapter emphasizes the public sphere's evolution rather than just detailing its emergence and spread.[6] And how this transformation serves to benefit democratic principles. The formation, maintenance, and reformation of the public sphere stand with a question, especially when the counter-public sphere emerges. Can the public sphere provide no guarantee for democracy? However, it's essential to understand why the singular and integrated public sphere has weakened? What are the rationales behind the emergence of the counter-discourse and counter-publics? How does the debasement of the public sphere arise from a structural shift of the public sphere?

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[1]   Jeong-Woo Koo, "The Origins of the Public Sphere and Civil Society: Private Academies and Petitions in Korea, 1506-1800", *Social Science History*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 2007.

[2]   Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Cambridge, 1996.

[3]   Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text*, Vol. 25, No. 26, 1990, pp. 56-80.

[4]   Lincoln Dahlberg, "The Habermasian Public Sphere: Taking Difference Seriously", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 34, 2005, pp. 111-136.

[5]   Andreas Koller, "The Public Sphere and Comparative Historical Research: An Introduction", *Social Science History*, Vol. 34, No.3, 2010, pp. 261-290.

[6]   ibid.

In addition, the media were crucial to the development and reformation of the public sphere. The transition of an era with the changes in media industries, heterogeneous socio-cultural patterns, and modes of political engagements begin to indicate new public sphere trends. The media has introduced a new form of political participation, activism strategies, and public communication patterns, which results in the formation of multiple public spheres. Media has primarily affected the political mobilization and civic organizations that strive for internal and external consensus. Indeed, the question arises, how the counter-public sphere has adopted communicative technologies for enhancing democratic practices?

Public Sphere: A Historical Contextuality

Habermas's work offers a powerful narrative of the rise and fall of the democratic institutions in Western Europe. Habermas provided evidence for the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere in Western Europe throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. He made an effort to define the connection between civil society and the public sphere.[7] He viewed "the public sphere as a communication structure rooted in the lifeworld through the associational network of civil society".[8]

"The international trend of democratization and acknowledgement of civic involvement has pushed attention to the notion of the public sphere," claims Jeong- Woo Koo. In addition to such global events, the concept of the public sphere and civil society gained popularity in the eighteenth century when Jurgen Habermas developed the idea of the European Public Sphere.[9] Various historians and social scientists of European and non-European societies started to evaluate the Habermasian idea of the public sphere'.[10] According to Koller, Craig Calhoun and Charles Tilly are the two leading scholars who study the development of the public sphere across time.[11] Additionally, he added, "Charles Tilly explores the historical creation of the public sphere

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[7]   ibid.

[8]   Jurgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1966, p. 359.

[9]   Jeong-Woo Koo, "The Origins of the Public Sphere and Civil Society: Private Academies and Petitions in Korea, 1506-1800", Op.cit., 2007, p. 382.

[10]   ibid.

[11]   Andreas Koller, "The Public Sphere and Comparative Historical Research: An Introduction", Op.cit., pp. 261-290.

through the establishment of a public meeting in Great Britain between 1758 and 1834. Similar to this, Craig Calhoun looks at how exclusion specifically shaped the early bourgeois public sphere in Great Britain".[12] The public sphere is defined by Habermas as "nongovernmental, non-economic connections and voluntary associations."[13]

Thomas MacCarthy provides a concise definition: "The Public Sphere [is] a political public or private person reasoning publicly, [in order] to exercise a critical function in mediating the relations between the essentially separate realms of civil society and the state".[14] A public sphere opposed the lords, and recognized the power of public opinion, and criticism as means of representing themselves. Peter Dahlgren's conceptualization of the public sphere consists of three dimensions, i.e., structural, representational, and interactional.[15] The public sphere is conceptualized as an institution by Habermas which has been replicated in many countries including India.[16] But the institution as a whole is assumed and criticized for its inherent unequal structure. The structure of the public sphere is claimed to be dominant by the bourgeoisie society. The public sphere institutions such as cafes, coffeehouses, salons, etc., were occupied and dominant by the bourgeoisie in European countries.[17] This small-scale 'public' emerged as a new democracy and challenged the traditional feudal system.[18] Universal engagement in skepticism and reasoned discourse to ensure moral and political legitimacy is the fundamental tenet of the public realm. As a result, it matters who engages in and shares their experiences with institutions' structures. In addition, the public sphere should empower citizens and influence the state's

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[12]   Andreas Koller, "The Public Sphere and Comparative Historical Research: An Introduction", *Social Science History*, Vol. 34, Issue 3, 2010, pp. 261–290.

[13]   Jurgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*. Op. cit., p. 366.

[14]   Thomas McCarthy, *The Critical Theory of Jurgen Habermas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1981, p. 381.

[15]   Peter Dahlgren, "The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation", *Political Communication*, Vol. 22, No. 2, 2005, pp. 147-162.

[16]   Shashi Ratnaker Singh, People and public sphere in India, *Social Change*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2009, pp. 27-280.

[17]   Jeong-Woo Koo, "The Origins of the Public Sphere and Civil Society: Private Academies and Petitions in Korea, 1506-1800", op. cit., p. 382.

[18]   E. Cram, Melanie Loehwing and John Louis Lucaites, "Civic Sights: Theorizing Deliberative and Photographic Publicity in the Visual Public", *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, Vol. 49, No. 3, 2016, p. 235.

decision to enhance the values of democracy. However, in the Indian context, it's important to reexamine the structure of the public sphere. How democratic has it been?

Three elements are central to the public sphere theory- historical formations of the spheres, the relationship between civil society and the public sphere, and discourse ethics.[19] During the colonial era, when national movements formed in opposition to it, the public sphere in the Indian setting began to take historical shape[20] The national movement constructed a 'general will' of freedom among masses. The mobilization was based on a logical reason- to eliminate the subjugation, manipulation, and negotiation of the British Government. Singh states that 'the Indian public sphere was presided by Indian elites. They have been constructing discourse and addressing the interests of the people. These interests emerged in the name of "national interest" but serve a private interest.[21] In a stratified society like India, plural and unitary values cannot reflect without eradicating socio-economic inequalities'.[22]

In Rajagopal's views, 'the Indian public sphere is political before it was social. In India, colonial rule initiated the public sphere and included a few privileged natives to secure the support of a wider audience. Similarly, the nationalists and educated class have constructed their own public sphere and engaged in anti-colonial politics. They built on the collective identity through developing national interests. In this process, they used varieties of techniques to communicate such as public performances and mass demonstrations. They also used multilingual appeals to different caste and religious identities while employing sounds such as the drums, the horns, and the sounds as well as employing objects and images to align audiences with a political agenda'.[23] The Indian public sphere has always been constructed by a handful of the masses in the colonial and post-colonial periods. The fractured civil society mobilized under a common cause led by a handful of educated elites. 'During the Independence struggle, religion is only

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[19]   Ramaswami Harindranath, "The Indian Public Sphere: Histories, Contradictions and Challenges", *Media International Australia*, Vol. 152, No. 1, 2014, pp. 168–175.

[20]   Amir Ali, "Evolution of Public Sphere in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 26, 2001, pp. 2419–2425.

[21]   Shashi Ratnaker Singh, "People and public sphere in India", *Social Change*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2009, pp. 270–280.

[22]   ibid.

[23]   Arvind Rajagopal, "The Rise of Hindu Populism in India's Public Sphere", *Current History*, Vol.115, No. 780, 2016, pp. 123–129.

being used as a mobilizing strategy for the nationalist cause. The majoritarian religious identity is employed as a national identity'.[24] Therefore, political participation intensifies in the hope of liberation, self-respect, equality, and most importantly religious sentiments.

Even in Post-Independent India, the influence of religion in the public sphere has continued to increase. The collective identity and unique-ness of Indians are well recognized through their culture- a culture of dominants. However, a post-independent Indian society is democratizing but in a Hindu way. The Indian public sphere was restrictive and couldn't acquire the secular and democratic character in practice but in the constitution merely. Various scholarships raised the question, why the Indian public sphere is Hinduized public sphere? The real problem emerged after independence because ambiguity prevailed in the political sphere when marginalized communities raised their voices for political rights as well. The Indian public sphere always excluded the marginalized communities. Several sections such as women and Dalits were excluded from the decision-making process, for presenting their free will, opinions, and interests. The diversity of opinions was exploited under the umbrella of the nationalist struggle for independence but some have enjoyed the unique privilege of representing opinions.

In the year 1991, after embracing the neo-liberal economic policies and with the emergence of democratic modern institutions, the influence of religious symbols has not diminished in the public sphere. In this context, Meera Nanda argues that 'economic globalization and neo-liberal reforms have created the material and ideological conditions in which popular and ritualistic Hindu religiosity is growing'.[25] Leading institutions, including the government, temples, and the private sector, support the increase in religiosity. Even India, a secular nation, has never shied away from praising Hindu religious icons in public.[26] However, the Hinduized public sphere has maintained its pace even with the globalized, liberalized, and modernized world processes while excluding the marginalized communities locally.

The relationship between the public sphere and civil society is indispensable to understand as they both co-exist together. Jodi Dean argues that for Habermas, civil society is the

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[24]   Ibid, p. 125.
[25]   Meera Nanda, *The God Market*. New York: NYU Press, 2011, p. 144.

[26]   Ibid.

site of the public sphere. The public sphere is a space that is produced by communication, and civil society is the institutional setting that enables the space's development.[27] Civil society is fractured by religious, ethnolinguistic, and regional interests. This affects discourse ethics, communicative rationality, and deliberative participation in the public sphere. The unequal institutional structure of civil society produces an irrational form of communication and unconstitutional forms of politics that leads to the exclusion and marginalization of communities. Indian discourse lacks cross-cultural conversations and dialogues. The examples of 'irrational form of communication involve the images and slogans that were introduced during the Independence struggle to arouse nationalist and religious sentiments while announcing a new deity "Mother India"'.[28] These images and slogans stood powerful to mobilize the masses and enhance political participation but at the cost of rational arguments. And, 'the unconstitutional forms of politics involve the political mobilization of the masses through violent methods, protests that count unparliamentary and voluntary move'.[29] While following the discourse ethics, communicative practices, and methods of protest defined by elite groups, the actual issues of the marginalized population remain unheard and unnoticed. These unheard voices remain unrepresented and lost identities.

Theoretical Background of the Public Sphere

Certainly, Habermas's public sphere theory is circumscribed by conceptual chaos. The points to discuss here are: what are the conceptual chaose's of the Habermasian model? Public sphere as a concept varies cross-nationally. As John Keane presents a model of a multilevel public sphere that is called a fragmented public sphere comprising three levels i.e., the macro (at the global level), the meso (at the national level), and the micro-level (Sub-national level).[30] Also, Arvind Rajagopal termed it as a 'split public sphere', where split means separated based on language

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[27]   Jodi Dean, 1996, "Civil Society: Beyond the Public Sphere", in (eds.) by David M. Rasmussen, *The Handbook of Critical Theory*, Blackwell, Oxford. 1996, p. 221.

[28]   Arvind. Rajagopal, "The Rise of Hindu Populism in India's Public Sphere", op.cit., pp. 123–129.

[29]   Ibid.

[30]   John Keane, "Structural transformations of the public sphere", *The Communication Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1995a, pp. 1-22.

class, region, etc.[31] Habermas's work is suitable for a particular historical context rather than theorizing a conceptual shift across various historical eras.

The construction of the public sphere is not a 'taken for granted' phenomenon. The nature and form of the public sphere are contextual.[32] Agnes S. Ku states that some scholars have proposed new ways to understand the public sphere, considering it as having social and cultural logic.[33] Despite the fact that the public sphere is built from social and cultural components, it differs from that of India or the rest of the globe in Western Europe.The public sphere theory is surrounded by various debates in different contexts thus, it is critical to comprehend it. Habermas's concept of the public sphere is bound by two major criteria i.e., openness and rational critical debate.[34] For that matter, scholars have given much attention to the public sphere institutions such as coffeehouses, cafes, clubs, salons, etc. as a sight of free critical discussion.[35]

The basic premises of Habermas's notion of the public sphere have gained attention worldwide in terms of its critique and acceptance. In the Habermasian sense, the public sphere is considered a strengthening pillar of democracy as it encourages equality and secularity.[36] Don't his concepts have contextual limitations? How can we see these concepts in multicultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religious societies? The ideal role of the public sphere is to secure democratic legitimacy rather than normative democracy. But how does the public sphere function? Habermas has presented the ideal form of the public sphere that is, based on equality,

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[31] Rodney Benson, "Shaping the Public Sphere: Habermas and Beyond", *The American Sociologist*. Vol. 40, 2014, pp.175-197.

[32] Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.

[33] Agnes S. Ku, "Revisiting the Notion of "Public" in Habermas's Theory- Towards a Theory of Politics of Public Credibility", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2000, 2pp. 216-240.

[34] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd. Cambridge, 1996.

[35] Richard J. Bernstein, "The Normative Core of the Public Sphere", *Political Theory*, Vol. 40, No. 6, 2012, p. 768. See Also, Rodney Benson, "Shaping the Public Sphere: Habermas and Beyond", *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2009, p. 176.

[36] Richa Tiwari, "Habermas's Views on the Significances of the Public Sphere in a Democracy: Its Possible Relevance in Understanding the Public Sphere in India", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 67, No. 3, 2006, pp. 639-650.

openness, and rational critical debate.[37] Therefore, the question must ponder upon why do the anomalies still exist in any society? The shared space in the institutions and common consent must have constructed the democratic public sphere but that has not happened. Similarly, for Habermas, the democratic public sphere constitutes civil society and civil society constitutes all basic units (individuals). In this context, The discussion of private interests is prohibited, according to Fraser, if Habermas' idea of the public sphere is a forum where the topic of debate is for the "common good".'[38] Why domestic violence is a private concern? Why caste atrocities and humiliation cannot be a public matter of discussion? Why is the notion of 'common good' selective and biased? Is it because of the lack of public opinion and deliberation in the public sphere?

Richard Bernstein states that "the public sphere is a manifestation of tangible public freedom, the freedom that appears when there is mutual debate, deliberation, and action among peers".[39] Arendt's views on "opinion" and Habermas's idea of "public opinion" are similar. For Arendt, the conflict of opinions is a healthy sign in the public sphere.[40] The differences in opinions are seen as a free flow of communication and thoughts. And, for the free flow of individual perspectives, communication has to be free. But, is there free communication at the first hand? However, there are two things to take into account: the first is the participation of the public, and the second is the voice of all those participants.

Habermas emphasizes the ideal public sphere that how a public sphere ought to be rather than what it is empirically. The reality of its form is far from the ideal conception. On the one hand, the public sphere is assumed to be normatively unified and unanimous and on the other hand, it is multicultural and multivocal. Different theories of the public sphere epitomize its basic essence from a sphere of action, deliberation, participation, and decision-making process to a weakened, corrupted, and distorted public sphere. Chandler tried to implicate the theory of the

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[37] Omar V. Rosas and Javier Serrano-Puche, "News Media and the Emotional Public Sphere – Introduction", *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 12, 2018, pp. 2031–2039.

[38] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", Social Text, Vol. 25/26, 1990, p. 71.

[39] Richard J. Bernstein, "The Normative Core of the Public Sphere", *Political Theory*, Vol. 40, No. 6, 2012, p. 771.

[40] Ibid, p. 772.

public sphere with public space as a concept. He distinguishes clearly between public space and the public sphere while addressing the theories of Carragee, Benhabib, and Hannah Arendt. He concurs with Carragee's claim that vibrant public spaces are necessary for a lively public sphere. While Benhabib views public space as more than just a physical location, Carragee expressly sees it as having a material, tangible, or empirical shape.[41]

Seyla Benhabib states that for Arendt, 'public space is a "space of appearances" within which action and speech unfold; it also includes face-to-face interaction. Whereas, the Habermasian concept of a public sphere is a "constitutive fiction of democracy".[42] The importance of the transitions between the Arendtian idea of "public space" and the Habermasian concept of "public sphere" is stressed by Benhabib. The disappearance of public space in the 20th century is deeply associated with the rise of industrial capitalism. Thus, Arendt sees modernity as a reason for the decline of public space. In contrast to Habermas's idea of the "public sphere," which was more individualized in the context of modernity and focused on an impersonal form of communication, opinion, and information, her conception of the "public space" was community-based and involved equal deeds and statements.[43]

Habermas's idea was questioned for being 'selectively blind'[44] towards the gendered issues. As Nancy Fraser reformulated a critical theory of the public sphere and mentioned that the public sphere is an ideological notion. It follows that the cultural values and symbols of the majority are essentially what determine the public sphere. Nancy Fraser emerged as the most influential feminist critique of the structural transformation of the public sphere. She was aware of the exclusion and subordination of women in the creation of the bourgeois public sphere. Additionally, there are certain similarities between the exclusion of women and the exclusion of

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[41] [Public space, the public sphere, and the urban as public realm — Curry Chandler](#) accessed on 16 March 2022.)

[42] Seyla Benhabib, "The Embattled Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt, Juergen Habermas and Beyond", *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, Vol. 44 No. 90, 1997, pp. 1-24.

[43] Seyla Benhabib, "Models of public space: Hannah Arendt, the liberal tradition, and Jürgen Habermas" in Craig J. Calhoun (eds.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992, pp. 73-98. Seyla Benhabib, "The Embattled Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt, Juergen Habermas and Beyond",op.cit., pp. 1-24.

[44] Amy Allen, "The Public Sphere: Ideology and/or Ideal?" *Political Theory*, Vol. 40, No. 6, 2012, pp. 822–829.

workers and peasants. She does, however, support the creation of an alternate place for "subaltern counter-publics."[45]

Nancy Fraser coined the term "subaltern counter-publics"[46] contrasting the Habermasian universal idea of the Bourgeoisie public sphere. The term subaltern counter-publics stands for those people holding a subordinate position in the social hierarchies. Allen (2012) states that 'Habermas emphasis on the universalistic discourses of the bourgeois public sphere. According to him, the relationship of the bourgeoise public sphere with social movements like the feminist movement might cause it to undergo a self-transformation. Habermas advises feminist critics to reframe the concept of the public sphere rather than simply reject it. He frequently advocates for a single, all-encompassing public sphere to ensure a functional democracy; in contrast, Fraser challenges Habermas's assertion and claims that in societies where social hierarchies exist, a plurality of counter-public spheres is desirable. In light of the debate above, it is unclear if the idea of the public sphere can be reformed to work with critical theory.[47] Frazer adopted the idea of the alternative sphere and favors the alternative models of democracy because the existing democracy in the public sphere comprises formal exclusion based on gender, class, and race. But Fraser's work relies majorly on the "bourgeois masculinist"[48] conception of the public sphere. Also, in the Indian context, the marginalized publics are not limited to the gender, class, and race perspective therefore, the idea of the "subaltern counter-public" widened contextually.

Fraser contends the idea of reformulation of the public sphere rather she prefers to formulate the alternative or counter-public sphere. She stood contradictory to the Habermasian view of the single and universal public sphere. In a stratified society, she suggests inventing a parallel discursive arena for circulating and formulating counter-discourse. She provides the following reasons: first, while interaction between individuals the social inequalities are not eliminated, but only bracketed. Second, the single, comprehensive, and overarching public sphere eliminates the values of plurality which in turn tend to promote advantages to the

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[45]   Ibid. pp. 56–80.

[46]   Ibid, p. 67.

[47]   Amy Allen, "The Public Sphere: Ideology and/or Ideal?" *Political Theory*, Vol. 40. No. 6, 2012, pp. 823-824.

[48]   Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", op. cit., p. 62.

dominant groups and disadvantages to the subordinate groups. Similar to this, she contends that a variety of public spheres would be appropriate in an egalitarian multicultural society since the public spheres serve as both a forum for the expression of ideas and a space for the construction of social identities. Fraser believes that lifting formal restrictions would not ensure inclusion in practice. However, in both societies, Fraser defends the possibility of social egalitarian and cultural diversity with participatory democracy, albeit for different reasons. In her view, an egalitarian and multicultural society can make sense in a plural public sphere.[49]

Benhabib's viewpoint on the formulation of the alternative public sphere stands dubious. She acknowledges that "the decentering and democratization of the public arena has brought with it many new and distinct voices." As a result of her focus on the decentered public sphere, previously disadvantaged and excluded groups are now able to carry out their cultural-political efforts, there using modern communication tools.[50] Craig Calhoun denies the emergence of the counter-public spheres. He states that "celebrating counter publics is not a solution to this problem, however, nor is simply describing indefinite contention. This evades the question of whether or to what extent diverse publics can contribute to the more general formation of public opinion on a scale sufficient to influence the state and other social institutions".[51] He argued to "contend over the shaping of shared institutions because we can see the always plural but not necessarily discrete public spheres".[52]

There is a normative core in the idea of the plural/universal/bourgeoise public sphere. The public sphere is also ideological. The main product of the public sphere is its "public" and "public opinion".[53] The idealized communicative rationality stands with a question when one apprises about the reasoned debate in the public sphere. When this reasoned debate comes to some consensus or agreement it is called public opinion in the Habermasian sense. A kind of

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[49] Ibid. pp. 56–80.

[50] Seyla Benhabib, "The Embattled Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt, Juergen Habermas, and Beyond",op.cit., p.18.

[51] Craig Calhoun, (2010). "The Public Sphere in the Field of Power", *Social Science History*, Vol. 34, No.3, 2010, p. 328.

[52] Ibid, p. 329.

[53] Richard J. Bernstein, "The Normative Core of the Public Sphere", Political Theory, Vol. 40, No. 6, 2012, pp. 767-778.

public discourse emerges through the development of the public sphere that not merely transforms the existing forms of the authority or the state for their private interests but claims to represent the general public opinion.[54] Incidentally, in Habermasian terms can we call it a democratic public sphere that is open, rational, and widespread? Selected participation and consent originate from the creation of the public sphere under certain historical conditions and under specific economic and political frameworks. Public opinion is thus created from the top down, not the bottom up.

Public Intellectuals and their Publics

Nathan Crick's in his article *"Rhetoric, Philosophy and Public Sphere"* mentioned that, 'the modern assumption about the emergence and means to be a public intellectual. A public intellectual is a result of the enlightenment period. Through the spread of rational knowledge and revolutionary beliefs, one could transform the traditional society into the rational one by enlightening the state of public opinion'.[55]

For Peter Dahlgren, "there are different ways of being public intellectual and differing ways of being public".[56] In his article, *"Public Intellectuals, Online Media, and Public Spheres: Current Realignments"* he mentioned various kinds of public intellectuals such as specialists, generalists, and classic, national, and cosmopolitan intellectuals. He also tries to draw specific criteria to understand the concept of the public intellectual. In his understanding, the 'public intellectual' is a figure who plays a significant role. They can independently address the concerns which contribute to the dynamics of public opinions. They also can reach and engage with large audiences. While politically engaged, they have commitments to the truth rather than focusing on power or political career for themselves'.[57]

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[54] Irene Ward, "How Democratic Can We Get?: The Internet, the Public Sphere, and Public Discourse", *JAC*, Vol. 17 No. 3, 1997, pp. 365–379.

[55] Nathan Cricks, "Rhetoric, Philosophy, and the Public Intellectual: Current Realignment", *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, Vol. 39. No. 2, 2006, pp. 127–139.

[56] Peter Dahlgren, "Public Intellectuals, Online Media, and Public Spheres: Current Realignments", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2012, p. 99.

[57] ibid, 96.

To understand the characteristics of the public intellectual it is worth discussing what is to be called 'public'. What constitutes this 'public'? Is the public an imagined category? Gerald Hauser states that "publics do not exist as entities but as processes; their collective reasoning is not defined by abstract reflection but by practical judgment; their awareness of issues is not philosophical but eventful".[58] In this sense, the public is constructed through a specific process, everyday practices, and practical knowledge. And certainly, this becomes part of common -sensical knowledge.

Similarly, Agnes S. Ku claims that "Habermas' theory of the public realm is crucial to the notion of the public. On structural, institutional, and discursive (cultural and symbolic) levels, he theorized the idea of the public. The public, in his opinion, is not a concrete but rather a fluid category, more analogous to the idea of citizen membership or citizenship that is connected to the two political institutions, the state and civil society, according to their distinct underlying logical frameworks. But the modern notion of the public faces' conceptual chaos as the state and civil society are closely intertwined and shaping the political, moral and cultural boundaries of public life'.[59]

The emergence of the "public" is highly associated with the public intellectuals who construct them. Dahlgren has classified different types of intellectuals. Certainly, the major goal of all public intellectuals is to gain access to the public. He majorly discusses traditional public intellectuals and classified them in terms of, having distinct intellectual status and tends to reach extensive audiences.[60] Considering the distinct status of traditional public intellectuals, it's worth pondering whether all public intellectuals have elite status? And how can we differentiate the traditional public intellectual from the new generational public intellectual?

Public intellectuals are of different kinds such as democratic public intellectuals, liberal, and new emerging conservative public intellectuals. Public intellectuals create new sites of learning from which they shape public opinion. The role of the public intellectual is crucial to

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[58] Gerard A. Hauser, *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres*, Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1999, p.64.

[59] Agnes S. Ku, "Revisiting the Notion of "Public" in Habermas's Theory-Toward a Theory of Politics of Public Credibility", *Sociological Theory*, Vol.18, No. 2, 2000, pp. 216–240.

[60] Peter Dahlgren, "Public Intellectuals, Online Media, and Public Spheres: Current Realignments", *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 4, 2012, pp. 95-110

creating a new relationship between the intellectual and the public.[61] Chomsky considered intellectuals concerning the concept of responsibility, power, and truth-seeking.[62] New possibilities emerged for public engagement such as new institutions and new technologies. However, it makes a huge impact on the relationship between intellectuals and the public. As Nathan Crick argues that a 'public intellectual has to deal with the philosophical situation and rhetorical situation. An intellect constitutes both i.e., productive art and constructive art'.[63] In this sense, it is observed that Kanshi Ram's contributions were not limited to public affairs but he has spent his life building philosophical ground.

Gramsci states that "all men are intellectuals… but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals" (Gramsci, 1998:9).[64] Kanhsi Ram was a counter-hegemonic organic intellectual who questioned the dominant assumptions and policies. He resists assimilation and neutralization in the established institutions. To arrive at the definition of public intellectual, it's important to contextualize and value the nature of intellectual work. Kanshi Ram embodied both the charisma of a rhetorician and the ideas and practices of a public intellectual. His practice of political rhetoric was valued highly. Kanshi Ram's commitment to social action never faded. He has always intervened in practical and political issues for the rights of Bahujans. Power comes from political liberty.

Theoretical Background: Counter Public Sphere

The idea of counter-publics contested the hegemonic construction of dominant publics. The antagonist public sphere emerged as a counter-public sphere. Loehwing and Motter state that, 'Fraser has identified the undemocratic characteristics of the bourgeois public sphere that turns

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[61]   Ellen Cushman, "The Public Intellectual, Service learning, and Active Research", *College English*, Vol. 61, No. 3, 1999, pp. 328-336.

[62]   Nicholas Allott, Chris Knight and Neil Smith, *The Responsibility of Intellectuals: Reflections by Noam Chomsky and Others after 50 years,* UCL Press, 2019.

[63]   Nathan Crick, "Rhetoric, Philosophy, and the Public Intellectual", *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2006, pp. 127-139.

[64]   Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, New York: International Publishers, 1971.

into antagonist relationships between publics and counter- publics. Briefly, a notion of counter-publics is a challenge to Habermas's assessment of the public sphere.[65]

Moreover, the denial of a normative unity in the legitimate public sphere leads to the emergence of the counter-public sphere. The public sphere theory has an exclusivist vision that promotes normative unity, which pushes into a forced stratification. All the varieties of public discourses and identities per se, politically restricted communities such as slaves, servants, and women were considered as 'others' in the public sphere. But they are morally homogenized based on hierarchical structural order through the dominant discourse. And, that falls into an imperative need for the formation of the counter-public sphere.

Robert Asen, "counter-public signifies the collectives that emerge in the recognition of various exclusions from the wider public of potential participants, discourse topics, and speaking styles and the resolve that builds to overcome these exclusions".[66] Fraser asserts that "only a single dominant public can pursue a collective belief in the common good, which requires a priori consent to a specific ideal and, therefore, necessarily excludes all groups who do not hold the same view".[67]

The counter-public sphere is opposed to hierarchy, dominance, and authority. Its mission is to create a new form of public dialogue for a complex society. The counter-public sphere appears as a new and distinct area where the self-identity is perpetuated through the re-presentation of the "self" and a new "worldview" or stance to "others".[68] Fraser states that "in order to signal that they are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counter-discourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs".[69]

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[65]   Melanie Loehwing and Jeff Motter, "Publics, Counterpublics and the Promise of Democracy", *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 42/3, 2009, pp. 220-241.

[66]   Robert Asen, "Imagining in the Public Sphere", *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 35/4, 2002, p. 438.

[67]   Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text*, Vol. 25/26, 1990, p. 56-80.

[68]   Narendra Kumar, "Kanshiram and idea of Counter-public Sphere", *Countercurrents.org*, October 2021.

[69]   Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", op. cit., p. 67.

Moreover, this space is a result of the absence of the qualities that shape a democratic public sphere. The representation of the diverse collectivities and new and different voices can form a democratic public sphere. Nancy Fraser has coined the phrase 'Subaltern Publics' for women, workers, gays and lesbians, and people of color. It's a "parallel discursive" arena for the circulation of counter-discourse.[70] In such a sense, the counter-public sphere prevents the failure and deterioration of democracy by the authoritarian government.

Defensively, Habermas claims that the bourgeoisie public sphere has the potential for self-transformation through social movements and contacts; it's ideological but not merely an ideology.[71] Habermas has never rejected the ideal of the public sphere but rather focused on its reformulation. For the better functioning of democracy, he majorly emphasized the universal public sphere. The question is, why, rather than changing and forming identities in public life, inclusion in the dominant public sphere is not demanded.

The collective identity and set of communicative spaces lead to the process of expulsion of the subaltern public. Counter public sphere emerges because of the exclusion. The exclusion exists in different forms but here the explicit meaning of exclusion is related to restricted participation and undermining interests as Asen has pointed out.[72] Habermas's public sphere theory cannot overcome these exclusions therefore, Asen, Fraser, and Felski have challenged Habermas's public sphere theory on democratic grounds. Public sphere theory was not something to get entirely satisfied with. In a world of complex and multiple democracies, an ideal public sphere is faux. Therefore, the emergence of the counter-public sphere has a set of goals along with a task of overcoming exclusions.

However, the counter-public sphere not merely serves as an equal and problem-solving space but also provides a cultural generating model. The major goal of counter-publics is to interpret their identities and interests to get themselves recognized by the wider public. Certainly, continuing with the understanding of the relationship between the public sphere and

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[70] Frank Farmer, "Composition Studies as Liminal Counterpublic", *JAC*, Vol. 28 No. 3/4, 2008, p. 620-634.

[71] Amy Allen, "The Public Sphere: Ideology and/or Ideal?", *Political Theory*, Vol. 40, No.6, 2012, pp. 823-824.

[72] Robert Asen, "Imagining in the Public Sphere", Philosophy & Rhetoric, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2002, pp. 345–367.

counter-public sphere, this concern is worthy of discussion that what about the idea of a more integrated public sphere? What is the hindrance to coalesce of public and counter-public spheres? Possibly, there could be several reasons for the separation between the public and counter-public spheres. As Weisser mentioned in his article *"Subaltern Counterpublics and the Discourse of Protest"* that, 'the dominant public sphere addresses a singular issue but the identities of those publics consist of discursive conventions. Also, the alternate discourse faces a difference from the dominant discourse because the dominant discourse is ingrained with an ideology that helps a group to maintain its privileged status and power'.[73]

Creation of Alternative Public Discourse and Knowledge

Reiner Keller states that "discourses are defined as a real, manifest, observable, and describable social practice which finds its expression in various documents, in the use of oral and written language, images or more generally speaking, in the usage of signs".[74] Benveniste characterizes that "discourse must be understood in its widest sense: every utterance assumes a speaker and a hearer, and in the speaker, the intention of influencing the other in some way. But discourse is written as well as spoken. In practice one passes from one to the other instantaneously".[75] In simple terms, discourses exist in oral and written forms. Discourses are social acts because "discourse are constituted of utterance",[76] and utterance in itself is a learned behavior, a product of the social process and power relations. There are variations of utterances; they all are communicative but not necessarily performative. The performative acts are a kind of authoritative speech that is enforced by the norms and rules of society. Following the normative commitments in the existing social structure, the authority is not given to all speakers; it is selective.

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[73] Christian R, Weisser, "Subaltern counterpublics and the discourse of protest." *JAC: A Journal of Composition Theory*, Vol. 28, 2008, pp. 608-620.

[74] Reiner Keller, "The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)", *Human Studies,* Vol. 34, No.1, 2011, p.53.

[75] Emile Benveniste, *Problems in general linguistics*. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press. 1971, p. 209.

[76] Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Knowledge, Power, and Discourse in Social Studies Education", *The Journal of Education*, Vol.165, No. 4, 1983, pp. 341-358.

Macdonell claims that 'discourses need to be explored historically and contextually. A discourse is "social" and differs from the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they occur. It also differs from the position of those whom they address and those who speak. Therefore, there is no homogeneity in the field of discourse. The same words used, may have a different context, meaning, and interpretation'.[77] Society is a complex whole composed of various groups, communities, institutions, cultures, and discourses. Different discourses have distinct positions and roles in the social structure, however; the "hierarchy of discourses"[78] in any institution is worth contemplating. The hierarchy of discourse requires to be addressed by exploring the role of discourses throughout society.

The significant role of the dominant discourse is to perpetuate ideological beliefs and normative commitments. The discourses are not neutral as they are always associated with ideologies. Discourses are concrete and exist in material form but with specific abstract values; they are not ideologically free. Various ideological discourses exist within the social structure with different content and intent, but very few are recognized. That's why the question is worth placing why some discourses weigh more than others in any society? Macdonell claims that 'the position of the discourse doesn't exist in itself, it can be identified by the institutions to which it relates and also by putting different and conflicting discourses with one other.[79]

Undoubtedly, the dominant discourse has a powerful presence in every institution. Within institutions, the position of the discourse is seen with the 'position and status of the individuals' and 'knowledge'. Discourse is constituted of knowledge, and knowledge claims are the product of discourse. Therefore, discourse analysis requires various dimensions of knowledge such as knowledge politics, forms of knowledge, structure, content of Knowledge, etc. Cherryholmes tries to understand the trilogy of discourse, knowledge, and power in his work. He claims that 'knowledge and power are interpenetrated; they are mutually constitutive. Knowledge is related to power because it is the product of power'.[80] The institutional structure (object) fixes the

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[77]   Diane Macdonell, *Theories of Discourse: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell. 1986, p. 1.

[78]   Ibid, p. 2.

[79]   Ibid, pp. 2-3.

[80]   Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Knowledge, Power, and Discourse in Social Studies Education", *The Journal of Education*, Vol.165, No. 4, 1983, p. 349.

structure of knowledge and the knowledge formation with a set of rules gives shape to the discourses (Subject). In this way, Cherryholmes states that 'knowledge claims are the product of discourse and discourse is structured by rules and power relations.'[81] That's why discourses are constituted of discursive practices that are based on institutional rules giving context and historical and culturally specific rules. Knowledge formation is ideological for the maintenance of domination and preservation of beliefs and values. Therefore, 'the use of the language in an ideological and strategic way should not be considered neutral as those in power control it and manipulate people'.[82]

The role of language emphasized by Berger and Luckmann, in constructing a shared social reality.[83] The language and metaphors with its own knowledge and meanings are powerful enough to manipulate the masses. The existing social reality can be manipulative and needs to be analyzed from micro and macro-level categories. Manipulation as a social process, functions at the macro and micro level, i.e., through social groups and institutions and interaction and communicative events respectively. Manipulation forms and modifies socially shared realities i.e., knowledge, ideologies, values, norms, and attitudes. Dijk states that manipulation also shapes public opinion through discourse; it's a form of social practice managed through communicative events and cognitive mechanisms.[84] The role of dominant groups and their interaction patterns and communicative actions typify others how to behave and perform concerning their ideological stands. The manipulative strategies of dominant groups exist at various levels; therefore, the written (texts) and oral (talks) forms of communication are foremost important. The dominant groups have access and control over the public discourse which in turn helps them in structuring a discourse through the dominant ideas and practices.

For analyzing the dominant public discourse with its meanings, and formation, the communicative strategies need to be discovered. The communicative goals are mainly associated

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[81]   Ibid, p. 345.

[82]   Reiner Keller, "The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)", *Human Studies*, Vol. 34, No.1, 2011, pp. 43-65.

[83]   Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, Penguin Books, 1991, pp. 13-30.

[84]   Teun A. Van Dijk, "Discourse and manipulation", *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 17, No.3, 2006, pp. 359-383.

with two distinct strategies i.e., manipulation and persuasion. Though both strategies exist with distinct functions and meanings. As Dijk sees the concept of manipulation with a negative connotation. He states that 'manipulation involves power and domination. He followed a multidisciplinary framework to analyze different dimensions of manipulation, i.e., social, cognitive, and discursive-semiotic. But he mainly focuses on a form of a social phenomenon to explore the concept of manipulation. Manipulation as a form of the social phenomenon needs to be elaborated in the context of social groups and institutions/organizations. He calls manipulation a form of illegitimate influence in a democratic society because it produces and reproduces inequality through means of discourse.'[85] He states that "manipulation is one of the discursive social practices of dominant groups geared towards the reproduction of their power. Such dominant groups may do so in many (other) ways as well, e.g., through persuasion, providing information, education, instruction, and other social practices that are aimed at influencing the knowledge, beliefs, and (indirectly) the actions of the recipients".[86] Therefore, all forms of public discourses, such as texts, news, articles, social media, the internet, etc., are under the control of the dominant group. A manipulation is a form of power reproduction that is against dominated groups' interests and leads to inequality.

Dijk in his work sees the manipulation strategy with the dominant groups particularly. In this sense, is the communicative strategy distinct in opposing groups? What are the distinct functions of counter-publics in influencing the masses? Generally, for influencing a large number of masses and promoting public opinion, good strategic communication is a must. But the communication strategies/style differ with different groups and their material and ideological resources. In a multilayered society, effective communication majorly hinders without the standard body of knowledge and common conventions. But at the same time, other political dimensions cannot be ignored that generate obstacles in making effective communication. The other political dimensions involve the constructed meanings and perceptions about effective communication. The knowledge, perception, interaction, and discourse of dominant groups represent the meaning of effective communication. Therefore, a particular discourse, knowledge, and communicative style represent the meaning of reality and becomes legitimate. As Giroux

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[85]   Ibid.

[86]   Ibid. p. 363.

states, "how certain meanings under particular historical conditions become more legitimate as representations of reality and take on the force of common sense, in turn shaping a broader set of discourses and social arrangements". [87]

The communication strategy was seen by Malyuga and Tomalin as a component of communicative engagement. Through the use of techniques, verbal and nonverbal communication seeks to accomplish particular objectives. All types of communicative strategies are reduced to three universal classes i.e., presentation, manipulation, and conventions. The communicative strategies help in influencing the masses and regulating their behavior and actions. They are intentional and goal-oriented and that is why speakers have to outline a specific strategy to achieve their goals.[88] It also helps in constructing a discourse that seems intercultural but actually, it is not. The issue then becomes, why do different discourses convey a complex communication reality made up of the text as well as a number of extralinguistic components including world knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and aims.

Communication is a complex process that involves knowledge, language, and information to regulate and modify the behavior of recipients. Recipients can be active or passive interactionists depending upon the speech behavior and speech interaction. The speech behavior could be cooperative and confronting and the speech interaction could be associated with different communicative strategies i.e., manipulation, convention, and persuasion. Therefore, communication is not neutral, it involves strategic communication to accomplish goals. The major goal of any group is to promote an opinion through strategic communication.[89] It completely depends upon the groups, how they promote an opinion in society and which opinion is important to them. However, it is important to understand human motives, and what special interests are represented by the speech actor in the favor of a specific population. The communicative strategies utilize different intentions. The intentions of the manipulator and persuader are very different, even though they follow common principles. Certainly,

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[87] Henry A. Giroux, "Where Have All the Public Intellectuals Gone? Racial Politics, Pedagogy, and Disposable Youth", *JAC*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1997, p. 198.

[88] Elena Malyuga and Barry Tomalin, "Communicative strategies and tactics of speech manipulation in intercultural business discourse", *Training Language and Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2017, pp. 28-45.

[89] Ibid.

manipulation and persuasion involve human actions and interaction but it is crucial to recognize to what extent and with what intention. The manipulative communication strategy is considered morally wrong as it involves coercion, distortion, and control whereas the persuasive communication strategy stands the opposite, as it involves cooperativity, enhances the self-esteem of others, and is concerned with people's interests. Therefore, a good skill stands dangerous with bad intentions.[90]

Manipulation and persuasion are considered companions with positive and negative associations. As Dillard and Pfao state that without a negative association, manipulation could be a form of persuasion.[91] Moreover, manipulators are seen to be engaged with traditional ideas to control the masses whereas persuaders promote the emerging ideas to bring a social change. Also, persuaders do not influence the masses with short-term goals and with aggression, exploitation, and ill-intention whereas manipulators influence with short-term goals and ill-intention, to control the specific population. A persuasive strategy allows its recipients for conventions and active engagement in opinion-making whereas a manipulative strategy assigns a passive role to its recipients.[92]

Manipulation is a vast category discussed here that involves domination at all levels from macro-level category to micro-level which means from social groups/institutions/organizations to human actions and interactions. Dijk states that these moves and manipulative strategies at various levels of discourse are not surprising because it reflects that manipulation involves domination and it is also ideological. Socio-political manipulation always involves ideologies, ideological attitudes, and ideological discourse structure.[93] Keller states that 'the actualization can be achieved by transferring the discourse structure into an event. Discourse appears through the discursive event. They provide specialized knowledge and take on a life of their own thanks to the social actors. Actors, discursive events, practises, and the organization of knowledge all play a part in the materiality of discourses.The collective reality would not be possible without

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[90] Ibid.

[91] James Price Dillard, and Michael Pfau, *The Persuasion Handbook: Developments in Theory and Practice*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002.

[92] Teun A. Van Dijk, "Discourse and manipulation", op. cit., pp. 359-383.

[93] Ibid, p. 374.

discursive events and discourse'.[94] Similarly, Cherryholme highlights that discursive practice structures a discourse.[95]

A theoretical analysis of manipulative discourse makes clear that we need to examine the acts of manipulation through various other dimensions. Dijk majorly focuses on recipients' points of view on how easily vulnerable groups get manipulated and exploited through power abuse. A skillful manipulator can easily have mental models of recipients.[96] They can play with their ideology, emotions, knowledge, experiences, etc. Therefore, efforts should be taken to resist manipulative functions, strategies, and discourse. It is not enough to emphasize speech acts and actors in a specific context, recognize implicit and explicit manipulation information, and detailed analysis of discourse structure; rather there is an urgent need for a counter-discourse and discourses are both a social expression and a constitutional need, thus this needs to be addressed seriously. The ideologies, ideological attitudes and commitments, discourse structure, and discursive practices of alternative publics are different.

The creation of the alternative public discourse starts with a first question of 'why' rather than 'how'. Why is there a need for the creation of alternative discourse primarily? Bitzer claims that "A particular discourse comes into existence because of some specific condition or situation".[97] Is it a condition of exigency? From the marginalized citizen's point of view; 'yes' it was a situation of exigency when "only" dominant culture is represented as public discourse and the cultural violence is legitimate. Also, the existence of a universal public sphere usually represents the dominant ideas and voices while excluding the voices of the marginalized. Therefore, the alternative sphere is an important space for sharing information, for engaging in rational debates and discussions amongst those who reject the ideas of mainstream discourse and the universal or singular public sphere.

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[94]   Reiner Keller, "The Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD)", *Human Studies*, Vol. 34, No.1, 2011, p. 53.

[95]   Cleo H. Cherryholmes, "Knowledge, Power, and Discourse in Social Studies Education", *The Journal of Education*, Vol.165, No. 4, 1983, p. 341- 358.

[96]   Teun A. Van Dijk, "Discourse and manipulation", op. cit., pp. 370.

[97]   Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation", *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 1, 1968, p. 4.

An attempt to define the concept of 'alternative discourse' but with no exact definition, 'alternative discourse comes under different names, what they have in common is the 'will' to counter hegemonized elements.[98] Alternative discourse is described as being creative, non-imitative, unique, independent, non-essentialist, and counter-Eurocentric and relevant to its surroundings. It should be regarded as a descriptive and collective phrase referring to the collection of discourses that developed in contrast to the dominant one. Any notions or beliefs are often developed from historical events or cultural norms.[99] However, the formation of alternative discourse requires alternative philosophies, epistemology, art, cultural practices, and other modes of knowledge. It has emerged as a contribution to social science theories and concepts. And its activities have reduced the intellectual burden on the core social sciences.'[100]

The concept of alternative discourse is a lesser amount of research area. The theories of alternative discourse are based on the lived experiences of oppressed and vulnerable groups. Firstly, the theories of alternative discourse based on the lived experiences of the oppressed are very few, and secondly, even if theories exist, it is usually dismissed by the dominant group by declaring 'personal' and 'subjective'. It's not merely a rejection of theories but it's a rejection of their worldview and self-interest. The alternative epistemological perspectives develop through personal narratives, metaphors, images, etc. Alternative discourse cannot be offered without personal and physical experience'.[101]

The subjective experiences are essential for questioning the objective reality of society. Personal experiences, individual perception, history, and discourse (in written and oral forms) can only lead to the emergence of a counter-public sphere.[102] There are various imperative elements for the creation of alternative discourse. It could be cultural texts, media content, institutions, and organizations through which history, knowledge, physical reality, and identities are produced. It was indeed a struggle to establish an alternative discourse in the dominant public

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[98]   Syed Farid Alatas, "An introduction to the idea of alternative discourses", *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 28, No.1, 2000, pp. 1-12.

[99]   Ibid.

[100]   Ibid.

[101]   Phyllis Mentzell Ryder, "Multicultural Public Spheres and the Rhetorics of Democracy", *JAC,* Vol. 27, No. 3/4, 2007, pp. 505-538.

[102]   Ya-Wen Lei, *The Contentious Public Sphere: Law, Media, and Authoritarian Rule in China*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

sphere because alternative discourse emerged as another site that serves to resist the dominant ideology. The vulnerable groups are usually constructed and increasingly portrayed as wicked in the broader public discourse. If the public sphere is viewed as the horizon for the organization of social experience, then there must be numerous counter-publics that compete with one another and are each distinguished by a particular form of exclusion, with dominant communications[103] regarding class, race, gender, and caste in the Indian context.[104]

According to Giroux, "culture is the medium of public discourse".[105] The cultural background knowledge of the alternative public sphere can help the public to be at the center of concern. Neither abstract universalist principles nor essentialist concepts of community can serve as the foundation for a cultural politics of counterpublicity. One of the examples of cultural traits is languages[106] of counter-publics that are missed out from the dominant public sphere or less represented. Language convention is not equal for everyone, especially in the hierarchical structure. Not only languages but their practices, beliefs, rituals, and customs as well. The essentialist notions of community formation (Cultural) and developing the sense of belongingness, the social and collective experiences are must for independent agency and group solidarity. Therefore, identity formation is not external to the public discourse. Counter public status reinvents the promise of the community through discourse (by written and oral forms of communication). Within their limitations, they allow distinctions and disparities, and they are able to accept identities and identifications that are based on several criteria.

Their rhetorical traditions are common in any space that emphasizes the need for communal identity as an element of survival. The public intellectual as a great rhetorician plays an important role as a storyteller. The story goes on from generation to generation. The story helps to maintain relationships and interaction. It brings people together. The role of the rhetorician is to serve the purpose of interconnection and identity as well as mutual responsibility

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[103]   Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", Social Text, Vol. 25/26, 1990, p. 56-80.

[104]   Deepak K. Mishra and Pradeep Nayak, *Land and Livelihoods in Neo-liberal India,* Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020.

[105]   Henry A. Giroux, "Where Have All the Public Intellectuals Gone? Racial Politics, Pedagogy, and Disposable Youth", *JAC*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 1997, p. 196.

[106]   https://www.britannica.com/topic/language/Language-and-culture accessed on 06.05.2022.

and activism. As Henry Richardson observes that "without rhetoric, there would be no public reflection".[107] The discourse conventions reinforce the particular and exclusive public sphere. The dominant discourse convention excludes alternative values and shut down the critique. The experience as experienced, as lived, remains private but its sense, and its meanings become public.[108] Ricoeur states that language in itself is the process by which private experiences are made public. The language relates to what it is rather than the ideal meanings. The speaker uses reality as his reference point and describes a specific moment in time as an event.[109]

The dominant public discourse is expected to be neutral and universally accessible. For that matter, the values and ability of public discourse must ensure clear communication among diverse groups. But, access to diverse publics for public discussion and opinion-making is not guaranteed. The image of the public sphere is presented harmoniously but the dynamics of power and dominant discourse conventions were completely ignored. The true democratic public interaction can be measured when it comes to the negotiation i.e., the negotiation with one's position and social status.[110] In the Indian context, can anyone negotiate with their caste position that serves the hierarchical social order? The negotiation of class and caste association can lead to the negotiation of one's identity.

Moreover, the dominant public discourse is not only constrained through language convention but the manifestation of particular ideologies.[111] It aims to solidify the image of dominant discourse and its values. The members of the dominant public sphere were a deliberate effort rather than following a natural process of inclusion that reflects a sense of discrimination against the marginalized and diverse groups. In the name of transformation, it may allow

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[107] Henry S. Richardson, *Democratic Autonomy: Public Reasoning about the Ends of Policy*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 192.

[108] Christian R. Weisser, "Subaltern Counterpublics and the Discourse of Protest", *JAC*, Vol. 28, No. 3/4 2008, p.614-615.

[109] Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative. Vol. 1*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

[110] Sonia Livingstone and Peter Lunt, "The mass media, democracy, and the public", in *Talk on Television Audience Participation and Public Debate*, London, UK: Routledge, 1994, pp. 9-35. See Also, Geoff Eley, *Nations, Publics and Political Cultures: Placing Habermas in the Nineteenth Century*, CCST Working Papers, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1990, p.11.

[111] Teun A. van Dijk, "Discourse, Ideology and Context", *Journal of Asian Economics*, Vol. 35, No. 1/2, 2002, pp.11-40.

inclusion diversely but gradually the means of communication in the dominant public sphere reduces the differences, and differences of opinions with doubt on multiculturalism. The maintaining of privileged status and ideologies are of prior importance.

Counter Public Sphere: Through Alternative Rhetoric

While the distribution of political goods, the public is situated as a contender to achieve the same recognition and legitimacy. The political conflict emerges between the contending ideologies when the power is not circulated and remains in the hands of a few. Through minimal democratic potentials of the public sphere, counter-publics strive to sabotage domination by reinventing discourse and publicity. Counter-publics have employed numerous strategies to spread their message. As Weisser pointed out 'three discursive conventions i.e. I) using emotions as a rhetorical tool II) focusing on personal views and lived experiences and III) emphasize community building for interaction and communal relationship; wherein alternate public's shift to rhetorical strategies to accentuate their message'.[112]

Before coalescing these "three discursive conventions" to understand the rhetorical strategies of the counter-public sphere, it is important to understand the general idea and debates around the concept of rhetoric. Abbott mentioned that 'most philosophers including Plato, Aristotle, and Kant considered rhetoric as something inferior and dishonest and have no concern regarding the truth. It only aims for acquiring the position of power through insignificant meanings. Kant was no different and defines rhetoric as "the art of deceiving by means of beautiful illusion". In simple terms, he measured rhetoric as persuasion, an art that only creates an illusion of the truth. Thus, he characterizes rhetoric as illusive, unethical, and inferior'.[113] Whereas, on a positive note, Bitzer measured rhetoric as a discipline like other disciplines such as arts, philosophy, science, etc. because it provides concepts, procedures, and principles to bring about valuable changes. It also symbolizes intellectual ideas in concrete form.[114] Similarly, Franz Theremin undertakes a defense of rhetoric against the attacks by chief opponents of rhetoric i.e.,

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[112]   Christian R, Weisser, "Subaltern counterpublics and the discourse of protest." *JAC: A Journal of Composition Theory*, Vol. 28, 2008, pp. 608-620.

[113]   Don Paul Abbott, "Kant, Theremin, and the Morality of Rhetoric", *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 2007, pp. 274-292.

[114]   Lloyd F. Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation", *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 1, 1968, pp. 1-14.

Kant and Aristotle.[115] Theremin considers rhetoric as a practical activity because first, it involves human action and specific purpose, and second, the orator has plans and designs. He employs Kant's moral philosophy in his defense of rhetoric. He relates Kant's principle of morality to the principles of human freedom. In Theremin's view, the orator guides human decision-making while respecting human freedom and will. The speaker's ideas must be aligned with the ideas of the audience. [116]

The amalgamation of the above discussion reveals that rhetoric is viewed as both positive and negative. On the one hand for Kant, rhetoric is inferior to other disciplines, deceitful, and robs human freedom. On the other hand, for Theremin, rhetoric is the practical quest for moral action and operates within the limits to provide human freedom. Likewise, Kant and Plato attack the rhetoric on the ground of democracy. He has seen the close relationship between rhetoric and democracy and argued that democracy suffers from too much rhetoric and too little dialogue. On the one hand, Plato sees rhetoric as a threat to the ideals of democracy and claimed it to be "monological than dialogical"[117] whereas, on the other hand, rhetoric is claimed to be "a productive art".[118]

Rhetoric has different types and functions. As Laura Gray Rosendale and Sibylle Gruber state that 'there is countless rhetoric exists'.[119] Rhetoric works as a mediator between the orator and his/her audience. Generally, four major contentious definitions of rhetoric are given as the "producer of belief", the "practical study of the sources of belief", the "science of speaking well" and the "art of adapting discourse".[120] The rhetoric theory emerged to recognize the elements of

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[115] Franz Theremin, *Eloquence a Virtue*, Trans. William Greenough Thayer Shedd, Boston: Draper and Halliday, 1872.

[116] Don Paul Abbott, "Kant, Theremin, and the Morality of Rhetoric", op. cit., pp. 608-620.

[117] Simone Chambers, "Rhetoric and the Public Sphere: Has Deliberative Abandoned Mass Democracy?" *Political Theory,* Vol.37, No. 3, 2009, p. 324.

[118] Nathan Crick, "Rhetoric, Philosophy and the Public Intellectual", *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2006, p. 131.

[119] Laura Gray-Rosendale and Sibylle Gruber, *Alternative Rhetorics: Challenges to the Rhetorical Tradition*, Albany: State University of New York. Press, 2001.

[120] James Richard McNally, "Toward a Definition of Rhetoric", *Philosophy & Rhetoric,* Vol.3 No.2, 1970, p. 72.

persuasion while communicating. However, the theory developed out of a thought that how language works for people. In simple terms, it studies the effectiveness of the language.

The rhetoric has a general scope and provides reasoning which has universal features. Does it mean that rhetoric aims to make a universal audience? To understand the kinds of audiences, Perelman made the distinction between universal and particular audiences. By developing this distinction, he believes he could better understand effective argumentation and genuinely valid argumentation. Though, in his terms, there would be no distinction between effective and genuine argumentations. However, Perelman's notion of a universal audience has been vulnerable to philosophical attack as it is considered too "ideal" by Ede, "transcendental" by John Ray,[121] and for Crosswhite, it is similar to Habermas's appeal to the universal public sphere, which is an immense failure.[122]

Similarly, Gross and Dearing drew attention to facts and values to identify the distinction between the universal and particular audience. In their views, facts relate to a universal audience and values relate to a particular audience.[123] The reasonable/logical people can be addressed as a universal audience whereas for a particular audience, where the arguments are persuasive and eliminate different particular audiences, who do not assent to the same argument.[124] By addressing a clear distinction between facts and values, Perelman's notion of "universal values" has been rejected, by which he means that value attained the status of truth or fact. Values stand ideological rather than rational and rhetoric deals with particular values rather than truth and facts.[125] However, rhetoric binds particular values, actions, and judgment in a universal form.

The elimination of different particular audiences, argumentations, a plurality of values, and differences of opinions leads to the emergence of counter-publics. Eduard Anaskin states that

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[121]   John W. Ray, "Perelman's Universal Audience", *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, Vol. 64, 1978, pp. 361-375.

[122]   James Crosswhite, "Universality in Rhetoric: Perelman's Universal Audience." *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, Vol. 22, No.3, 1989, pp. 157-173.

[123]   Alan G. Gross and Ray D. Dearin, *Chaim Perelman*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.

[124]   James Crosswhite, "Universality in Rhetoric: Perelman's Universal Audience." op. cit., pp. 165-166.

[125]   Ibid.

'the formation of counter publics requires the presence of difference, rhetoric and a continuous discursive encounter with a difference so that the public is exposed to a particular set of beliefs, values, and attitudes.'[126] Besides, ideas are accountable for one's reflective agency and existence. However, Crick emphasized that a "philosophical situation" is like a rhetorical situation as both share the same consideration i.e., exigency, constraint, and audience.[127] In the whole process of formation of counter publics, rhetoric and audience are central components. Rhetor does not merely create a rhetorical situation by marking a situation of urgency, constructing a discourse but also constructs a philosophical situation by constructing the content to convince its audience on a rational, emotional, and comical basis.

The formation of counter-publics not merely reflects the democratic values but is also conducive to social change. Eduard Anaskin gives much emphasis to changes in social attitude to bring the changes in structure. However, he identified that social attitude formation is institutionalized. The macro and micro perspectives, both are equally important to challenge the existing, legitimate, and 'taken for granted' processes and institutions. Three rhetorical acts are crucial for social attitude formation i.e., the cognitive, the affective, and the comic. The selection of three rhetorical acts altogether indicates the existence of a particular public sphere and also constitutes a public sphere indiscriminately. For all dimensions of social attitude formation, rational argument, effective language, and humor are quintessential.[128]

Rhetoric has always been criticized on ethical grounds, for its manipulative practices and language of emotions. But, for the formation of counter-publics, some kinds of emotional discourse and rhetoric are corrective to democracy. Some public issues need to be addressed through rhetorical acts i.e., cognitive, affective, and comic, to comprehend the historical social roots, trajectories, and ideological orientation of counter publics. However, alternative rhetoric helps in the emergence of counter-publics because it questions the normative and ideological

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[126]   Eduard Anaškin, "Counterpublics, Attitudes, and Social Change in Authoritarian Regimes: An analysis of digital communities on Russian YouTube", *Research Division Eastern Europe/Eurasia |WP NR*, 2020, p.17.

[127]   Nathan Crick, "Rhetoric, Philosophy and the Public Intellectual", *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Vol. 39, No. 2, 2006, pp. 127-139.

[128]   Eduard Anaškin, "Counterpublics, Attitudes, and Social Change in Authoritarian Regimes: An analysis of digital communities on Russian YouTube", *Research Division Eastern Europe/Eurasia |WP NR*, 2020.

social and political order. It emerged distinctly with different intentionality. Fundamentally, "alternative rhetoric is intended to make sure that we continue exploring new territories, territories that were considered negligible, unimportant, or nonexistent not too long ago".[129] However, alternative rhetoric implicates its strategies to explore excluded and marginalized, to acquaint historical roots, assemble social identity, and familiarize.

In this whole process of 'public' formation, rhetorical acts play a central role i.e., cognitive, affective, and comic. Among these three, an emotional rhetoric act is the crucial and complex one; it involves diverse and overlapping dimensions. Gil states that "one of the most effective tools for drawing attention to an issue is to deliberately apply a strong emotional charge".[130] There are various kinds of emotions i.e., fear, anger, surprise, sadness, joy, etc. But, the use and purpose of emotional rhetoric are different among the dominant public sphere and counter public.

The dominant/ mainstream discourse and space are majorly employed by the rhetoric of fear. It's crucial to recognize why the mainstream orator chooses rhetoric of fear. The rhetoric of fear helps the mainstream orator to maintain the supremacy of his group and ideology by constructing the perception about 'others' as Gil mentioned the "fear as a basic survival mechanism".[131] The mainstream orator uses political rhetoric to construct the category 'us' versus 'them'. For political reasons and to maintain their dominance in public life, political rhetors homogenise the public against those who are of a different religion, country, race, philosophy, or sexual orientation. This constructed imminent destruction and prejudice develops threat, hatred, and hostility among different groups. However, in Marta Gil's view, 'orator is enormously able to control and stimulate this emotion of 'fear' and the experience of fear depends on the capacity of the orator to interpret a situation.'[132]

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[129] Laura Gray-Rosendale and Sibylle Gruber, *Alternative Rhetorics: Challenges to the Rhetorical Tradition*, Albany: State University of New York. Press, 2001, p.3.

[130] Marta Gil, "Emotions and political rhetoric: Perception of danger, group conflict and the biopolitics of fear", *Human Affairs*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 2016, p.220.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid.

But, rhetoricians among counter publics bounded to the emotional appeals in quite a different manner. The emotional rhetoric among counter-publics often stems from personal and lived experiences of being excluded from the dominant discourse. However, the rhetoricians of counter-publics make use of those lived experiences as a rhetorical tool for common identity formation through collective experiences. Hitherto, the vulnerable groups are exposed to violence and abuse in several manners. Their derogatory representation is propaganda to spread a powerful emotion of fear and disgust. For Martha Nussbaum, the rhetoric of fear and rhetoric of disgust are closely related to each other. The marginalized groups such as Muslims, Jews, Women, Untouchables, African Americans, etc. all were being portrayed as disgusted and stigmatized for being associated with disgusting properties such as filth, rotten items, animal waste, and corpses. This is what Nussbaum called as "projective disgust".[133] For example, in the Indian context, the social universe splits into two categories i.e., pure and impure. The lower caste people are associated with the notion of impurity and projected disgust because of their structural location.

However, hostile relationships cannot explode spontaneously. The past antagonist relations and humiliation cannot be forgotten and are also used as an efficient instrument to stimulate and guide emotional rhetoric. Considering the past of the marginalized, it's worth quoting Ryder, who considered 'rhetoric of anger as productive, but not all anger and in every context. He believes that the expression of anger maintains a relationship between rhetor and audience because if a person speaks angrily still the conversation is happening and the relationship of concern is maintained. For him, the expression of anger is an art like other arts such as humor, parody, etc. and one must consider anger as an act of goodwill. Although, opposing notions or dominant discourse conventions refuse the expression of anger.'[134] The expression of anger could damage the polite discourse of the dominant culture. Thus, how should one respond to their exclusion from the dominant discourse? To some extent, emotional rhetoric is crucial for constructing collective experiences. These collective experiences help marginalized

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[133]   Martha Nussbaum, *Hiding from humanity: Disgust, shame and the law*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

[134]   Phyllis Mentzell Ryder, "Multicultural Public Spheres and the Rhetorics of Democracy", *JAC*, Vol. 27, No. 3/4, 2007, pp. 521-522.

communities to elevate their reflective agency and to have a common social identity. And this common identity helps them to promote communicative behavior and the counter-public sphere.

History of Media and Dominant Public Sphere

The historical importance of the media is linked to the creation of public opinion and awareness that's why media was considered a fourth estate during the transition period in Europe.[135] Thus, the role of media and communication is immensely important to understand the Indian public sphere. Media is a medium of communication, for representing public opinions and interests to bring out the necessary changes for the public good. It is one of the most powerful forces that construct legitimate identity, values, and spaces. Media is considered a new public sphere of political communication which includes films, movies, videos, music, televisions, the internet, and so on.[136] These all mediums are far more influential in terms of shaping identities, opinions, and memories of the public by providing knowledge and information. Media has a strong influence in all spheres of public life and specifically on public and private realms i.e., political and economic realms.

The broad description of media relied upon the two different perspectives i.e., positive and negative. Livingstone and Lunt state that 'the media has two different potentials i.e., pessimist and optimist. In the pessimist approach, media is a part of progress whereas, in the optimist approach, media is a part of the decline. In the pessimist approach, the critical theorists of the Frankfurt School analyzed that rationality is lost as desires are commodified, offering consumerist culture, and glorifying popular consciousness'.[137] In brief, structures of domination operate through the media that also shape public memory and culture. Media has a dual role to engage with because media plays a significant role in expanding the democratic life while also making it fragile. Certainly, the media is considered the fourth pillar of democracy but

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[135] bohatala.com/influence-of-media-on-public-opinion/ accessed on 23.10.2021.

[136] John Budarick, "The Elasticity of the Public Sphere: Expansion, Contraction and 'Other' Media", in Mary Griffiths and Kim Barbour (eds.), *Making Publics, Making Places,* University of Adelaide Press, 2016, pp. 9–26. See Also, Erlis Cela, "Social Media as a New Form of Public Sphere", *European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research*, Vol. 4, No.1, 2015, 195-200.

[137] Sonia Livingstone, "The mass media, democracy and the public sphere" in Sonia Livingstone and Peter Lunt (eds.) *Talk on Television: Audience participation and public debate*, London: Routledge. 1994, pp. 9-35.

simultaneously it overflows the representation of the dominant regime. The exclusion of the oppressed is a debarment of their social and cultural democracy.

However, there is a huge difference between what media is ought to do and what media exactly does. Mass media should ideally be democratic to represent all significant interest groups. The arbitrary restrictions should be avoided to access the mainstream media as it is a medium of communicative action, consensus, and public reasoning. But media not merely controls access but helps to construct legitimate knowledge. It is hugely responsible for the cultural consumption, production, and reproduction of symbolic and social practices. These social and cultural practices are destructive in their dogmatic and rigid states.

With the introduction of print media in 1780, the Indian media has been active since the late 18th century. Print media has always been seen as being independent and free.[138] By shaping public opinion, Indian print media has also been a significant contributor to the drive for freedom. As Chaudhuri states that "in Colonial India, public opinion was nurtured and channelized by the nationalist press against the colonial state. In the first four decades of independent India, it was the state which expected the media to spread the spirit of self-reliance and national development among the people".[139]

India has seen a surge in electronic media during the 1990s. The growth of electronic media has outpaced that of print media. The Indian media went through a transformation because of the changes in institutional structures caused by the process of globalization and liberalization. The print media was impelled to engage with new technology for its survival. But the results were different from expectations.[140] During the liberalization period, the media was driven by market forces to make the maximum profit, which historically emerged in Europe against the

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[138] http://www.nimc-india.com/history-mass-media-india.html accessed on 11.6.2021.

[139] Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *Refashioning India: Gender, Media, and a Transformed Public Discourse*. New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan. 2010, p.60.

[140] Justice G.N Ray, "The changing face of Indian Media", the inaugural session of National Press Day on November 16, 2009, organized by the Press Council of India in collaboration with the Government of Andhra Pradesh and AP Press Academy at Jubilee Hall, Public Gardens Hyderabad. https://presscouncil.nic.in/OldWebsite/speechpdf/November%2016%202009%20Hyderabad.pdf accessed on 22.4.2021.

established feudal system. Print media has, nonetheless, made a substantial contribution to the modernization of feudal society.

The explosion of electronic media results in the commodification of the newspaper controlled by commercial enterprises. Newspapers have been mostly held by the upper class and castes since the early days of print media. Primarily, the objective of the print media was not to make a profit. It slowly has undergone the process of corporatization.[141] Indian democracy consists of different segments of the society which contain their voices and interests. These media owners are not concerned with the voices of all sections of society. Certainly, media is monopolized by the ideology and knowledge of the dominant section of society. However, one cannot entirely agree or disagree with the mass media's roles as emancipatory or oppressive. It is worth contemplating contextually whether the media truly has emancipation or oppressive, participatory or exclusionary, and representative or undemocratic potentials.

Counter Public Sphere and Alternative Media

According to Downey and Fenton, the connection between the public and counter-public spheres would help us better grasp how media representation and social transformation are related.[142] The hegemonic public sphere and monopolized media represent the narratives of the dominant society. The alternative media has emerged to question these dominant narratives. Also, the alternative form of communication may bring about progressive social change with its ability to encourage rational critical discourse. The growth of alternative forms of communication leads to the emergence of the counter-public sphere and vice versa.

Undoubtedly, the dominant media is highly manipulative in demonizing certain social groups and communities. It publicizes the dominant cultural structures that shape the dominant public sphere while neglecting others. Media neutrality is a myth when it comes to the representation of differences in perception and diversity. Even if plurality exists in the media systems, that doesn't make it a democratic space. As a consequence, the mainstream media stands dangerous to democracy and diversity. The marginalized groups and communities can't

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[141]   Ibid, pp. 12-14.

[142]   John Downey and Natalie Fenton, "New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere", *New Media & Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2003, pp. 185–202.

intervene in the mass media public sphere considering its hegemonic status. The dominant media doesn't reflect the absolute social reality but rather constructs it. It also can influence social perceptions through its depiction.[143] This simply means that the media has always shared a proximate relationship with the dominant public sphere.

Alternative media is sometimes also referred to as small, radical, non-mass media, non-mainstream, and community media.[144] For sociologists and social scientists, alternative media is said to be an under-researched field in the social sciences. Some research works have contributed to elaborating the notion of alternative media and its theoretical foundation. Fuchs was one of those who first proposed the idea of alternative media as critical media and linked the category of critical media to the idea of the counter-public sphere put out by Negt and Kluge.[145]

Fuchs defines alternative media, though these are desirable qualities and not necessary conditions. He states that "alternative media are mass media that challenge the dominant capitalist forms of media production, media structures, content, distribution, and reception".[146] As part of alternative media theory, he also emphasizes the significance of two methods: process approaches and content-oriented approaches. Both the media production process and media products are considered central characteristics of the alternative media. Process methods primarily aim towards self-organized, modestly sized, community media that allow for citizen engagement. This approach allows citizens or consumers of small communities to engage in media practices as a journalist or content producer, to promote a non-hierarchical organizational media structure, no control of private ownership, and no saleable funding. Similarly, content-oriented approaches aim to produce critical content and form, to express oppositional standpoint to the dominant repressive perspectives. Both approaches stand distinct but are equally important for an alternative society.[147] In brief, alternative media engages with

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[143]   Sukumar Muralidharan, "Media, Modernity and Minorities: Subtleties of Exclusion in the 'Public Discourse'", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 40, No. 5/6, 2012, pp.19-57.

[144]   John Downey and Natalie Fenton, "New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere", op. cit., p.185.

[145]   Christian Fuchs, "Alternative Media as Critical Media", *European Journal of Social Theory* Vol.13, No. 2, 2010, pp. 173-192.

[146]   Ibid, p. 178.

[147]   Ibid.

self-managed media production to establish a cooperative and participatory society. However, the dialectic of critical media structure and self-managed media production and practices constitute a counter-public sphere.

Alternative media have the potential to show antagonist reality, encourage public debate, discard media monopolies and challenge hegemonic practices and viewpoints. It produces counter-products, ideas, and production sectors against the mainstream media system. The practices of the alternative media stand critical to the dominant practices; thus, alternative media is introduced as critical media. The five characteristics that Fuchs listed make critical media stand out as being critical. First, critical media contests media systems at the level of their content. The critical media contest the prevailing ideologies and systems of knowledge, and they do not accept the current social framework. Second, it negates media systems at the form level, to raise human consciousness and their struggles. It aims to develop a collective imagination to challenge domination. Dialectical realism, which seeks to understand the social cause from many angles, is the third attribute. Critical media analyze any social cause by eradicating ideological manipulation. The fourth quality of critical media is dialectical realism at the form level which means form involves dynamics, non-identity, and changes.The materialist expressions that address social conflicts and resource allocation to bring back memories of exploitation and oppression are the sixth characteristic of critical media. It also illustrates the ways in which the system of exploitation and oppression helps some communities.[148]

The concept of the counter-public sphere and the idea of critical media are interrelated. A communicative facet of the counter-public sphere is what is known as critical media.[149] Media make up an alternative public sphere because they have a dialectical interaction with one another, much like the alternative/counter-public sphere does. Moreover, alternative media truly have the potential to construct a critical larger public through "media products"[150] and "production processes".[151] It can distribute the content to its public, to make them aware of their histories,

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[148]   Ibid, p.181-182.

[149]   Ibid, p.184.

[150]   John D.H. Downing, *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*, London: Sage 2001.

[151]   Christian Fuchs, "Alternative Media as Critical Media", European Journal of Social Theory Vol.13 No. 2, 2010, pp. 177-184.

struggles, and rights. Alternative media needs to be seen with the wider socio-political context as it provides knowledge to the public which helps to enhance the vividness of democracy.

An alternative media majorly concerned with the nature of its 'public', their political debate, power share and access, interests and issues, forms of communication and social networks, political self-determination, and cultural autonomy. The issues related to the marginalized have been debated for a long time and it was expected to reach out to the wider public arena. The issues and needs of the marginalized communities should be a 'public' debate to raise public awareness and comprise public opinion in the mainstream arena. But at the same time, an alternative media engaged with the process to acknowledge the historical existence of excluded 'publics' while abandoning the dominant mainstream.

Historically, the monological media system has systemically silenced marginalized voices. However, alternative media truly emerged as a representative media system for the traditionally marginalized communities. The major intention of alternative media is to provide a platform to form and develop alternative spheres and discourse. For Negt and Kluge the alternative sphere comprises the collective experiences of the proletariat (the working class).[152] The alternative public sphere is active and participatory because the counter-publics (Dalits, women, minorities, etc. in the Indian context) have their autonomous communication, they can express their degree of emancipation and collective experiences of their living that are crucial for the democratic reform. The counter-publics emerge for the broader struggle for recognition, equal rights, and social justice. Meanwhile, to convey their messages, counter-publics have also employed visuals and multimedia to make distinct results out of it. There could be a variety of reasons why the subaltern public employs alternative discourse but essentially, constructs the identity of the population that engages in the discourse. It is imperative to redefine the relationship between knowledge needs and identity.

According to Downey and Fenton "many countries have experienced a growth in the non-mainstream, localized form of media such as community radio, magazines, and newspapers,

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[152]   Oskar Negt & Alexander Kluge, *Public Sphere and Experience: Towards an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Sphere.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1972.

etc."[153] Different forms of media help in the formulation of the public spheres. Civil society consists of several autonomous public spheres with their specific social and cultural cause. However, a question to engage with, is 'what media provide what kind of public sphere and why'?[154] Generally, a non-mainstream media emerges for its role in self-representation and as a prerequisite alternative discourse as the singular media discourse seems unrealistic and promotes discriminatory practices towards marginalized publics.

Being an element of civil society and contrary to the dominant public sphere, the alternative media generally suffers from a lack of audience, finance, and professionalism. Downey and Fenton have referred to Pimlott, who notes, 'alternative media have had a spectacular lack of success in reaching out beyond the radical ghetto'.[155] Similar to this, Comedia views small-scale alternative media as an "alternative ghetto" that lacks funding and, thus, political significance.[156] But, Downey and Fenton have emphasized the central character of the alternative media i.e., political vision. The cultural politics of counter publicity is essential to generate a sense of solidarity and public communication for political democracy. The political public sphere and political community can be established through a broad political vision.[157]

Mass Media and Public Intellectuals

Media as an important institution of society has beneficial and detrimental functions to perform. The distortion and misinformation aim to serve a particular section of the society while misrepresenting and sometimes completely excluding the "oppressed" from the mainstream media. The promotion of news, interests, and concerns of the people is extended to the images of politicians, political groups, and their ideologies. This whole process of politicization of media

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[153]   John Downey and Natalie Fenton, "New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere", *New Media & Society*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2003, p. 187.

[154]   Richard Butsch, *Media and the Public Sphere*, London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007, p. 3.

[155]   John Downey and Natalie Fenton, "New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere", op. cit., p. 196.

[156]   Comedia, The Alternative Press: The Development of Underdevelopment, *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol.6, 1984, pp. 95–102.

[157]   John Downey and Natalie Fenton, "New Media, Counter Publicity and the Public Sphere", op. cit., pp. 185-202.

chooses a path of biases and favoritism. It truly has the power to demonize one while making the other a hero.

Through historical analysis, it's recognized that media technologies broadly consist of two types i.e., old and new media. Given this, there are simple, low-cost technologies and high-cost, advanced technologies. The tension arises when the old meets new media technologies because of their contradictory nature. The mixture of old and new media is termed 'renewed media' by Hoskins and O'Loughlin.[158] The old and new media are still debatable with virtues and shortcomings.

Gurevitch, Coleman, and Blumler state that, 'in old media, television is the most commonly used and primarily major one to introduce the politics into public and private spheres. Television and politics are profoundly related to each other. Television emerges as a definer and constructor of political reality. The crucial roles of televisions are: I) transmission of political messages to the mass population and II) promotion of the political leader's faces and images. As consumers have switched to other accessible options, television news viewership has now started to fall in recent years. Such as the internet as a new media technology is offering new ways of political communication to the mass audience. The new media technologies are considered to be more politically efficacious. As a result of it, the political actors and public intellectuals are forced to deal with these new spaces of mediation'.[159]

Rajagopal states that "technology has been so rapid over the past century and a half, and social identification with technology so intense, that it has taken over historical understanding. Although the vast majority of the world first encountered media technologies through colonial absolutism rather than liberal democracy, the framework of a communications revolution is often applied unreflectively."[160] The question rises, who is capable to endure the transition in media technology i.e., political elites (established) or new-generation leaders (emerging)? The transition

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[158] Andrew Hoskins and Ben O'Loughlin, *Television and Terror: Conflicting Times and the Crisis of News Discourse,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007, p. 17.

[159] Michael Gurevitch, Stephen Coleman, Jay G. Blumler, "Political Communication- Old and New Media Relationships", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 625, No. 1, 2009, pp. 164-181.

[160] Arvind Rajagopal, "The Rise of Hindu Populism in India's Public Sphere", *Current History*, Vol.115, No. 780, 2016, p.129.

from old to new political communication strategies makes a huge impact on political agendas. This transition is not easy to acclimatize to and affects three various levels: public intellectuals, political actors, and citizens. The adoption of new media technologies with innovative functionaries is a new system to engage with. As an important institution of the public sphere, media carries an ambivalent picture that provides democratic as well as restricted space for political communication. Public intellectuals play a significant role in such a communicative space where citizens engage with the political and where public opinion emerges. Public visibility cannot be possible without its "public". However, one of the crucial tasks of public intellectuals is to reach out to the public using a variety of mediums. The emergence of media technologies means public intellectuals have more options for expression. But it's worth noting that technological changes provide new options as well as new obstacles.

This technological transition with the public sphere has been noticed by Rajagopal in the Indian context. He states that "print media had constituted one kind of public domain; the rapid expansion of electronic media, with its compression of space and time across rural and urban areas, and literate and illiterate classes, created a wholly different one. While rumor, image, and song had been potent tools of mobilization in the colonial period, television made it possible to summon the past into the present. The Hindu mythology presented in tele-serial format became part of the everyday furniture of people's mind".[161] In the colonial and post-colonial eras, the public sphere was composed of many forms of mobilization. Technology was being utilized as a medium to help India remember its Hindu identity in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The dominant public sphere and emerging alternative public sphere with transformative media technologies affect the interactivity of political actors, public intellectuals, and citizens. With regards to the interactivity of political actors, Thompson claims that 'a political leader has to engage with the activities which promote a new kind of visibility, whether they wish to or not and they ignore this visibility at their own peril'.[162] The benefits and perils of this public visibility are distinct for each political actor as they carry different social locations.

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[161] Ibid, p.126.

[162] John B, Thompson, *The Media and Modernity-A Social Theory of the Media*, Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 1995, p. 120.

With regards to citizens, Gurevitch, Coleman, and Blumler state that, 'the new media technologies not merely create the obstacles for the political actors but for the citizens as well. Internet access is for the privileged section that increases civic disengagement while leaving behind other citizens with limited resources, skills, and information. It simply reflects the pattern of social inequality and resistance to democratic potentials.'[163]

The old and new media technologies have their own consequences on public intellectuals, political actors, and citizens. Undoubtedly, all public intellectuals don't have elite status, all political actors are not privileged and all citizens don't have equal access to the media space. The media landscape in India is dominated by elite-molded agendas, access to decision-makers, and the ability to shape, quantify, and portray popular opinion.[164] However, it's worth noting that is there any possibility for reconfiguration of the media spaces and making it accessible to 'others' and how it can be possible? The disadvantaged groups, such as women, the poor, and the downtrodden, who are frequently vilified and used as scapegoats by politicians, the media, and conservative academics, fall under the category of "others" in Indian culture. Public intellectuals utilize popular cultural sites such as television programs, radio, magazines, newspapers, and other public spheres. They use several meanings to interact with their public using old and new forms of the media. But the digitally enhanced public sphere provides higher visibility to public intellectuals than traditional mass media. The old-style public intellectuals were not dependent on the new media technologies. However, there is a question to raise why Kanshi Ram was engaged with the old media technologies? There could be two hindrances: first, low quality of high tech in minimum price and a maximum number of the population engaged with the old media technologies and a small number of populations having access to the new media technologies.[165] However, Kanhsi Ram opted for print media in the old media category for the circulation of information. Although online media is considered to be more democratic and dialogical but also has its economic limitations.

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[163] M. Gurevitch, S. Coleman, J.G. Blumler, Political Communication- Old and New Media Relationships. op.cit., p. 164-181.

[164] Arvind Rajagopal, *The Politics after Television: Hindu Nationalism and the Reshaping of the Public in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

[165] file:///C:/Users/akank/Downloads/SSRN-id1884906.pdf accessed on 15 June 2021.

Chapter: 2

Historicity of the Shape of Public: Knowledge Construction and Discourse against Hegemony

The concern about counter-public emerged to counter the dominant discourse or distortion of history. Knowledge production was restricted to the particular class and popularised history as an emancipatory context. But they never question the methodological underpinnings to articulate the hierarchy as a functionalist way. In Indian context, history writing is always a powerful phenomenon or even in any knowledge formation society, it can't be undermined. Till now, Indian academia is faraway to touch the question of slavery was raised by Phuley.[1] Another example, an article written by Ambedkar on "Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis, and Development" was discarded by anthropologists and sociologists to engage with it for a long time. This paper was presented at the Anthropological seminar of Alexander Goldenweiser at Columbia University, New York on 9 May, 1916.[2] This paper was an attempt to expose the history of castes and its characteristics in Indian society. The irony is that G.S. Ghurye, who was head of department of Sociology in Bomby in 1924, never cited this article in his articulation of caste or not in the curriculum. Therefore, the knowledge construction was/is always a question of structural location in the society. How does this phenomenon erase the history of emancipation? Therefore, this chapter evolved with the knowledge, construction and shape of the public by oppressed thinkers like Phule. Why did their writings produce emancipatory discourse and get recognition from the public? And also envisage the writings reaching out from the larger audiences to understand the discourse of hegemony in everyday practices. Which writings were the source of emancipation to envisage the understanding of civilizational violence?

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[1]   T. K. Oommen, *Understanding the Indian Society: The Relevance of Perspective from Below*, Department of Sociology: University of Pune, 2001, p. 21. See also, Sabyasachi Bahttacharya & Yagti Chinna Rao (eds.), Past of the Outcaste: Readings in Dalit History, Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2017. Vivek Kumar, *Caste and Democracy in India: A Perspective from Below*, New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2014, p. 34.

[2]   Bhimrao R. Ambedkar, "Castes in India: Their mechanism, genesis, and development", *The Indian Antiquary*, May 1917, p. 81.
(Accessed on 23 July 2022, https://ia801603.us.archive.org/)

Colonial Era and Dalit Question: Intellectual Elite Suspicion

The writings in colonial times engaged with the traditional form of living and the hegemonic disposition in a nationalist framework. The caste question was 'silent in the public sphere'[3] and Gandhi[4] propounded the debate of a unified Hindu community. But on the other side, egalitarian thought icons proposed the idea of communitarian action which starts from Shahu Ji Maharaj[5] and goes before Ravidas[6], Kabir[7], and others imagined the humanitarian perspective of society.

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[3]   For further explanation see, Nikita Basov and Oleksandra Nenko, *Understanding Knowledge Creation: Intellectuals in the Academia, the Public Sphere, and the Arts*, Rodopi: Amsterdam, 2012.

[4]   On October 2, 1869, M.K. Gandhi was born in Porbandar, in what is now Gujarat, in western India. He spent his early years as a legal consultant in South Africa after finishing his three years of law school in London. This period had a significant impact on his political thinking since he saw and experienced the glaring disparities that were ingrained in South African society. He coordinated peaceful resistance to discriminatory legislation and called attention to the government's brutal treatment of Indians. Gandhi had developed the abilities of a seasoned attorney and a community activist committed to nonviolent protest when he returned to British-ruled India in January 1915.

[5]   Considered a genuine democrat and social reformer, Shahu Maharaj, also known as Rajarshi Shahu, was born on 26 June 1874. He was the first Maharaja of Kolhapur, a princely kingdom, and a priceless treasure in Maharashtra's history. The efforts of social reformer Jyotiba Phule had a significant impact on Shahu Maharaj, who was a capable leader and was involved in numerous forward-thinking and ground-breaking initiatives while in power. He devoted himself entirely to advancing the interests of the state's lower caste people from the time of his coronation in 1894 until his death in 1922. He placed a high priority on providing basic education to everyone, regardless of caste and creed.

[6]   The first person to imagine an Indian paradise was the bhakti radical Ravidas (c. 1450–1520), who identified as a "tanner now set free" in his song "Begumpura"—a contemporary casteless, classless, tax–free city without grief. In comparison, the dystopia of the brahmanical kaliyuga was this. Long before Thomas More's Renaissance humanist ideal was established in 1516, anticaste thinkers in India proposed utopias. Ravidas is known for his emancipatory ideas to expose the otherworldliness constructed by Brahmins. Begumpura, the "city without sorrow," is a caste- and class-free community that is contemporary and devoid of any mention of temples. It is also an urban civilization in contrast to Gandhi's utopian Ram Rajya hamlet. In "Begumpura," everyone is treated equally and there are no taxes, labour laws, or other forms of oppression. Finally, he declares that he is a "tanner now set free" and that he walks freely through settlements, cities, and villages with his pals. This is a special issue for dalits.

[7]   Born in 1440 and passing away in 1518, Kabir Das was an Indian mystic poet and revered Saint. As the founder of the Sant Mat sects, Kabir is credited by the sizable religious group known as the Kabir Panth. The Kabir Panth, whose members had spread over north and central India, is known as the Kabir Panthis. Bijak, Kabir Granthawali, Anurag Sagar, Sakhi Granth, etc. are only a few of the notable works of Kabir Das. However, it is reported that he was raised by a very impoverished family of Muslim weavers. It is apparent that his biological parents remain unknown. His spirituality was quite strong. He exposed the hierarchy and graded inequality in Indian society.

Kabir argued that '*Jaat Julaha Naam Kabira, Bani Bani Phiru Udaasi*'(My Name is Kabira, from Weaver Caste, feeling downhearted).[8] It determines the nature of the public sphere[9] and the domination of caste in the popular framework. Although it's difficult to determine the origin of caste as proposed by different scholars. Based on archaeological evidence, Klass traced the term caste before 4000 years,[10] It was fixed from 800 BC by Dumont, who stated that "...'caste' is of Portuguese and Spanish origin... and...was introduced to India by Portuguese in the middle of the 15th Century".[11] But if its origin is in the 15th century, then no one knows what word was used to define that institution before that.[12] Nicolas Dirks contended caste was constructed by colonialists, "Caste (as we know it today) is … the product of … Western colonial rule … under colonialism caste was thus made out to be more … far more pervasive, far more totalizing and … it was defined as a fundamentally religious order."[13] But before the colonial rule, Ravidas describes in his own words about caste, "*Jaat-paat ke pher mahi urjhai rahe sabh log/ Mannushta khat hai Ravidas jaat ka rog*"[14] (Everyone is trapped in the caste-system/ Ravidas, humanity is being eaten up by the disease called caste). Therefore, the bifurcation of knowledge was the central theme for the colonial intellectuals and discard the question of caste from the public sphere too. In that context, the role of the intellectuals emerges with dubious nature and bifurcates the idea of knowledge construction. The writings are not something to expose the truth or crisis, but also to maintain the hegemonic disposition in the society.

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[8]   Purushottam Aggarwal, *Kabir: The life and work of the early modern poet-philosopher*, India: Westland, 2021.

[9]   Douglas Kellner, "Habermas, the Public Sphere, and Democracy", in D. Boros & J.M. Glass (eds.), Re-imagining Public Space, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

[10]   Morton Klass, *Caste: The emergence of the South Asian Social System*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1998, pp.174-75.

[11]   Louis Dumont, *Homo Hierarchicus: The Caste systems and its implications*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 21.

[12]   Vivek Kumar, "Caste, Contemporaneity, and Assertion", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 51, No. 50, 2016, pp. 84-86.

[13]   Nicolas B. Dirks, *Caste of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2002, pp. 5-13.

[14]   Gail Omvedt, *Seeking Begumpura: The Social Vision of Anti-caste Intellectuals*, Delhi: Navayana, 2009.

In the colonial era, the Dalit question has its epistemology to assert their voice against the oppression, rejection of social order, and raise their voice for representation to live with dignity. Dalits have been discarded from every phase of being human due to civilizational violence. The political elites from the upper strata were fighting their status quo with the strategic forgetting of oppression and a unified category of Hinduism as projected by Gandhi.[15] Colonial-era was identified as a colony for Britishers but it was beyond that for the upper strata in India. India has a history of civilizational violence against the depressed classes[16] discarded from the public imagination and sphere. Depressed classes were engaging with their rights and representation against the humiliation and domination of the dwija (top of the twice-born) caste.

Gopal Guru in his writings illustrates the humiliation and dignity in the western and Indian contexts. He argues that in colonial India, the caste Hindus is known as the "traditional elite develop an insight into humiliation not because they have an innate moral capacity"[17] but due to the "colonial configuration of power, produced by western modernity, necessarily disrupts their feudal complacency and awakens them to their own subordination within this framework of power."[18] Here, Gopal Guru tries to develop the argument against the privileged location of the colonial Indian elite to define the cultural and intellectual agendas of the anti-colonial struggle.[19] However, this domination reflects after the independence in the social, political, and academic context.[20] This domination has a history of invisibilisation of Dalit thinking and their recognition of nation-building. The caste Hindu intellectual elites were engaging with the idea of 'freedom' and having the agency of independence of the country.

At that stage, the caste question was invisibilized by the intellectual elites to maintain their status quo in society. Why they were silent on depressed classes' representation and their

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[15]   Joan V. Bondurant, *Harijan: A Journal of Applied Gandhism, 1933-1955*, New York: Garland Publication, 1973.

[16]   In this research, I am using the terms Dalit, Depressed class, and Oppressed, interchangeably.

[17]   Gopal Guru (ed.), *Humiliation: Claims and Context*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 3.

[18]   Ibid.

[19]   Gopal Guru, "Nationalism as Framework for Dalit Self-relaisation", *The Brown Journal of World Affair*, Vo. 23, No. 1, 2016, pp. 239-252.

[20]   Ramnarayan Rawat and K Satyanarayana, *Dalit Studies*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2016, p. 3.

recognition in the nation-building process. Why is history writing itself a form of prejudice for the intellectual class and their patrons? The lacuna of the construction of social knowledge interrogates the ideal form of independence and the structural problems which are affecting today. Liberal historiography has the central theme of the monolithic concept of one ideological neutral truth that is no more acceptable.[21] History writing occurred in the past. On the contrary, the political space of the past became entangled with multiple forms of reality and explained the causality between the truth and objectivity of knowledge as an ideological component.[22] Take an example of subaletrn studies in India, they have focused on dominance and did not mention a singl term dalit in the chunk of volumes. It's a fact that interpretation and analysis of history derive the approach for the citizen to understand the existing ideological baggage with a particular truth, which is dominant in the society because the other side is trying to evolve with their structural location and reject the 'idea of unification' in differentiation.

As Hayden White contended that reducing the ideological component of every account of historical reality is not only possible but desirable which promotes the awareness to know the multiple reality of the historical explanation.[23] However, the history of ideas entangle with the contextuality of political, religious, and social dimensions but the question remains the same: 'what is the appropriate method of procedure to arrive at the understanding of the work.'[24] To determine it, there are two orthodox, one is 'context'[25] where the socio-political and economic dimension contemplates the meaning of the text, second, the 'autonomy of the text itself'[26] to

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[21] Ranjit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989, p. 214.

[22] Romila Thapar, "Ideology and interpretation of early Indian History", *Social Science Information*, Vol.20, No. 2, 1981, pp. 239-258.

[23] Ranjit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, op. cit., p. 214.

[24] Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the history of ideas", *History and Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1969, pp. 3-53. See also, R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, London: Oxford University Press, 1946, Edward Hallet Carr, *What is History*, London: Penguin, 1990 (First published in 1961).

[25] F. W. Bateson, "The Functions of Criticism at the Present Time", *Essays in Criticism*, Vol. 3, No.1, 1953, p. 16.

[26] Frank Raymond Leavis, *The Responsible Critic or the Functions of Criticism at any Time: A Selection from Scrutiny, II*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968, p.173.

configure its own meaning and decline the 'totality of the context' as 'gratuitous and worse'.[27] To extend this debate Skinner points out that the methodological approach considers these orthodoxies, and introduces the concept as mythology in the history of ideas. He argued that:[28]

> ...to uncover the extent to which the current historical study of ethical, political, religious, and other such ideas is contaminated by the unconscious application of paradigms whose familiarity to the historian disguises an essential inapplicability to the past. I do not, of course, seek to deny that the methodology which I am concerned to criticize has occasionally yielded distinguished results. I do wish, however, both to insist on the various ways in which to study simply what each classic writer says is unavoidably to run the perpetual danger of lapsing into various kinds of historical absurdity, and also to anatomize the various ways in which the results may, in consequence, be classified not as histories at all, but more appropriately as mythologies.

The most enduring mythology arises when a historian is constrained by the assumption that each eminent author (in the history, say, of ethical or political ideas) will proclaim some position on each of the questions acknowledged as basic to his subject.[29] The point here is to mention the history of ideas and historian dominance with the particularistic nature of writing and expectation to deal with every phenomenon with the given concept in a holistic framework. To take leave from that idea it can be understood that history writing is subjective to observe the public acceptance of the past and political churning at that time. The political elite and intellectual elite clubbed together to recognize history as a perception of the past in society and that perception converted into mythology to deal with every political act like the popular legitimacy of the masses. Due to our experience of the past, "we are set to perceive details in a certain way".[30] And after completion of this framework, they set their mind to react in a particular way.[31]

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[27]   Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the history of ideas", op.cit., pp. 3-53.

[28]   Ibid., p. 7.

[29]   Ibid, p. 7.

[30]   Floyd H. Allport, *Theories of Perception and the Concept of Structure*, New York, 1955, p. 240.

[31]   Ibid, p. 239.

History writing as the construction of knowledge itself is a form of a mirror that reflects 'strategic forgetting and selective remembrance'.[32] Indian history is a history of strategic forgetting about the past and dominance of the intellectual field which has its own logic to situate the ideas in terms of culture, politics, and religion. Why is history always dominant at that particular time with truthfulness not a judgment about the cause and effect? Is it the compulsion of agency within the structure to write history without the constructive criticism of dominant practices and their legitimacy? The historian must identify the tensions and strains that exist in the community at the time, and they have meaning only in connection to the past and the future. As a result, historians never consider an event as a one-time occurrence; rather, they see each event as a product and creator of change.[33]

In colonial times, the cultural and political battles were represented by the vital range of socio-cultural movements and the individual efforts from their perspective point of view. This was not, however, a smooth and uniform movement; it was riddled with inconsistencies, disagreements, and ruptures.[34] K. N. Panikkar writes 'the cultural-intellectual 'renaissance' did not always coincide with the rise of nationalism, nor was the later a natural progression from the former. Nonetheless, the social consciousness generated by intellectual-cultural endeavors was crucial to the nation-building process.'[35] Therefore, historiography as a method evolves with the art of interpretation of the history of the social and political trajectory. In colonial times, two elite groups were contesting for power, one was bourgeois colonial rulers, who gained political dominance in India by coercion, and elite bourgeois nationalists on the other side, who were hatched and supported by colonialism itself. They were leading the passive nationalist movement to gain the ruling power from their colonial mentors.[36]

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[32]   Narendra Kumar, *Co-option and Appropriation: Socio-political Experiences of Contending ideologie*s, Unpublished dissertation submitted in JNU, 2017.

[33]   Maurice Mandelbaum, *The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism*, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1967.

[34]   K. N. Panikkar, *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*, London: Anthem Press, 1995, p. vii.

[35]   Ibid.

[36]   Ranjit Guha, *Dominance without hegemony: History and Power in Colonial India*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

The methodological construction of bourgeoisie by Guha itself is a reductionistic way of understanding the structure in the Marxist-Leninist framework. Bourgeois in India take a leave from their structural location.[37] Therefore, the elitism in society is pervasive with the structural location itself. On that note, the historiography of the Indian colonial and nationalist state is unhistorical and dubious. The elite intellectuals in colonial times represented knowledge production with their privileged notion. However, analysis of 'knowledge for whom' identifies the intellectual legacy in colonial times. K.N. Panikkar's works on intellectualism in colonial times noted down the ideological baggage and interpretation of culture, which proposed the struggle against the traditional order and as well as against the colonial hegemonization.[38]

It's a well-known fact that colonial-era writing was majorly trying to establish the discourse about nationalism and the nation-building process but so far knowledge construction is another form of epistemic violence due to protected ignorance. As Walter Benjamin contended, "to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it was'. . . It means to seize hold of a memory {or a presence}as it flashes up at the moment of danger."[39] His words are applicable to the traditional elite to capture the past with the imagination of popular discourse about the environment of colonial India. Appropriation of the past through historical writing blurred the image of truth and politics at that particular time. If historians project the past as detached from the reality of society, it constitutes ideological motivation.[40] Control over knowledge is a form of power that shapes the history and structural dominance of a particular community. To break the stereotypes of history writing, it's necessary to rewrite history. In the preface of *'The Untouchable,'* Dr. Ambedkar wrote that:[41]

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[37] Vivek Kumar, "Subaltern Perspective in Social Sciences: A Philosophical and Theoretical Rationale", delivered a lecture in CSSS/SSS weekly seminar, JNU, on 21/07/22.

[38] K.N. Panikkar, *Culture, Ideology, Hegemony: Intellectuals and Social Consciousness in Colonial India*, London: Anthem Press, 1995.

[39] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, in Hannah Arendt (ed.), New York: Schocken Books, 1969, pp. 255-56.

[40] Eric J. Hobsbawm, "From Social history to the History of Society", *Historical Studies Today*, Vol. 100, No. 1, 1971, pp. 20-45.

[41] B.R. Ambedkar, "The Untouchable", in (ed.) by Vasant Moon Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol.7, Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, p. 244.

The Present attempt to explain the origin of Untouchability is not the same as writing history from texts which speak with certainty. It is a case of reconstructing history where there are no texts, and if there are, they have no direct bearing on the question. In such circumstances what one has to do is to strive to divine what the texts conceal or suggest without being even quite certain of having found the truth. The task is one of gathering survivors of the past, placing them together, and making them tell the story of their birth… There is nothing that I have urged in support of my thesis which I have asked my readers to accept on trust... I am not so vain as to claim any finality for my thesis... the test of a valid hypothesis is that it should fit in with all surrounding facts, explain them, and give them a meaning which in its absence do not appear to have.

Dr. Ambedkar's writings constitute the objectivity of a historian. For him history is not merely about the fact, it's an interpretation of the past into the contextuality of the present.[42] In history writing, he was very much concerned about the methodological approach and how history writing should be de-linked from ideological motivation. Why is Dr. Ambedkar engaging history as a re-writing project? Re-writing history is entangled with the methodological approach, which interrogates the history as a falsified project. His projection of objectivity controls the role of power in the creation of knowledge with ideological motivation. Dr. Ambedkar wrote how expertise over knowledge got legitimacy through the religious texts, where the idea of living, purity, sanctity, and performativity was surmised by the brahmins. In other words, social position and prestige determine knowledge domination over other sections of society. Ambedkar observed:[43]

The ancient world may be said to have been guilty for failing to take the responsibility for the education of the masses. But never has any society been guilty for closing to the generality of the people the study of the books of its religion. Never has any society made any attempt to declare that an attempt made by the common man to acquire knowledge shall be punishable as a crime. Manu is the only divine lawgiver who has denied the common man the right to knowledge.

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[42]   Umesh Bagade, "Ambedkar's Historical Method: A Non-Brahmanic Critique of Positivist History", delivered a lecture in Dr. Ambedkar Chair (Centre For the Study of Social Systems, JNU) Delhi, on 28 March 2012.

[43]   B.R. Ambedkar "The Hindu Social Order: Its Unique Features", in (ed.) by Vasant Moon, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar writing and speeches. Vol.3.* Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, Vol. 3, 1987, p. 43.

In the first place, Ambedkar's historical approach starts with the political inquiry which is related to the phenomenon of power. His political approach to understanding the power role engages with the thinking of Karl Marx and Gramsci, wherein they write that investigation of history was an assessment of cause and outcomes identified with the activity of power and its legitimization by the ruling classes.[44] In his article, Yemuna Sunny cites a story about:[45]

> a brahmin and a boatman; the former keeps telling the boatman that his life is insignificant because he does not know the Vedas. When the boat reaches midstream, the boatman says how insignificant the brahmin's life would be if the boat were to sink. For, he does not "know" how to swim and would surely die. The story is popular because it shows how brahmins lack life skills and ridicules the brahmin's lack of knowledge. It also reflects the deep bifurcation of knowledge in society. Who should know what? This is governed by the division of labor, and the monopoly on power and wealth enjoyed by the upper castes, classes, and men. It is no wonder that the bifurcation of knowledge is acknowledged as being at the root of the socio-political struggles of the working class, Dalits, and women.

He further writes citing the example of Jyotirao Phule, 'a social reformer and activist of the 19th century, who belonged to the Mali (gardener) caste, but "established the first school anywhere in India for Shudra-Ati Shudra girls in 1848'.[46]An intervention to re-write the history introspect with social and political contradictions inhabited in the society. For Ambedkar, social and political contradictions were at the center to conceptualize the historical approach. In his speech to Constituent Assembly on 25 November 1949, Ambedkar Said:[47]

> "On the 26th of January 1950, we are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In politics, we will have equality, but in social and political life we will have inequality […] We must remove this contradiction at the earliest moment, or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so laboriously built up."

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[44] Leonardo Salamini, "Gramsci and Marxist Sociology of Knowledge: An Analysis of Hegemony-Ideology- Knowledge", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 3, 1974, pp. 359-80.

[45] Sunny Yemuna, "Knowledge and the Politics of Education", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLIX, No. 5, 2014.

[46] G.P. Deshpande, (ed.)., *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule*, New Delhi: Leftword Books, 2002, p. 3.

[47] Speech by B.R. Ambedkar on 25th November 1949, in Constituent Assembly Debates, New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, Vol. IX, 1989, p. 979.

In this contradiction, Ambedkar pointed out 'the past as a present and configured the future of society. Brahmin scholars look at the past as glorious, based on the Sanskritic traditions and texts, to maintain hegemony and dominance. The idea of social progress in their thought itself protects through the Hindu social order and their scriptures. Ambedkar gives us a reference point that Brahmin's self-contented approach never succeeds in developing social progress in society. The idea of criticism does not have space in Brahmin's construction of knowledge. Ambedkar felt that acquiring additional knowledge was a vital prelude to any stride forward in social progress. Doubt is a prerequisite for inquiry, and inquiry tends to lead to knowledge. Strenuous efforts and sacrifices are required to create new knowledge. The Brahmin, being self-contented, cannot work or make any sacrifices to acquire new knowledge.'[48]

Ambedkar's writings acknowledge the location and its effect on the production of knowledge. Ambedkar's Scientific approach to knowing the reality of Hinduism, itself privileges the subjective experience of an untouchable. The pragmatist notion of experience is reflected in Ambedkar's writing, where Dewey claims to never separate experience and knowledge from social life laden with the habit, tradition, and non-cognitive practices in society.[49] For Dewey, 'the feminist has antipathy due to the positivist framework of experience as passive nature and fussy character of the human experience'.[50] The facts of science, according to Dewey, are not 'given,' but rather 'taken,' that is, they are chosen from an entirety of experiences by socially imbibed human beings with the explicit aim of uncovering clues to the solution of the problem at hand.'[51] Hence, experience is a method for Dewey, and somewhere mentioned, a weapon to understand the ongoing discourse about things.[52]

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[48] B.R. Ambedkar, "Introduction", in (eds.) by Vasant Moon, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol.4.* Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, 1987, p.8. See Also, Umesh Bagade, Ambedkar Historical Method: A non-Brahmanic critique of Positivist History, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2015.

[49] Ibid, See also John Dewey, *Experience & Education.* New York: Free Press, 2015.

[50] Meera Nanda, "A 'Broken People' defend Science: reconstructing the Deweyan Buddha of India's Dalit", *Social Epistemology*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 2001, pp. 335-365.

[51] Ibid. See also Meera Nanda, *A Prophet Saving Forward*, New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2006.

[52] John E. Smith, "John Dewey: Philosopher of Experience", *The Review of Metaphysics*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1959, p. 63.

However, "experience means primarily not knowledge, ways of doing and suffering".[53] Experience maintains the relativity in society between the individual and a collective form of suffering in society. But the subjectivity of experience is very much empiricist to motivate the objectivity for emancipation in the hierarchical society. This reflection can be seen in Savitri Bai and Jyotiba Phule's work for depressed classes. In her letter to Jyotiba Phule, Savitri Bai wrote the first letter in 1856 with the title '*The Embodiment of Truth, My Lord Jyotiba*', "Why do you educate them Mahars and Mangs?" my brother questioned, flushed. Because you teach the untouchables, you are ostracized. I can't stand it when others make fun of you and put you in problems because of it. Such comments are unbearable for me." I told him what a difference (English teaching) has made in the community. 'The absence of learning is nothing more than heinous bestiality. He loses his lesser position and gains the higher one via the accumulation of knowledge. My spouse resembles a deity. He is unrivaled in this world; no one can compare to him. He believes that the Untouchables must learn to be free. To guarantee Teaching and learning for Untouchables, he approaches the Brahmans and battles with them. Learning for the Untouchables is important to him because he feels they are human beings like everyone else and should be treated with dignity. They must be educated to do so. For the same purpose, I teach them. What's the problem with that? Yes, we both educate Mangs and Mahars, as well as girls and women. The Brahmans are enraged because they feel it will bring them issues.'[54]

Here, the context of writing reflects the experience of an individual and suffering, but works for emancipation with 'historically subjective and humanly objective'.[55] To analyze

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[53] John Dewey, *The Need for a Recovery of Philosophy*, in John Dewey (ed.), Creative intelligence: Essays in the Pragmatic Attitude, New York: Holt, 1917, p.37.

[54] Sabrang, "To Jyotiba, from Savitribai Phule: These are not love letters, but tell you what love is all about", *Scroll*, Feb-14, 2016. (First Letter to Jyotiba Phule in 1856, for education and its transformative-possibilities)https://scroll.in/article/801848/to-jyotiba-from-savitribai-phule-these-arent-love-letters-but-tell-you-what-love-is-all-about

[55] Dr B. R. Ambedkar, *The Untouchables*, Delhi: Siddharth Books, 2008 [First Published 1948]. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was influenced by the writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe on History. He mentioned that Historian duty is to "separate the true from false, the certain from the uncertain, and the doubtful from that which can not be accepted". Ambedkar differentiate between the learned men and an intellectual to grasp the objective reality in critical context. He writes that "There is a world of difference between one who is learned and one who is an intellectual. The former is class-conscious and is alive to the interests of his class. The latter is an emancipated being who is free to act without being swayed by class considerations. It is

India's history and Hindu philosophy, Ambedkar also combines historically subjective and humanly objective standards of "social benefits," efficiency, and social justice.[56] Savitri Bai Phule's experience of humiliation has a history of legitimized norms of Shastras, Vedas, and Upanishads. But her engagement with the idea of emancipation entangled with the 'idea of force'[57] to open the first school for girls in 1848 in Pune. The idea of force for Jyotiba Phule and Savitri Bai Phule worked as a protest against the humiliation and exclusion of the depressed classes. The idea of force is a form of energy that exists in a positive and negative framework; however, it depends on the societal structure of the society. It's a positive framework for those who have nothing but are yet capable of doing everything.[58] However, the construction of a counter-public is important where they can relate to themselves with that 'force'. The vantage point of the counter-public is about the existing circumstances already, not self-selected circumstances that make you pleased to make history. Existing circumstances help you to understand the counter phenomenon. As Karl Marx wrote:[59]

> Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please, they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, preciously in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from the names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honoured disguise and borrowed language.

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because the Brahmins have been only learned men that they have not produced a Voltaire." For Ambedkar, the question of objective reality was centred on writing a history or being historian in itself.

[56] Umesh Bagade, *Ambedkar Historical Method: A non-Brahmanic critique of Positivist History,* New Delhi: Critical Quest, 2015, p.7.

[57] Aishwary Kumar, *Radical Equality: Ambedkar, Gandhi, and The Risk of Democracy*, Stanford University Press, 2015.

[58] Appu Ajith, "Ambedkar is a constitutionalist only because he is a revolutionary: Prof: Aishwary Kumar", 4th November 2019.
https://caravanmagazine.in/politics/ambedkar-constitutionalist-only-because-he-is-revolutionary

[59] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engel, *The Communist Manifesto*, New York City: Amereon House, 1977, p. 226 .

Here, Karl Marx provides insights to understand the revolutionary phenomenon and how an individual should avoid the notion of pleasing history at that time. During the revolutionary crisis, practices to gear up for the past were a dominant phenomenon in their thinking. Past as a practice never confronted with ongoing dominant debate in the society. The idea of revolution itself engages with existing circumstances and creates the counter-public through the impression of the idea of 'force' like Mahad Satyagrah, the burning of Manusmriti by Ambedkar[60], and the

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[60] Meanwhile, the first significant mass conflict involving untouchables was about to start. It concentrated on the topic of water rights, the most fundamental human necessity that is still denied to people who are deemed to be polluters. It took place in the tiny Konkani hamlet of Mahad, where the local government had previously adopted a decree declaring its tank open to untouchables. There were numerous Dalits and caste Hindus who migrated to work in the textile mills, establishing close ties to Bombay. Ambedkar had a strong following among progressive caste Hindus, notably the Kayasthas, as well as among the Dalits (Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhus or CKPs as they were known in Maharashtra). Anantrao Chitre, a member of the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha and a CKP activist; Surendranath Tipnis, another CKP leader who was president of the municipality; and G.N. Sahasrabudhe is a Brahman and a member of the Social Service League under the leadership of N.M. Joshi, a prominent labour figure in Bombay. Sahasrabudhe went on to become editor of Ambedkar's monthly Janata, which he started in 1930, while Chitre and Tipnis were subsequently elected Legislative Assembly members from Ambedkar's Independent Labour Party. The Kolaba District Bahishkrut conference was sponsored by the Bahishkrit Hitakarini Sabha on March 19 and 20, 1927, in Mahad. Anantrao Chitre suddenly suggested moving to the tank and drinking the water on the second day. He reported, "As discussed earlier, I dropped a bombshell." 1500 eager participants rushed forward, went to the tank, and started drinking. Infuriated caste Hindus gathered as word of the incident spread around the town, and out of dread for a further "onslaught" on the temple, they attacked, beating up several of the offending untouchables. A purifying ritual was then conducted by Brahmans. Maharashtra was shaken by this occurrence, the riots that followed, and the police cases that resulted. Mahad was now the target of a campaign that sparked the Dalit community across the state and garnered attention throughout India. A satyagraha convention was scheduled by Ambedkar in December for right to water and also established the Bahishkrit Bharat, a bimonthly journal of eight to twelve pages that came out until September and then continued at irregular intervals until 1930. Ambedkar dictated much of the content to a group of eager students who worked on publishing it out of an office in Damodar Hall. It covered all kinds of untouchable meetings, or "bahishkrut" gatherings, as they were known at the time, as well as the "untouchability removal" programmes of the Congress. It reported on "support meetings and discussions of the Mahad programme and of the Mahar Watan Bill—the most important issue pending in the Assembly." It also explored religious and cultural topics as well as many political events of various stripes. The authors of Bahishkrut Bharat criticised the Arya Samaj's shuddhi (purification) movement, noting that while the original intention had been to use shuddhi to create an Arya Samaj free of caste, the destruction of caste had since been forgotten and the only remaining objective was to convert ever-increasing numbers of people to Hinduism. "There was friendly but sharp criticism of non-Brahman and Satyashodhak activities. Significantly, one point centred on a demand raised by Dinkarrao Javalkar and Keshavrao Jedhe, then emerging as the young militant leaders of the movement, that no Brahman be allowed to take part in the forthcoming satyagraha. Ambedkar replied that their movement was not against Brahmans as such but against 'Brahamanic religion', which included those non-Brahmans involved in it. He summarized the differences by saying that 'we are against Brahmanism but not Brahmans, whereas they are against Brahmans but not Brahmanism' (Janata 29 July 1927). Finally, reports of religious

opening of School by Jyotiba Phule and Savitri Bai Phule. Oppression should be countered with existing circumstances through the creation of language, symbols, and signs. In the democratic sphere, the recognition of the counter-public discourse emerged with the identification of their audience. Eventually, Marx critically engages the past dominance in the revolutionary crisis to engage with selective self-created circumstances. The borrowed language itself is not sufficient to counter the history of dominance. In the history-making process, revolutionaries from the oppressed section develop the language for the creation of a counter-public with the existing circumstances.[61]

To make someone unidentified in public is not an individual act or collective unconscious,[62] it's about 'politics in culture'.[63] Therefore, cultural aspects are the dominating factors to create the dominant public sphere. In everyday practices, people act with norms and values consented to the dominant group through the spread-ness of ideology.[64] There are different institutions i.e., media, schools, churches, courts, etc. which project the ideology and

conversion, especially to Islam, and discussions of its necessity were held, with Ambedkar significantly announcing in bold type in his own article, 'We have to consider whether the Hindu religion is our own or not' (Bahishkrut Bharat 29 July 1927). Various temple entry movements—including one in Amravati—were reported, and the Mahar Watan Bill was discussed extensively. By 23 December 1927 tremendous interest had been aroused in the Mahad tank issue, and some 10,000 to 15,000 Dalits gathered under a pavilion decorated with a photo of Gandhi. Then the district magistrate issued an injunction against using the tank. "Ambedkar decided to honour this, and prepared another symbolic but powerful act: a plan to burn the Manusmriti, which had been established as the traditional law book of Brahmanic Hinduism. The resolution to burn it was a multi-caste one, moved by the Brahman Sahasrabudhe and seconded by the Chambhar leader P.N. Rajbhoj. It was burned on the night of the first day of the conference. On the third day of the gathering, a militant procession was held with slogans shouted in the name of the Bhakti saints, Gandhi, Agarkar and Shahu Maharaj. On the same day Ambedkar held a separate meeting with the women, who were attending in large numbers. He began by telling them to leave aside the heavy silver jewellery used by the lower castes and dress as upper-caste women did, leaving no markers to indicate caste. He concluded with the advice to educate daughters as well as sons. Mahad from this time on became an important centre of Ambedkar's organizing efforts; a base of activity that had enthusiastic untouchables. Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2017, pp. 48-51

61 For more details see, Gail Omvedt, *Seeking Begumpura: The Social Vision of Anti-caste Intellectuals*, New Delhi: Navyana, 2008.

62 Jeffry C. Alexander, Ron Eyerman, Bernhard Giesen, Neil J. Smelser, Piotr Sztompka, *The Cultural Trauma, and Collective Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, p. 85.

63 For more details see, Stuart Hall, *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*. Duke University Press, 2016.

64 T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 3, 1985, pp. 567-593.

are also the 'ideological state apparatus' as defined by Althusser.[65] At the conscious and unconscious level, these institutions construct the belief of the dominant group and set their norms and values for the rest of society. Eventually, the public sphere is the consequence of the cultural past, 'construction of solidarity with restricted social groups, and leaving the others to suffer alone'.[66] The democratic sphere is not democratic, it's a latent force to engage with a location in itself. Multiple epochs are helpful to construct that public at a particular time. The Public is not a given phenomenon, it's constructed by the public intellectual with their influence on the originality of ideas.[67] Why does an individual persuade the field to create the counter-public in the democratic sphere?

However, that legacy excludes the nature of opposite ideas that are helpful to strengthen the idea of democracy. Amartya Sen in 'The Argumentative Indian'[68] introduces the intellectual and political legacy which is successful to strengthen the idea of democracy and secular politics. Is it a reductionist approach to not include the pathbreaking work done by intellectuals and revolutionaries to give voice to the voiceless? Why doesn't he represent the intellectual tradition which has a history of making modern India with their ideas of emancipation? Why does he neglect the role of social class in everyday social communication with their cause? And they make their class with taste, as Bourdieu suggests "no judgment of taste is innocent" to analyze the elite class and their preferences distinctly. Bourdieu writes in the context of elites and social distinction:[69]

> Principles of division, inextricably logical and sociological, function within and for the purposes of the struggle between social groups; in producing concepts, they produce groups, the very groups which produce the principles and the groups

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[65]   Louis Althusser, *Lenin Philosophy and other Essays*, US: Oxford University Press, 1977.

[66]   Jeffrey Alexander, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, op.cit., p.85.

[67]   Patrick Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Riseof Sartre as a Public Intellectual*, UK: Polity Press, 2015, pp. 140-49.

[68]   For more details see, Amartya Sen, *The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture, and Identity*, UK: Penguin, 2006.

[69]   Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, Minuit: Paris, 1984, p. 479. See also Mairi Maclean and Charles Harvey, "Pierre Bourdieu and elites: Making the Hidden Visible", in (eds.) by Stewart Clegg and Cunha P. Miguel, *Management, Organizations, and Contemporary Social Theory*, Routledge: London, 2019, pp. 98-114, See also, David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

against which they are produced. What is at stake in the struggles about the meaning of the social world is power over the classificatory schemes and systems which are the basis of the representations of the groups and therefore of their mobilization and demobilization: the evocative power of an utterance which puts things in a different light (as happens, for example, when a single word, such as 'paternalism', changes the whole experience of a social relationship) or which modifies the schemes of perception, shows something else, other properties, previously unnoticed or relegated to the background (such as common interests hitherto masked by ethnic or national differences); a separative power, a distinction, diacrisis, discretion, drawing discrete units out of indivisible continuity, difference out of the undifferentiated.

One of this theory's most significant contributions is the idea that socio-economic class has a significant impact on how a person's identity (i.e., their interests) develop.[70] Numerous "social differences" are strengthened as a result of the everyday interactions between social classes, such as taste, which according to Bourdieu is an "aesthetic" value produced by the ruling class.[71] The relationship between elites and mass[72] has developed with these social uses of communication. Eventually, social uses and resources are associated with distinction, which is entangled with power in politics and economic wealth.[73] Therefore, the intellectual tradition develops the social class (Ruling class) with their taste, to elaborate the political and historical lineage with their imagination of society. Elite intellectuals so called 'learned men' in India have a history of bifurcation of knowledge with their taste. They construct the popular perception in academia with their structural as well as ideological location.[74] As Michael Apple writes, the curriculum is a reflection of ideological propagation in the textual tradition.[75] Indian academia has cognitive blackout of the icons and their ideas from the curriculum which were helpful to strengthen the idea of democracy. Their struggles were against civilizational violence and

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[70]   Ibid.

[71]   David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.

[72]   Michael Hartmann, "Class-specific habitus and the social reproduction of the business elite in Germany and France", *Sociological Review*, Vol. 42, 2000, pp. 241-261.

[73]   Luis Garrido-Vergara, "Elites, Political Elites, and Social Change in Modern Societies", *Revista de Sociología*, No. 28, 2013, pp. 31-49.

[74]   Sheldon Pollock, "Is there an Indian Intellectual History?: Introduction to Theory and Method in Indian Intellectual History", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. 36, No. 5/6, 2008, pp. 533-542.

[75]   For more details see, Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, New York: Routledge, 2004.

humiliation. They developed the counter-public with multiple epochs to address the question of untouchability, education, and representation through consciousness. Counter-public engages with the consciousness based on cultural and political aspects dealt with by public intellectuals.

'Counter-Public' through the writings of Jyotiba Phule

Jotirao Govindrao Phule is known as the 'Father of the nation' of India. As a social revolutionary and pioneer of anti-caste thinkers, engages with the purpose of knowledge and its role in emancipation.[76] An architect of modern India, Jyotirao Phule's birth is on 11 April 1827[77] but the interpretation creates chaos about the facts. According to oral tradition, a lady from near his house has recorded that Jotirao was accustomed to that he was born on a day before when a fire was devastating at Shaniwar Wada (the Place of the Peshwas). According to that narrative, the date would be 28 February 1828.[78]

On the other hand, Dhananjay Keer, an editor of Phule's Collected works and the biographer of Phule, accepts the year 1827 of Phule's birth, to claim the accepted tradition. Traditions have legacy and interpretations but can't be decisive. On that basis, it is clear that a factual interpretation is missed in the biographical sketch of Phule. Acharya Javadekar in his book History of Modern India[79] argued that Phule was born in 1828, not 1827 as a year of birth. The historical facts and their interpretations have ideological and political baggage. But Dhananjay Keer's work proposed the biography to trace the history and occurred epochs in a particular time. G.P. Deshpande contended the narrative about affixes of 'the family's original name, it was Gorhe, not Phule. This family came from Lalgun, a tiny, unimportant hamlet in the Satara district. Phule's great grandpa was compelled to depart Lalgun due to a sudden turn of events. The family was subjected to oppression by the area's Brahman revenue officer. When the tyranny became

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[76] Umesh Bagade, *Contesting Brahmanical Hegemony of knowledge: Phule's Path for Alternative Education*, Inequalities in Education, November, 27-29, 2014.

[77] Dhananjay Keer, *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley: Father of Indian Social Revolution*, Bombay Popular Prakashan, 2013, pp. 1-8.

[78] G.P. Deshpande, *Selected writings of Jotirao Phule*, New Delhi: Left Word, 2002. p. 2.

[79] Acharya Javadekar, *Adhunik Bharat,* Pune: Continental Prakashan, 1979 [First published in 1938], See also G.P. Deshpande, *Selected writings of Jotirao Phule,* op. cit., p. 2.

unbearable, Jotirao's ancestor appears to have slain the official. They settled near Pune and began gardening, which was their caste's occupation in any event. They belonged to the Mali (gardener) caste, which is considered to be one of Maharashtra's shudra classes.[80] They became florists after being appointed by the Peshwa, the Brahman king of Pune, who handed them some property close outside the city. The name Phule was given to this floral family (after phool, a flower).'[81]

As C.W. Mills contended that "Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both".[82] Biography and History like 'personal challenges' and 'larger issues' are interconnected to each other respectively,[83] to understand the social world. Eventually, the biography engages with historical facts about dominance and social and political crises in society. The political narrative and the construction of the counter-public evolve with the nature of biographies. To understand this view, Kanshi Ram said once, "I came to know about Phule through the writings of Gail Omvedt, who is from America".[84] These words indicate a 'cognitive blackout' of the Bahujan icons in academia. These blackouts stop the making of narratives with counter-discourse and belonging to their works. Why is the counter-public sphere necessary to trace the dichotomy of nationalist discourse and larger issues for an individual? And also, will try to explain the pattern of his thought, to place it within the context of counter-public rather than simply to-do listing and describing every argument that he made. The idea of a counter-public is an important aspect at the cultural and political level goes back to the 'Sui-Generis' effort of Phuley, from the last decades of the 19th century.[85] How Phuley's reading of the American Revolution and the struggle of Europeans against slavery allowed him to a vision of democracy within the Indian society. He compared the struggle of slaves with that of untouchable, backward, and women of Indian society. 'Moment of conflict' is important to trace

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[80] Milind Wakankar, "The Crisis in Religion: Christianity and Conversion in the Marathi Nineteenth Century", Journal of South Asian Studies, Vo. 41, No. 2, 2018, pp. 468-482.

[81] G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule*, op. cit., p. 2.

[82] C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, London: Oxford University Press, 1959, pp. 5-6.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Kanshi Ram, *The Oppressed Indian*, August 1979. (He mentioned that Ph.D. work of Gail Omvedt on Phule with the title of *Cultural Revolt* in India. He writes that Mrs. Gail, an American scholar has done a Ph.D. on Phule's works, and two other ladies- one German and other British, are doing so in Poona, whereas the Indian Scholar has wholly neglected him.)

[85] Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India, 1873-1930*. Bombay: Scientific Education Trust, 2011 [1976].

out the role of public intellectuals like interventions in political space. In the establishment of the counter-public, Phuley developed the argumentative tradition themselves and his idea of writing themselves proceeds the inquiry about the dominant public sphere.[86]

Interventions with Praxis

Epistemologically the public intervention through the revolutionary praxis- the first attempt was about the education and the idea of emancipation of women.[87] At that time the public sphere engaged with the brahmanical accepted norms, and rules in society. But why do social reformers not counter these dominant practices in the public sphere? Because the intervention is about the agency to hold and discard the traditions. Interventions in public space propound the role of public intellectuals. Jotirao Phule intervened through education to establish the first school for shudra and Ati-shudra girls in 1848. In the 19th century, the other western intelligentsia was not questioning the 'blocked identity' of women.[88] Before entering the discourse of praxis, it is peculiar to understand the socio-political phenomenon at that time. The century is known as the reform and renaissance movement, which introduced different socio-political and socio-religious organizations by intellectual elites. Gail Omvedt exemplified these organizations and their foundation at a particular time. These socio-religious organizations were Brahmo Samaj(1828)[89],

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[86]   Veena Naregal, *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001, pp. 98-99.

[87]   Gail Omvedt, "Jotirao Phule and the ideology of Social Revolution in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 6, No. 37, 1971, pp. 1969-1979.

[88]   Uma Chakravarti, "Conceptualising Brahmanical Patriarchy in Early India: Gender, Caste, Class, & State", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 28, No. 14, 1993, pp. 579-585.

[89]   Religious reform was the centrist position for Social reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who founded the organisation, called Brahmo Samaj. Raja Ram Mohan Roy has a strong desire to eliminate all unreasonable practices and traditions from Hindu civilization. He started Atmiya Sabha in order to spread his well-thought-out teachings (1815-19). He founded the Brahmo Sabha, afterwards the Brahma Samaj, in the year 1828. Along with other social ills of the time including forced widowhood, sati, and child marriage, Brahma Samaj led a tenacious campaign against untouchability, which was undemocratic and inhumane in Hindu culture. Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India, 1873-1930*. Bombay: Scientific Education Trust, 2011 [1976], p. 96. See, K. Gangaiah, "Untouchables in Coastal Andhra- Activities of Brahmo Samaj, and Shuddhi Movement of Arya Samaj", *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 71, 2010-11, pp. 757-63

Paramhans Mandali (1849)[90], Prarthana Samaj (1861)[91], Satyasodhak Samaj (1873), and Arya Samaj (1871)[92]. Sarvajanik Sabha (1871) and Indian National Congress (1885) were socio-political organizations.[93]

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[90]   A covert socio-religious organisation known as Paramahansa Mandali was founded in Bombay in 1849 and is connected to Manav Dharma Sabha, which was founded in Surat in 1844. Dadoba Pandurang, Durgaram Mehtaji, and a few of his friends founded it. After he departed the Manav Dharma Sabha, Dadoba Pandurang became the organization's head. In 1848, he presented his beliefs in Dharma Vivechan for the Manav Dharma Sabha and in "Paramhansik Bramhyadharma" for Paramahansa Mandali. It operated as a covert organisation, and it is thought that the discovery of its existence in 1860 accelerated its collapse. It was established in 1849 and was the first socio-religious organisation in Maharashtra. These Mandli's founders were monotheistic believers. They were mostly concerned with disobeying caste laws. For further exploration, see Kenneth W. Jones & Gordon Johnson, *Socio-Religious reform Movements in India*, (1st Indian ed. New Cambridge History of India 3) New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 139-40).

[91]   Prarthana Samaj was founded by Atmaram Panduranga in 1867, to reform in Hindu culture. They condemned the caste orthodoxy and propound the equality. They believe in one God. They work for women emancipation through education, or emphasize on increasing the age of marriage for both male and female. R.G. Bhandarkar, Mahadev Govind Ranade, N.G. Chandravarkar, was the prominent leader of this organisation. But the reform was limited in a functionalist framework, where they would not question power. After the joining of Mahadev Govind Ranade, it gained popularity. Intellectuals who promoted changes to the Hindu social order were the key reformers. Kandukuri Veeresalingam, a well-known Telugu reformer and writer, brought it to southern India. See, Suresh K. Sharma and Usha Sharma, *Cultural and Religious Heritage of India,* vol. VIII: *Cultural and Religious Reform Movements,* New Delhi: Mittal, 2004.

[92]   Arya Samaj was another organisation to counter the illness in the Hindu culture. The Arya Samaj, which was created after the other two, was the most radical in terms of social change and affiliation with Vedic "Aryanism." Contrary to Bengali bhadralok and Maharashtrian Brahmans, it had its roots in the trading castes of Punjab, and it launched a scathing attack on a number of modern Hindu practises, such as "idolatry and polytheism, child marriage, the taboos on widow remarriage and foreign travel, and Brahman predominance." As opposed to this, Arya Samajists believed that all major Hindu castes were descended from Vedic Aryans, and that untouchables should be assimilated into these castes through a shuddhi, or "mass purifying," effort. This group attracted a larger following than the other two, including several Dalits. The result was a "sanskritization" process as well as a stunning increase in membership from 40,000 in 1891 to half a million by 1921. This also meant that there would be a more aggressive conflict with Muslims and that nationalism would become more closely associated with Hinduism. For further explanation, see Gail Omvedt, Dalit and Democratic Revolution- Dr. Ambedkar and the Dalit Movement in colonial India, New Delhi: Sage, 2009, pp. 90-92. See also Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947,* Delhi: Macmillan, 1983, p. 74.

[93]   Sarvajanik Sabha was founded on 2nd April 1870. It was another example of associational politics. The Sabha played a very crucial role to construct the public sphere and civic consciousness in Poona. Some major issues were the primary concern for Sabha, like relaxation in the age limit for and simultaneous conduct of the Indian Civil Services exam, state protection for nascent Indian industries against foreign competition, promotion of the swadeshi agenda, famine relief work, liberal political reform in native states, compulsory primary education, press freedom, fiscal accountability, the extension of the limited elective franchise in municipalities, and native Indian representation in the British parliament.

The role of these organizations is important to determine the role of the public sphere with their private sphere. We cannot neglect the private aspect in the public sphere. Somewhere, it works as a method of appropriation which reflects in the practices of dominance with their cultural location. The history of co-option in India is continuing with the 'selective remembrance and strategic forgetting'.[94] This approach indicates the consciousness of historical/nationalists with protected ignorance. It means control over such people who don't even know the difference between white and black. If this type of consciousness exists in society it will become hegemonic and affect the way by which a person can think about history, entangled with the collective reification of the 'national'.[95]

This practice affects professionals as well as lay people in society as Zacharia pointed out.[96] Except for Phule's Satyasodhak Samaj, the idea of 'social' for all organizations and their orthodox founder was a 'Cultural field' to create the *monopoly of cultural legitimacy*.[97] The 'strategies of conservation' maintain dominance and superiority based on culture. Who are the social reformers—all those who claim to be, or simply those who belong to a social reform organisation? was the question asked in 1903 by The Indian Social Reformer (ISR).[98] These questions allude to an epistemic understanding of the reform space as a signified and signifier. The reform, conventional, and pre-ascribed notions shaped intellectual history in the nineteenth century. Another concern was whether the reform movement was emancipatory or focused on the iceberg's tip-in social order.[99]

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[94]   Benjamin Zacharia, *Playing the Nation Game: The Ambiguities of Nationalism in India*, New Delhi: Yodapress, 2011, p.76.

[95]   Ibid.

[96]   Narendra Kumar, *Co-option and Appropriation: Socio-political Experiences of Contending Ideologies,* op. cit., p. 77.

[97]   Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972 (1977), p. 178.

[98]   Charles H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, New York: Princeton University Press,1964, p. 4.

[99]   Kenneth W. Jones, *Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India*, (1st Indian ed. New Cambridge History of India 3) New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 1994. See also, Amiya P. Sen, (ed.), *Social and Religious Reform: The Hindus of British India* (Debates in Indian History and Society), New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Outcasts were co-opted into Hinduism as part of India's nineteenth-century social reform initiatives. Caste was not an important element of the Hindu cultural system, according to Hindu reformist groups like the Arya Samaj. They questioned the purity and pollution differences, believing that the Hindu social system was flexible enough to accept people who had abandoned the faith earlier.[100] Arya Samaj's teaching on Shuddhi revealed the earliest co-option tactics. This movement was most evident in Punjab, where Arya Samaj preachers who preached a Hindu monotheistic system attempted to re-convert the Ods, Meghs, and Doms who had switched to other religions. In reality, a reading of several texts from the Scriptures through Vedas was used to create this type of co-option.[101] Co-option is a process entangled with 'culture as a politics', that counters the attempt to create a counter-public against the oppression and manipulation of social order. The absence of structural compulsion or manipulation is, in Arendt and Habermas's views, a prerequisite for the public realm..[102]

On the other side postmodernist thinkers like Foucault (1977,1980a), Lyotard (1984;1985), and Deleuze (1980) questioned and argued that the role of power and language games is an important phenomenon that describes the public sphere and perpetuates the role of coercion and manipulation. It can't be free from structural coercion or manipulation.[103] In this sense, the role of structural coercion and manipulation in hierarchical society discards the space in the public sphere for the oppressed sections. The question is, how does the public sphere demolish or discard the ideology of its construction? Jotirao Phule interacts with the masses to define the idea of society at the organizational level. Phule and Satya Shodhak Samaj objectified the debate of social change as determined by the orthodox and their practices in different organizations. Phule has challenged those traditional institutions and objectified knowledge production. His independent agency and personal authority emerged counter to the conservatives or orthodox, who always try to maintain their supremacy by monopolizing their cultural

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[100] J. F. Seunarine, *Reconversion to Hinduism Through Suddhi*, Madras: Published for the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, Bangalore by the Christian Literature Society, 1977, p. 8.

[101] Ibid, p. 10.

[102] James Johnson and Dana R. Villa, "Public Sphere, Postmodernism and Polemic", *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 88, No. 2, 1994, pp. 427-433.

[103] ibid.

legitimacy.[104] As Bourdieu contends that "the orthodox/heterodox opposition is a struggle for the monopoly of cultural legitimacy and the right to withhold and confer this consecration in the name of fundamentally opposed principles: the personal authority called for by the creator and the institutional authority favoured by the teacher."[105] The fact that the two opposing tactics are dialectically connected, and one creates the other, is crucial for Bourdieu's field analysis. The logic of distinction that works in cultural areas causes Orthodoxies to create their heterodox reversals.[106]

This type of practice reflects Phule's word, a meeting was held in 1885 in Bombay, he argued with the sorrow of pain that lower castes should discard the role of brahmins in the ritualistic and religious activities, they should perform themselves.[107] In that meeting, Narayan Meghaji Lokhande was the co-speaker and Satyasodhka Samaj (Truth seeker Society) launched the first labour organization in India under his leadership.[108] Somewhere, Phule derives the notion of counter-public with cultural resistance against Brahmanism. He was clear in his ideas about the dominant public sphere, which traces the existing private notion with the public. As sociologist Ossowski contended about the dichotomous conception of the social structure of the society, where dominant classes maintain their privilege at the expense of the other (Subordinated).[109] He talks about the classes' role in correlative and entirely opposed classes. In his analysis of class societies, he referred to the example of the 'Purusha-Sukta' tenth Mandala in Rigveda. On the same note, Phule also mentions the two opposed groups based on varnas like Brahman and Shudra Ati Shudra. Brahmanical ideology perpetuates through rationalization of domination as sacrosanct against the oppressed section in this dichotomous conception.[110]

[104] Rosalind O' Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protests in Nineteenth Century Western India*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

[105] David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, University of Chicago Press, 2012, p. 279.

[106] Ibid, p. 280.

[107] G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule*, op. cit., p. 5.

[108] Ibid. See also, Dhananjay Keer, *Mahatma Jotirao Phule: Father of Indian Social Revolution*, New Delhi: Popular Prakashan, 1997.

[109] Stanislaw Ossowski, *Class Structure in the Social Consciousness*, London: Routledge, 1973, p. 31.

[110] G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule*, op. cit., p. 6.

'Brahmanism was historical, built through time, and because it was an ideology of tyranny and power, it had to be fought and eventually crushed', according to Phule.[111] It has nothing to do with the holy or divine. However, because it seemed to be divinely ordered, it was essential to fight the entire system.[112] Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, a staunch defender of Brahmanism, and contemporary of Phule accepts that dichotomous conception of society. He admitted on a social Darwinist basis that conflict is an everyday phenomenon, where everybody is against everybody in politics, and administration also.[113] But he should also mention that the ideology of conflict gets the legitimacy to dominate someone.

Phule, on the other hand, did not consider Brahmanism or Brahmanical religion to be "the ultimate source of the degradation of the lower castes."[114] This was kept as a "private issue of contention between himself and his co-workers."[115] Rosalind O'Hanlon makes this argument in her analysis of Phule's tale Tritiya Ratna (The Third Eye), concluding that "he strongly rejected the idea that the afflictions of lower castes due to the product of social systems with the support of all except untouchable castes.'[116] Phule emphasized the varna system's bipolarity, implying that he did not regard it as a system of infinitely regressing hierarchy. In other words, rather than focusing on divides and schisms among the downtrodden, he focuses on demonstrating the grounds on which they may come together and unify.[117]

Phule was aware of the dominant public sphere around the Brahmanical practices and their legitimacy to develop the fractured consensus against oppression privately. In that sense, another counter-narrative set by Phule was conversion due to the oppressive nature of Brahmanism. For that thinking, he was the center of the Gandhian and Hindutva organization to

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[111]   Ibid.

[112]   Ibid, p. 6.

[113]   Vishnushastri Chiplunkar, "Jyacha Tyacha Brahmanavar Kataksha" ('Everyone attacks the brahman').” *Kesari (PUK)*, 1881; wherein he argued this social Darwinist position. See Rajendra Vora, "Chiplunkar in Adhuniktaani Parampara ", Pune: Pratima Prakashan, 2000.

[114]   Rosalind O' Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and low Caste Protests in Nineteenth Century Western India*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 119-121.

[115]   Ibid.

[116]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Jotirao Phule and Lower Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Maharashtra,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 122.

[117]   G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule,* op. cit., p. 8.

criticize his idea of conversion. His defense of Pandita Ramabai, a Chitpavan Brahman scholar who converted to Christianity, is an example. 'Both orthodox and reformist brahmans' criticized her vehemently. She also quickly found herself at odds with the current Anglican church's colonial and racist stance.[118] His defense of Pandita Ramabai somehow hit the embedded everyday form of oppression in Brahmanism. A Gandhian, Javadekar points out that Phule was unable to understand the game of missionary. On the other side, Sanatnai Brahmin and Sangh Parivar criticized him as a hater of Hinduism. In 1988, after the death of Phule nearly a century ago, *Sobat, a* self-contested Hindutva-vadi journal published an article written by G.V. Behare against Phule on conversion.[119] Another instance of women's emancipation develops through the stop of shaving heads of widows. For that, he organized the strike of barbers against this inhuman custom.[120] He was the one who raised the voice against the unrestrained criticism of Tarbai Shinde to write a piece on comparison between men and women.[121]

In 1863, Phuley established a house for widows and himself adopted the son of Saraswat Brahmin widow. These instances provide the sense of counter-public to articulate the agency as a human being against humiliation. Does it make sense to demolish the public sphere against the blocked identity of women or reshape the private in the name of cultural value? Does the public sphere negotiate with cultural hegemony? If Hindu reformists think about the correctness of cultural practices, it is about the specialists, who transmit or develop their own particular status culture. In the context of the cultural field, Bourdieu referred to Weber's sociology of religion as the emergence of a corps of experts who are gradually able to establish, disseminate, and manage their own specific status culture.[122] To understand these reformative practices in Hinduism by lokhitwadi, 'attempts to reformulate the doctrines of Brahmanism had already been attempted in the early 19th century. In June 1849, G.H. Deshmukh (also known as Lokahitvadi) issued a

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[118] Uma Chakravarti, *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai,* New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998, p. 322.

[119] For example, nearly a century after Phule's death, a Marathi journal called *Sobat,* edited by a self-confessed Hindutvawadi, the late G.V. Behare carried out such an attack in its columns on 4 and 11 December 1988.

[120] G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule,* op. cit., p. 15.

[121] Tarabai Shinde, *A Comparison Between Women and Men* translated and edited by Rosalind O' Hanlan, NewDelhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

[122] David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, op. cit., p. 285.

16-point reform charter. Lokahitavadi's status was constrained, according to Pradip Gokhale, by his 'brahman identity' (brahmaniasmita)'.[123] In that context, the idea of reformism naturalizes the Brahmanical notion and invalidates the debate of hegemonic social order as relevant in the public sphere. It's a strategic co-option to distort the public appearance, to secure the structural location in the social order. As Ambedkar contended 'if any consciousness exists in society is a caste consciousness.'[124] He further writes that:[125]

> Civilizing the aborigines means adopting them as your own, living in their midst, and cultivating fellow-feeling, in short loving them. How is it possible for a Hindu to do this ? His whole life is one anxious effort to preserve his caste. Caste is his precious possession which he must save at any cost. He cannot consent to lose it by establishing contact with the aborigines, the remnants of the hateful Anarya of the *Vedic* days. Not that a Hindu could not be taught the sense of duty to fallen humanity, but the trouble is that no amount of sense of duty can enable him to overcome his duty to preserve his caste. Caste is, therefore, the real explanation as to why the Hindu has let the savage remain a savage in the midst of his civilization without blushing or without feeling any sense of remorse or repentance. The Hindu has not realized that these aborigines are a source of potential danger. If these savages remain savages they may not do any harm to the Hindus. But if they are reclaimed by non-Hindus and converted to their faiths they will swell the ranks of the enemies of the Hindus. If this happens the Hindu will have to thank himself and his Caste System.

Because consciousness about the naturalization of Brahmanical notion discards the agency of an individual to think about public appearance. To take some instances of how upper castes and dominant nationalists try to engage with caste as a functionalist framework which helps to maintain the social order in the society. Annie Beasant (founder of Theosophical Society) wrote in his journal '*New India*' with the editorial title 'How Caste Helps':[126]

> However much we may declare against the thraldom of caste in detail, the fundamental four divisions of men are so much part of the natural order of things that they will remain as long as servants and traders and soldiers and teachers

[123] Lokahitavadi's article *'DharmSudharna'* (Reforming Religion) appeared in *Prabhakara* on 17 June 1849. See Pradip Gokhale, 'Lokahitvadi Gopal Hari Deshmukh' in *Maharashtratil Jati Samstha Vishayak Vichar,* edited by Sumant and Punde, Pune: Pratima Prakashan, 1988, p. 20. G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule*, op. cit., p. 11).

[124] B.R. Ambedkar, "Annihilation of Caste", in (eds.) by Vasant Moon, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol.1.* Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, 1987, p. 53.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Annie Beasant, 'How Caste Helps' *New India*, Vol. 58, No. 77, April 1, 1916.

perform their duties amongst us." It further added, "Caste in itself is not peculiar to Indians but is found everywhere. Servers, Merchants, fighters, and rulers, priests, every person has them, though the name is different according to the nation.

Here, Annie Beasant performs herself as 'a specialist and defender of the cultural status of Brahmanism. She tried to wreck the non-Brahmanical political mobilization in colonial Madras Presidency and naturalized the caste. Also, she tries to develop the argument in favour of the division of labour as a universal structure'. But the point is all about the historical specificity of division and the legitimacy of everyday practices, which is discarded by Annie Beasant.[127] Hence, 'caste as a relevant category in the public sphere and politics invalidate by both acts like naturalizing caste and repudiating the specificity of the division of labour'.[128] The dominant nationalists tried to produce literature that blocked the appearance of the reality of caste in the public sphere. Understanding the private aspects of the public sphere[129] which are hidden by the dominant nationalists is reflected in ritual performances. Lawrence Babb contended that 'any religious rite performed by a Brahman priest for a person from a different caste exposes the purity ties that support the Hindu religious hierarchy in overt fashion. In order to govern the flow of divine energy into the world, only Brahman priests may act as a mediator between the realm of humans and the world of the high gods.'.[130] Ritual performances are not only about the relationship between Brahmans and others, it's about the agency which is controlled by the legitimate hierarchy in society.

An individual acts with the divinely sanctioned ritual like a marriage ceremony performed by the Brahman priest, propagating the imbibed form of otherworldliness. The hiring of Brahman priests, according to Phule, contradicted the basic concept on which he sought to

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[127] MSS Pandian, "One Step outside Modernity: Caste, Identity Politics and Public Sphere", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 18, 2002, p. 1737.

[128] MSS Pandian, "One Step outside Modernity: Caste, Identity Politics and Public Sphere", op.cit., 2002, p. 1737.

[129] Agnes S. Ku, "Revisiting the notion of "Public" in Habermas's theory-Toward a Theory of Politics of Public Credibility", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 18, No. 2, 2020, pp. 216-240.

[130] Lawrence A. Babb, *The Divine Hierarchy: Popular Hinduism in Central India*, New York, and London: Columbia University Press, 1975, pp. 31-67. See Also Rosalind O'Hanlon, Caste, Conflict, and Ideology, op.cit.,1985.

build a society of lower castes.[131] Phule tries to persuade his audience about the moral evils of existing practices in society and perform their own ceremonies if they wished to, that can restore the purity of their religion. Phule knows his audience to pursue the idea of emancipation with the creation of discourse against Brahmanical practices. To create the counter-discourse, Phule develops the choice of necessity against deprivation in terms of forced-choice of survival in society. He gave direction to the audience against the inhuman custom and dominance of a particular community. For that, he argued that the lower caste should perform their ceremonies themselves. They should not depend on Brahman priests. Phule has discarded the idea of otherworldliness created by the brahmans. He focused on the social environment where the common man lives with the enjoyment of social and religious rights every day. The social life of a common man is a sphere where he externalizes himself and rationalizes his agency. The idea of otherworldliness is a Brahman-created phenomenon, which is entangled with fear and ruination of the lower castes.[132]

Exposed the Truth in Public

Phule's writings engage with the idea of truth and how to expose it in the public. How does truth as a means develop the counter-public in the dominant public sphere? In the pragmatist debate about truth, where the demarcation of truth and non-truth claims through the impact of its meaning in society. On the other hand, pragmatism poses its standard inquiry. "If an idea or belief is true, what concrete impact would its truth create in anyone's actual life?" it says, "What method will be used to realize the truth? What experiences will be distinct from those that would occur if the beliefs were untrue? In other words, what is the truth's worth in terms of experience?"[133] Here, the pragmatist school of thought engages with the event and its meaning. How does an individual pursue the meaning of the event with experience or stock of knowledge? The experience of an individual tries to dip in the search for truth and its meaning in different

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[131] Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Jotirao Phule and Lower Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Maharashtra,* Cambridge: Cambridge UniversityPress, 1985, p. 189.

[132] Vivek Kumar, *Caste and Democracy in India: A Perspective from Below*, New Delhi: Gyan Publication, 2014.

[133] William James, "Pragmatism's Conception of Truth", *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, Vol. 4, No. 6, 1907, p. 142.

circumstances. Pragmatism derives its basic idea of truth from this simple clue, which is essentially linked up with the fact that "one moment in our experience may lead us to subsequent moments that will be worthwhile to have been led to. Primarily, and on a basic level, the truth of a state of mind refers to the function of a leading worthwhile".[134]

Ideas are the means to understand reality in terms of usefulness or harm. As William James contended, 'In this basic domain of verification, ideas that inform us which of them to expect are genuine ideas, and pursuing such ideas is a primary human responsibility. Truth, this is hardly an end in itself, is just a means to other important satisfactions.'[135] Therefore, ideas about exposing the truth in its real sense are entangled with the stock of knowledge, to interpret reality with different lenses. As Dewey has mentioned, that experience itself is a method to trace the discourse with pain and suffering in society.[136] On the other hand, Schiller proposes the truth is that which 'works'.[137] He is treated as one who limits the verification as the minimum utilities of material. Experiential reality exposes the truth in public which is distorted by the intellectual elite or preserves the nature of dominance in society.[138] Kabir also used the notion of empirical reality, where he mentioned '*Tu Kehta Kagad ki Lekhi, Main Kehta ankhan ki dekhi'*(You say about paper writing, I say about eye saw) to contextualize the reality.[139] However, Kabir and Dewey propound the truth in the way of satisfaction, which is calling as true, it is true, it would be pleasant.

In the context of experiential reality, Gopal Guru in 'Theoretical Brahman and Empirical Shudra' propounds the debate on how cultural hierarchy harbored the demarcation between the inferior mass of academics, who pursue empirical social science and the few theoretical pundits, on the other hand, maintain the privilege which makes them intellectually superior in society.

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[134]   Ibid, p. 143.

[135]   Ibid, pp. 143-44.

[136]   John Dewey, Experience and Education, New York: Macmillan, 1938.

[137]   F. C. S. Schiller, "The Ambiguity of Truth", *Mind*, Vol. 15, No. 58, 1906, pp. 161-176.

[138]   Ibid.

[139]   Purushottam Aggarwal, *Kabir: The life and work of the early modern poet-philosopher*, India: Westland, 2021.

Due to their shared habitus, they create a sphere that is very dominating in academics and restricts them to reproduce the same thing.[140] Why it's important to mention the debate of experience and exposing the truth with empirical reality. In the process to understand the truth, Phule minutely observed the reality of oppression on lower castes. He exposed the truth and untruth with his experiential reality about the social structure which is driven by the Manusamhita.[141] Gadamer writes that "in understanding tradition only texts are not understood, insights are acquired and the truth is known. But what kind of knowledge and what kind of truth"?[142]

Priestcraft Exposed,[143] a collection of ballads written by Phule, contended about the meaning and value of the human experiences in ordinary Hindu family life. In one of them, Phule describes a dilemma in a Shudra household, in which the family's owner is dying and the brahman priest has been invited to administer his final rites. The Shudra's life has no worth to the priest: it is trivial, like all human existence, and death is a welcome relief. He has no sympathy for the family's true grief, viewing the 'man's death as just another stage of the journey of the soul'.[144] Phule is very critical of the 'forced choice of necessity' as taken for granted norms in society. In the writing of *The Third Eye*, Phule contends that Brahman's power has little changed during the decade and a half. Somewhere, it was not difficult to discredit the religious authority of Brahman priests in certain places, but it was simple to reveal the corruption of Brahman government officials under the British administration. Ritual rites are performed by Brahman priests who serve as a force that influences society's moral and ethical ills on a broad scale.[145] In the late 1860s, Phule's radical polemic engaged with the criticism of emotional conviction that

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[140]   Gopal Guru, "How Egalitarian are the Social Sciences in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 37, No. 50, 2002, pp. 5003-5009.

[141]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Jotirao Phule and Lower Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Maharashtra,* op.cit*.,* 1985, p. 60. See also, John Wilson, An Exposure of the Hindu Religion, **,** *in Reply to Mow Bhatta Dandekar,* Bombay 1832. p. 39.

[142]   Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, London: Continuum, 1975, p. xx.

[143]   Jotirao Phule, "Priestcraft exposed", in Dhananjay Keer and S.G. Malshe (eds.), *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya,* Mumbai: Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya ani Sanskruti Mandal, 1969, p. xxxii.

[144]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Jotirao Phuley and Lower Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Maharashtra*, op. cit., p. 198.

[145]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology*, op.cit., p. 206.

was held in the context of old beliefs portraying the figure of Brahmans as a producer of ritual hierarchy in society.[146] Rosalind O'Hanlon critically examines the role of Brahaman in the different spheres, arguing that:[147]

> As in *The Third Eye,* the idea of a tightly controlled conspiracy underlies much of his description. The different areas of Brahman activity- in the religious and economic life of the village, in the new local and provincial political institutions, in the religious reform societies and the social reform movement amongst Brahmans- were varying manifestations of an essentially unitary force. This force waged a hidden war on these different fronts to maintain the power of Brahmans as against other social groups, and appeared in different guises the better to confuse and mislead its victims.

The idea of force as a sense of command reflects in every public sphere which works as a storage of knowledge to perform in a certain way. Phule critically engages the 'sense of command' as a conspiracy in a historical specificity that distorts the truth. It is important to note that a sense of command creates a particular imagination of the public sphere, where the individual agency has been controlled. Phule's idea of a counter-public proposes the idea of truth with the construction of knowledge against the oppression of brahman. He explains how, before the Aryan invasion, Brahmans had sentenced the Shudras to ignorance and divested them of their sacred privileges. In the same vein, he claims that a new political organization has been established to unify the people to convey their opinions to the British government, which he claims is nothing more than a new kind of extension of power and control over the lower castes, is same as Aryans declared themselves as Bhudeva or gods on earth.[148] Phule's idea of criticism in a polemical way was effective to convey the message to the popular audience of Brahman's power work as interconnected forms and the significance of these activities in the power domain.

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[146]   G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule,* op. cit., p. 94. (*Satsar* (The Essence of Truth) was a journal which Phule tried to publish in 1885. Two issues were published, and both state Phule's theological position. But also *Satsarha* another, more immediate purpose, which was perhaps more important. Pandita Ramabai, a learned Sanskrit scholar from Pune, embraced Christianity in 1883 while in the USA. There was a storm of protest and condemnation in the brahmanical press of Pune. Phule used the columns of *Satsari to defend* her right to convert and to attack the fierce criticism of Ramabai even by the so-called modernizing and reformist brahmans. The two issues of *Satsar* constitute the only non-Christian defence of Pandita Ramabai; a brave act by someone who did not convert to any religion himself)

[147]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology*, op.cit., p. 206.

[148]   Ibid, p. 207.

To elaborate on the sphere, Phule proposes the phenomenon of pain and how ailing shudra attached to his family and worldly life:[149]

> He tosses and turns in pain; he tries to think
>
> His mind delights in his worldly existence
>
> See how he has sunk in the illusions of worldly life.

Here, the ailing shudra faces the fear of illness and death, which is a very common experience for an individual, but the priest attempts his agency to bewilder the family members about worldliness. These practices distort and appropriate the experiences, which is helpful for a brahmin priest to gain the opportunity in the name of otherworldliness. The role of priests is to distort the idea of pain which connotes the public sphere and maintains the cultural status.[150] It can found in the everyday practices and domination on every institutions:[151]

> Under the guise of religion the Brahmin has his finger in every thing, big or small, which the Sudra undertakes. Go to his house, to his field or to the court to which business may invite him, the Brahmin is there under some specious pretext or other, trying to squeeze out of him as much as his cunning and wily brain can manage. The Brahmin despoils the Sudra not only in his capacity as a priest, but does so in a variety of other ways. Having by his superior education and cunning monopolized all the higher places of emolument, the ingenuity of his ways is past finding out, as the reader will find^on an attentive perusal of this book. In the most insignificant village as in the largest town, the Brahmin is the all in all; the be all and the end all of the Ryot. He is the master, the ruler. The Patell of a village, the headman, is in fact a nonentity. The Koolkurnee, the hereditary Brahmin village accountant, the notorious quarrel-monger, moulds the Patell according to his wishes. He is the temporal and spiritual adviser of the ryots, the Soucar in his necessities and the general referee in all matters.

The practices of the dominant culture as a habitus proposed the acceptance by the subordinated group due to wretched consciousness. With great irony and bitterness, Brahman priests exhort the idea of otherworldliness for ailing shudra:[152]

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[149] Jotirao Phule, "Priestcraft exposed", in (eds.) Dhananjay Keer and S.G. Malshe, *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya,* op. cit., p. 59.

[150] G.P. Deshpande, *Selected Writings of Jotirao Phule,* op. cit., p. 32.

[151] Ibid, p. 32.

[152] Jotirao Phule, "Priestcraft exposed", in Dhananjay Keer and S.G. Malshe (eds.), *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya,* op.cit., p. 60.

> Why don't you give a gift and so let him die in peace of mind
> The cruelty of his worldly existence is over
> God's invitation has come.

All dominated groups are inseparably tied to the dominant culture as Bourdieu contended, where subordinated groups are "always subject to the dominance of the dominant culture arbitrarily".[153] Bourdieu points out the arbitrary form of popular culture, which is not free from the imprint of dominance. In that sense, Phule somewhere criticizes the lower caste as a subject of dominance with the dominant culture. He refused the practices which maintain cultural dominance as a surplus for priests in the society, where shudra experienced the pain at the same moment. Phule points out the priest's position in the context of vacuousness:[154]

> Enough now of this false tenderness
> He applies himself now to whispering the puranas
> In van this life is wasted
> The indifference of the twice-born: no proper arrangement are made
> See, many have gone thus to ruin
> Harassed even at the door of death.

The activities in the dominant realm, where priests suggest that shudra existence is "wasted," are questioned by these abhangas. In order to cover the costs of the man's burial, the shudra family mortgaged their land to the brahman priest who had exploited his position to destroy the shudra's life. Finally, they assert their ownership over it and force women to work as labourers; as a result of their extreme poverty, several of these women have died in the process.[155]Starting with the ceremonial hierarchy and discarding the private sphere (humiliation, dominance over land, dread of life-otherworldliness, and role of religion) in public, it is possible

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[153] Pierre Bourdieu, & Jean Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage 1977, p. 23. See Also, David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

[154] Jotirao Phule, "Priestcraft exposed", in (eds.) Dhananjay Keer and S.G. Malshe, *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya,* op.cit., p. 60. See also, Narendra Kumar, "Kanshiram and the idea of Counter-public Sphere", *Countercurrents.org*, 2021. (Accessed on 21 July 2022)

[155] Ibid., p. 60., Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology*, op.cit., p. 201.

to turn people into slaves both psychologically and physically.[156] It is argued that because the public sphere has already been established and given form, the private sphere cannot be disregarded.[157] Therefore, Phule criticizes the private realm which is discarded in the public sphere to discuss the pain and ritualistic hierarchy propagated by Brahmans. He exposed the truth of inhumane practices through the construction of discourse in the public. At every stage of Kunbi's life, there is a dependency upon the Brahman Priests as traced out by Phule. On the occasion of the birth of the Child, the priest visits the Shudra's home and frightens them with ominous planetary forces, causing them to destroy their lives so that they might complete the ceremonies and provide food for many Brahmans.[158] The other piece talks about the Shudras as labour and building his new house for parasitical living constructed by Brahman:[159]

> In the heat of the summer, the labour digs the foundations
> He carries small baskets of plaster
> The stonemason climbs up steep hills
> Spreads out the bricks in the cold
> The carpenters climbs up like a monkey
> He dovetails the pieces of wood together
> All of them suffer just to fill their stomachs
> None of them are afraid to work
> Sweat oozes from their bodies and falls in drops
> They toil ceaselessly; the heart breaks.

However, at the conclusion of the day, Brahman would come and conduct the rituals for the new home and feast on delicacies given by the owner of the house and not the labourers who have constructed it. Here, Phule speaks about the function of various labour in the building of a

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[156]   Ibid.

[157]   Amir Ali, "Evolution of Public Sphere in India", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 36, No. 26, 2001, pp. 2419-2425.

[158]   Jotirao Phule, "Priestcraft exposed", in Dhananjay Keer and S.G. Malshe (eds.), *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya*, op. cit., p. 50.

[159]   Ibid., p. 54.

house. Therefore, the sphere which is countered by Phule, he turned to the Aryan invasion and the reduction of Shudras to slavery and ignorance:[160]

> Cruel Soldiers; the weapon of the pen
> Made our great heroes into slave
> Brahma at their head
> Brave in battle, they rush in without a thought
> Arrows flying everywhere
> The soldiers of Parashuram
> Seeing the ignorant shudras
> Slowly reduce them to subjection
> Began to read them old religious stories.

Phule narrates the distortion of the history of the Shudras after the invasion of Aryan, they have just been reduced to a subject of domination. The real land heroes have been converted into slaves to do away from the pen. He projected the notion of command in Hinduism and obedience to old religious doctrine. Phule is the one who propagates the debate of Aryan as an outsider in India. Shudras are the real rulers of this land. He also traced out the corruption and official position of the Brahmins in the British administration. Brahmans were dominating as clerks, accountants, and administrators with the legitimacy of religious form of power and its interconnectedness.[161] They were making the fool of the illiterate debtors and humiliating them again and again:[162]

> They ingratiate themselves and are made clerks
> They polish of all work
> They rogues are very clever
> They look quickly into the open file
> They choose the deeds of debts, copy by copy
> In every home they press for payment

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[160]   Ibid, p. 55.

[161]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology*, op.cit., p. 211

[162]   Ibid, p. 55

> They gather in all the money, showing all the details
> They impress the master with their intelligence
> Bullying and threatening the families.

They have lost their human agency to live in a public sphere that is very dominating and has no space for coming out with mental and physical slavery. They were appropriating the corruption and debts in the name of religious power. It's a structural phenomenon that reflects in recent history. Every sphere has its history of dominance in the thinking of religious power, where Brahmans capture the local judicial and revenue as employees. To envisage this idea of how Brahmins maintained dominance could contextualize at the level of field strategies. Based on Bourdieu's understanding, David Swartz writes:[163]

> "Bourdieu speaks of three different types of field strategies: conservation, succession, and subversion. Conservation strategies tend to be pursued by those who hold dominant positions and enjoy seniority in the field. Strategies of succession are attempts to gain access to dominant positions in a field and are generally pursued by the new entrants. Finally, strategies of subversion are pursued by those who expect to gain little from the dominant groups. These strategies take the form of a more or less radical rupture with the dominant group by challenging its legitimacy to define the standards of the field."

Here, Bourdieu interprets the dominant position maintained by the dominant groups and how they created the strategies to legitimate the domination. It can contextualise through the writings of Phule to expose the domination of Brahmin. Due to the networking, they are involved in corruption and develop mercy for debtors. In the equation of brahman with moneylenders, Phule, from the 1870s found the non-brahman movement against this equation and identified the nexus against the lower castes. This nexus was in the center of the non-brahman ideologue and focused on moneylenders in rural society.[164] Hanlon proposes that Phule was deluged concerned about the Hindu religion as a worldview that legitimizes the social structure entangled with the Shudra in a series of illusions in a never-ending process.[165] In the liberation process, it's necessary to destroy all illusions. To retain the counter-public, Phule was aware of economic exploitation that was engaged through every kind of ritual. Phule adapted the rural society in the

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[163]   David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, op. cit., p. 223.

[164]   Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology,* op.cit., pp. 212-213.

[165]   ibid., p. 213.

center to develop the counter-public against economic exploitation. In the 1880s, the engagement of the movement was shifted from urban center practices of commercial and social services to rural center agricultural activities.[166]

Therefore, it is in the notice that the idea of counter-public engagement with the changing of the sphere in the hierarchical society. Phule is known as the renaissance thinker to situate the idea of a counter-public with the exposure of truth in the dominant public sphere. In his views of public polemics in the early 1880s, he tried to criticize the practices of co-option and appropriation in the construction of Hindu unity developed by the different organizations like Sarvajanik Sabha in 1870 and Bombay and Pune associations in the late 1860s.[167] Phule with his understanding of dominance found the composition in the favour of Brahman in Sarvajanik Sabha.[168] Brahman social groups want to maintain the political and ideological hegemony at the cost of unrecognized recognition. They were creating the sphere at the local level and promoting the inclusivity of the local shudra cultivators, grass sellers, and woodcutters to join them. Therefore, in the inclusivity, they were maintaining domination at the local level to uphold the leadership in their hand:[169]

> In order to extend their influence, some cunning Brahman officials encourage mischievous and loud-mouthed Brahmans in the localities to come forward and set up important sounding societies in different places, and secretly apply their influence to the local shudra cultivators, grass sellers, and wood-cutters, contractors, pensioners, and estate managers, and get them to become members of these societies.

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[166]   ibid.

[167]   ibid., p. 189. (This brief account of the Pune Sarvajanik Sabha is taken from J. Masselos, *Towards Nationalism: Group Affiliations and the Politics of Public Associations in Nineteenth Century Western India,* Popular Prakashan, Bombay 1974, pp. 95-101, and S. R. Mehrotra, 'The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha: The Early Phase (1870-1880)', *Indian Economic and Social History Review,* vol. 6, no. 3, 1969)

[168]   ibid., p. 190.

[169]   Jotirao Phule, Hari Narke, and Mundlay Asha, Cultivator's Whipcord. Mumbai, India: Mahatma Jotirao Phule Source Material Publication Committee, Govt. of Maharashtra, 2002, p. 213

Phule exposes the politics of co-option of Sarvajanik Sabha leaders and their agenda behind the inclusivity like unity among all Hindus:[170]

> The Brahmans have hidden away the sword of their religion, which has cut the throat of the people's prosperity and now go about posing as great patriots of their country. They don't bother with the Mangs and Mahars, but use their books, newspapers, and societies to give their advice to the best of our Shudra, Muslim, and Parsi Youth, that unless we put aside all quarreling amongst ourselves about the divisions between high and low in our country and come together with one heart and mind, then our unfortunate country will make any progress.

To develop the counter-discourse, Phule proposes the truth behind the appeal of unity and gives his suggestion to discard the hierarchy at the center of the Hindu religion. Against these organizations, Phule projects *'Satyasodhak Samaj'* (Truth Seeker Society) to expose the reality of rationality and knowledge construction in society. He counters the unity among Hindus and its purpose:[171]

> It will be unity so long as it serves their purposes, and it will be me here and you over there again. It's just like the old saying: We'll eat your seed-corn, and use mine for planting-this is how the Brahmans look after themselves. If our learned Aryans really want to build unity amongst all the people, and improve the country, then they will have to get rid of this vile religion of winners and losers.

Here, Phule writes their idea on the line of Bourdieu, to maintain the dominance of the dominant group and the subordinate group will always be a subject of their dominance in society. Due to their shared habitus, they develop networking and reproduce the hierarchy in every sphere of life.[172] Subordination in society itself is a choice of necessity to survive and maintain the dominance of the dominant group. Phule criticized the upper caste leaders for not looking at cultivators' condition as a result of prohibition and defrauding due to the prohibition of

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[170]   Ibid, pp. 254-255.

[171]   Ibid, p. 259.

[172]   David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, pp. 230-237.

prejudiced religion. These practices reflect the poverty of the cultivators and wedding feast, he claimed:[173]

> In spite of the pitbull weddings that the cultivators have, our supposedly intelligent Brahmans in their sabhas, who lack the proper information, have put about a complete myth, and told the British government that the cultivators are so heavily in debt because they squander all their money at the weddings of their children. This Sabha, with its empty claims to a public name, made a single cultivator of the Mang or the Mahar caste one of its members and took him to sit alongside the others.

After the heavy criticism of the leadership in the Sabhas, Phule developed the discourse against the appropriation of cultivators and away from their agency to be human. In the continuation of criticism of these organizations, he also criticized the reformist organizations like Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj. He makes points about the religious doctrine, social composition, and the religious reform societies in the institutional form in the two issues of the periodical- *The Essence of Truth,* which got the acceptance at the largest level.[174] In the same pamphlet, Phule defended Pandita Ramabai Saraswati from the attackers against the conversion to Christianity in 1883.[175]

The dialogue has been discussed between Shudra and a Brahman of Brahmo Samaj in the pamphlet, to maintain the discourse and successfully reachable to the popular audience, where Shudra entangled mercilessly over the religious doctrine. Shudra asked the Brahman which one is true in its real sense in the category of 'Brahma': who has the limbs of the four varnas that had

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[173] Ibid, p. 245.

[174] Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology,* op.cit., p. 268. These two pamphlets are in Keer and Malshe (eds.), *The Collected Works ofMahatma Phule.* In the introduction to the first one, Phule says that since a few *Shudras* and *ati-Shudras* were now able to read and write, it was worth trying to bring out an occasional publication to illustrate the depravities of Brahmanic religion: Keer and Malshe (eds.), P- 280. In the introduction to the second, he recorded that the rapid sale of the first one - 1,050 copies out of 2,000 printed within a month - had enabled him to publish the second: ibid., p. 294.

[175] ibid. Pandita Ramabai Sarasvati was the Chitpavan Brahman who, after the death of her husband in 1882, devoted her life to social and religious reform with a special concern for Hindu women, and was baptised in England in September 1883. See S. M. Adhav, *Pandita Ramabai,* Christian Literature Society, Madras 1979.

sprung, who give birth to the Manu in one of them, and who has written so many shameful books; or whether define the Brahma by Brahmos as a creator of the universe.[176] However, Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj asserted and argued that the role of these organizations was to gain a sense of truth from every religion and act on that basis. Against this behavioral doctrine, Shudra's reply subjected to the consciousness of religious doctrine as the basis of social hierarchies, and that has the basis of non-brahman polemics:[177]

> "Why should we Shudras and Ati-Shudras, any more than Pandita Ramabai, put any trust in what you say, until you Brahmos have prepared such a book? Because another bold trouble-maker like Parashuram or Nana Peshwa might come along at any time, and lend his weight to another devilish Brahman like Shankaracharya, who would tell us once again that everything written in the books of the Aryan Brahmins came from God: and what power would be Mangs and Mahar have to refute them?"

Phule as a renaissance thinker hit on the epistemic violence propagated by the Samajis in the name of religious doctrine to cull out the truth. They never question the basic structure of caste hierarchy and not any representation in the leadership of Mahars into Samaj.[178] Phule writes these pamphlets to create a discourse in the popular audience and he knows his audience to engage with these ideas. As known facts in the introduction to the first one, Phule introduces that shudra and ati-shudra were able to read and write[179] and due to that it is useful to come out with the Brahmanic construction of illness in society. With these aspects, the introduction of the second one announced that he recorded the highest and most rapid sale- 1050 copies of the 2000 printed pamphlet in a month. Due to that, he felt able to publish the second one.[180]

Phule's idea of truth provides engagement with pragmatist ideas of truth in the context of events or writing and its impact on the public, which provides the satisfaction of an individual at the level of legitimacy in society. To introduce the method in the spread of truth, revolutionary

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[176]   ibid.

[177]   Jotirao Phule, "The Essence of Truth", in (eds.) Dhananjay Keer and S.G. Malshe, *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya*, op. cit., p. 284.

[178]   Jotirao Phule, *The Essence of Truth,* Keer and Malshe (eds.), op.cit., p. 284.

[179]   Ibid, p. 280.

[180]   Ibid, p. 294.

pamphlets create the counter-public against the dominance of the one-dimensional reality in the public sphere. As a public intellectual who understands the responsibility to change the composition in the exposition of truth and develops rationality in society. Phule plays that role with his experiential reality to project transformation in thinking.

Through the spread of rational knowledge and revolutionary beliefs, one could transform the traditional society into the rational one by enlightening the state of public opinion.[181] At the level of ideas, Benedict Anderson contended about the imagined communities in the context of nationalism and how the emergence of print capitalism impacted the creation of the imagined community.[182] The revolutionary pamphlet creates a sense of belonging against everyday oppression in society. But the construction of the public sphere through pamphlets synchronized due to modern means. Arendt believes that modernity is to blame for the public sphere's deterioration. In contrast to Habermas's more individualistic conception of the "public sphere," which was based on impersonal forms of communication, opinion, and information, her idea of the "public space" was community-based and involved equal acts and words.[183] The printed word plays a very critical role in the formation of public opinion and consciousness at the national level.[184]

Thinking through the American Revolution and reflecting on Slavery

Phule dedicated his book Slavery to:[185]

The good people of the United States

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[181] Bernard Crick, "Politics as a Form of Rule: Politics, Citizenship and Democracy", in Adrian Leftwich (eds.), *What is Politics? The Activity and its Study*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004, pp. 67-85.

[182] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, London: Verso, 1983(2006).

[183] Amy Allen, "The Public Sphere: Ideology and/or Ideal?" *Political Theory*, Vol. 40, No. 6, 2012, pp. 822–829.

[184] Sanyal Shukla, *Revolutionary Pamphlet, Propaganda and Political Culture in Colonial Bengal*, Cambridge: University Press, 2014. See also, Ya-Wen Lei, *The Contentious Public Sphere: Law, Media, and Authoritarian Rule in China*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

[185] Jotirao Phule, "Slavery", in G.P. Deshpande (eds.), *Selected writings of Jotirao Phule*, New Delhi: Left Word, 2002.

As a token of admiration for their
Sublime disinterested and
Self-sacrificing devotion
In the cause of Negro Slavery; and with
An earnest desire that my countrymen
May take their noble example as their guide
In the emancipation of their Sudra Brethren
From the trammels of Brahmin thraldom.

Any text comes out with history and its contextual interpretation of changing dynamics of society. The reflection of text is entangled with multiple epochs to identify the history of oppression, networking of ideas, and intellectual exercise inside and outside academia. The world's major shift from world war, slavery, and the freedom from imperial powers impacted the understanding of oppression and counter-voice against it. The revolutionary ideas are historically situated with an everyday form of resistance by the oppressed communities and its contextualization at multiple levels like writing with different discourses, speeches by public intellectuals, counter-public narrative against the dominant public sphere, and expansion of the idea of democracy. The American revolution has shaped the history of the world around the idea of revolution and its paradigm. The American Revolution and its interpretation by historians have multiple epochs to understand the history of ideas about its emergence.

But historians introduce the American revolution with its specificity and isolated drama in history. As Jonathan Israel states, one of history's most well-documented occurrences is the American Revolution (1774–1833). He writes 'It gained freedom and developed into a superior nation. On the other hand, historians and readers have generally considered it as a stand-alone American drama that represents a critical turning point in the history of a nation-state. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, there hasn't been much acknowledgement of its significant social, cultural, and intellectual influence on the rest of the globe, which was essential in the formation of democratic modernity. The earliest and most important of multiple revolutionary

revolutions was the American Revolution, which took place three-quarters of a century before the great French revolution of 1789–1799'.[186]

In the context of the paradigm shift, the American revolution set an example for the world about the idea of emancipation and liberation. The American colonies broke away from Britain in 1775, abolishing the monarchy in a broad region where it was firmly ingrained in culture and society. The early modern hierarchical society of kings, aristocracy, serfdom, slavery, and mercantilist colonial empires was demolished by the commencing of the Revolution.[187] Aristocracy, monarchy, and religious authority were the three main pillars of the old regime society, which maintained involvement in politics, law, and other institutions. It upholds the inhumane customs and practices that altered social vision with shared liberty and civil rights equality. After being broken away from British colonies, America bought and deported the Africans as slaves and controlled their lives. The fighting against slavery develops the idea of the agency of an individual human being in search of modernity and democracy. Few people wanted to overthrow the aristocratic political institutions in the thirteen colonies when the American Revolution began in 1774–75. The revolution did not eliminate the old elites' hold on power, nor did it change eighteenth-century American society's fundamentally hierarchical and submissive.[188] However, it had a profound impact on the future of America and the rest of the world, democratising and emancipating people all over the world.

Phule takes leave from the American revolution and situates the idea of slavery in the Indian context. He read those scholars who have to conceptualize everyday forms of resistance against slavery and engages with those ideas to understand slavery and caste with the same lens of oppression. Thomas Paine's 'Rights of Man' is a work read by Phule and found himself very close to him, like an individual's upbringing in the family.[189] Phule's father was a shopkeeper,

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[186]   Jonathan Israel, *The Expanding Blaze: How the American Revolution ignited the world, 1775-1848,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017.

[187]   Ibid, p.1.

[188]   Ibid.

[189]   Dhanajay Keer, *Mahatma Jotirao Phooley : Father of Indian Social Revolution,* Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1974, p. 14. Phule's own work on Shivaji, and his admiration for Paine's ideas would seem to confirm this: see pp. 168-75 and 195-9.

and Paine's father was a successful craftsman stay-maker. They had not received education in a conventional mode. They used their resources to better live themselves in the social and religious hierarchical society, which entangled with the interest of the powerful.[190]

In his work slavery (within the Indian Empire and under the cloak of Brahmanism), Phule has raised questions about the absence of morals and ethics in the Hindu religion. The ritualistic hierarchy is a root of conventional Hindu religion, where individuals don't have agency in the public sphere. Hindu philosophy did not produce the rationalistic space to criticize the ritualistic hierarchy and its root of humiliation. The tendency to denigrate this- worldly life with karmic doctrine, as the realization of religious justice has a profound impact on individuals in present society.[191] The rationale for writing slavery is the ontological inquiry of mental slavery and its source of legitimation.

Phule was aware of the paradigm shift in Europe with the debate of natural human rights and individual agency to criticize religious orthodoxy. He was somewhere engaging in Descarte's philosophy of methodological skepticism, where reason is important to understand the natural sciences and produce genuine knowledge against the doubts. It's clear that Descarte counters the doubts and focuses on the truth which has certainty and cannot be doubted. It is contextualized by Phule to expose the truth which is based on reason and create a public conscience against the dominance of mythical history. For Phule, Human agency has important aspects to think freely with the virtue of a human being and discard the idea of otherworldliness. He poses a question on eulogizing Brahmin itself as a God in the public sphere. In the introduction of the book slavery, he contended the process of enslaving Sudras and Atishudras and the construction of the 'supreme god' embedded in Shastras:[192]

> How far the Brahmins have succeeded in their endeavours to enslave the minds of
> the Sudras and Ati Shudras, those of them who have come to know the true state
> of matters know well to their cost. For generations past they have borne these

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[190] Rosalind O' Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India,* op. cit., p. 199.

[191] Ibid, p. 193.

[192] Jotirao Phule, "Slavery", in Dhananjay Keer and S. G. Malshe (eds.), *Mahatma Phule Samagra Vangmaya*, op. cit., p. 77.

chains of slavery and bondage. Innumerable Bhut writers, with the selfsame objects as those of Menu and others of his class, added from time to time to the existing mass of legends, the idle phantasies of their own brains, and palmed them off upon the ignorant masses as of Divine inspiration, or as the acts of the Deity himself. The most immoral, inhuman, unjust actions and deeds have been attributed to that Being who is our Creator, Governor and Protector, and who is all Holiness himself. These blasphemous writings, the products of the distempered brains of these interlopers, were received as gospel truths, for to doubt them was considered as the most unpardonable of sins.

Phule communicates the system of slavery, where Brahmin reduces the identity of Sudra and Atisudra mere as a slave, and it's a chain from generation to generation. The idea of divine (Brahmin God) creation is a manufacturing consent through Vedas, scriptures, and shastras. It is completely known that the dominance of superstition and bigotry is a liquidated idea from the era of Peshwas.[193] The blasphemous writings prepared the ground for inhumane customs to practice against the shudra and Ati-shudra for being human. The text *Slavery* exposes the 'epistemic apartheid'[194] developed by the Brahmin to inject mental slavery. They were discarded from every institutional sphere which did not recognize them as human beings with natural rights. So, the public life of shudra and Ati-shudra from public space was diminished by the brahmin and their blasphemous writings of self-god. Eventually, sudra and Ati-Shudras public life was ghettoized to live in a conditional environment. At the time of Peshwas, practices of purity and pollution were injected into the public life to become a slave like tying brooms in their backside to clean the sign of feet, hanging a pot on their neck to not spit at the ground, and restrictions on move-in day light due to avoid the impression of untouchable shadow.[195] It's a fact that slaves have no space for public imagination of life.

Civilizational Violence and Discardness from Public

Therefore, the ignorance of the marginalized and knowledge resistance develops the parallel phenomenon to expose the protected ignorance in society. It's a testimony of ignorance of social

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[193]   Jotirao Phule, *Slavery,* Keer and Malshe (eds.), op.cit., p. 135.

[194]   Reiland Rabaka, *Against Epistemic Apartheid: W.E.B. Du Bois and the Disciplinary Decadence of Sociology*, US: Lexington Books, 21010.

[195]   Rosalind O' Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India,* op. cit., p. 26.

and cultural production by the power elite. And the projection of the marginalized as 'can the subaltern speak'[196] propounded the ignorance of the knowledge resistance and their empirical reality about everyday practice. That projection has been seen with the black people as contended by W.E.B. Dubois against the reinforcement of white superiority, "Darker peoples are dark in mind as well as in body ... they have no feelings, aspirations, and loves; they are fools, illogical idiots, – 'half-devil and half-child".[197] As a Public intellectual Dubois exposes the reality to project the black people invisible in the knowledge resistance and reinforcement of white superiority. Therefore, it's the pertinent question: what type of intervention is propounded in the public sphere by a public intellectual with a distinct perspective?

In the Indian caste-ridden society, the same nature of exclusion and humiliation reflect in Dalits in education and other institutions also. Ambedkar was not permitted in the class and he was settled down outside the classroom. He can't drink the water with the same pot and handpump used by the brahmins. Dr. Ambedkar, the emancipator of the untouchables, spent his early childhood and received primary education in Dapoli. Dapoli was a place where a few commissioned and non-commissioned officers settled. To provide a better education for their children, Subhedar Major Gagnak and nine other petitioners including Ambedkar's father sent a petition to the president of Dapoli Municipality on July 1, 1892.[198] In this petition, they mentioned the education for their children in the municipality school taught with the other caste boys. It will help us to attain a good education and persuade us to study hard. But the reply of the chairman of the municipality stated that, if the Mahar boys were admitted into this school, the boys of the other caste would leave it, due to which the school would be closed. They try to resolve this through the opening of a separate school for Mahar community boys. After a long discussion and in a chaotic situation, they ordered to bring 25 boys of their caste, for that a

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[196]   Gayatri Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" *Die Philosophin*, Vol.14, No. 27, 2003, pp. 42-58.

[197]   W. E. B. Du Bois, *Darkwater*, Oxford University Press, 2007 [1920], pp.65-66. See Also, Charles Mills, "White Ignorance", in (eds.) by Shannon Sullivan & Nancy Tuana, *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, Charlesbourg, Québec: Braille Jymico Inc., 2008 (2007), pp. 13-38.

[198]   Vasant W. Moon, "Roots of the Revolt", in Barbara R. Joshi (eds.), *Untouchable: Voice of the Dalit Liberation Movement*, UK: Zed Books, 1986, p. 20. See also, Gail Omvedt, *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2017, p. 18.

separate school and teacher would be provided. But the petitioners were not agreed on the resolution.[199]

In that situation, the commissioner issued an order, have sitting arrangements for Mahar children in the classroom but the distance from the other boys.[200] This chronology is important to mention here to understand the public sphere and the knowledge production at that time. In the Peshwa rule, the accessibility counters the established prejudice in society. In the city of Poona, which is known as the seat of Chitpavan Brahmins, the condition of Mahars and Mangs was worse: "The Mahars and Mangs were not allowed within the city of Poona between 3 p.m. and 9 a.m., because before 9 a.m. and after 3 p.m. their bodies cast a long shadow, and whenever their shadow fell upon a Brahman it polluted him so that he dared not take food or water until he had bathed and washed the impurity way."[201] The public space was not accessible and maintained distance, how did they get the education?

The other classes were unseeable and unapproachable, as Dr. Ambedkar argued Untouchables are those who cause pollution through physical touch. Other people cause pollution if they come within a certain distance known as unapproachable. He gave an example of Nayadis as an unapproachable category "they are the lowest caste among the Hindus—the dog eaters. They are the most persistent in their clamor for charity and will follow at a respectful distance, for miles together any person walking, driving, or boating. If anything is given to them, it must be laid down, and after the person offering it has proceeded a sufficient distance, the recipient comes timidly forward, and removes it."[202] To take a reference of Mr. Thurston in the context of the same people "the subject (i.e. the Nayadis) whom I examined and measured at Shoranur, though living only about three miles off had, because of the pollution which they

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[199]   ibid, p. 20.

[200]   Vasant W. Moon, "Roots of Revolt" (From Dependence to protest: The early growth of education and consciousness among 'Untouchables' of Western India), in (eds.) by Barbara R. Joshi, *Untouchable! Voice of the Dalit Liberation Movement*, Delhi: Zed Book Publication, 1986 (1983), pp. 20-21.

[201]   Ibid. p.16.

[202]   B.R. Ambedkar, "Civilization or Felony", in Moon, Vasant (eds.), *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches, Vol.5*, Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, 1979, p. 139.

traditionally carry with them to avoid walking over the long bridge which spans the river, and follow a circuitous route of many miles".[203]

Ambedkar also describes the other group as "unseeable," and he claims that if it were to come into view, it would pollute. The Tinnevelly District of the Madras Presidency is home to Purada Vannas, a sort of unseen neighbourhood. It was said that "they are not allowed to come out during day time because their sight is enough to cause pollution. These unfortunate people are 'compelled' to follow the nocturnal habits, leaving their dens after dark and scuttling home at the false dawn like the badger, hyaena, aardvark."[204] How it's hard to live without access to the public? Can someone imagine the lifeworld of these communities that have no land or home to survive? For their survival what they can do except beg or live on dog meat. Civilizational violence protects the prejudice against the oppressed communities.

The accessibility of untouchables was limited and their living areas were ghettoized. Why do these references help to understand the dichotomy of being human and living animals in the era of civilization? What type of civilization do we have? The arrogance of the upper caste can be understood through the writings of Homi Bhabha, as he argued "Those Brahmans who sit on their bottoms all day are not just sitting. They are thinking, and they have been doing it for thousands of years. When the young ones turn their thinking to physics, they quickly get rather good at it."[205] Their continuing prejudices show the habitus which has its own logic to define the knowledge producer from thousands of years but ignores the civilizational violence and discarded untouchables in the public that have a history of thousands of years. Therefore, the legacy of being brahmin reinforces the supremacy in the public sphere. Ambedkar observed:[206]

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[203]   Ibid, p.139.

[204]   Ibid.

[205]   Homi Bhabha in *Time Magazine*, 1955, See also, M.V. Ramana, "Caste and Moulds", *Himal South Asian*, 2013. https://www.himalmag.com/castes-and-moulds/ access on 07.07.2021.

[206]   B.R. Ambedkar "The Hindu Social order: its unique features", in (eds.) by Vasant Moon, *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writing and Speeches. Vol.3*, Department of Education, Government of Maharashtra, 1987, p. 43.

"The ancient world may be said to have been guilty of failing to take the responsibility for the education of the masses. But never has any society been guilty of closing to the generality of the people the study of the books of its religion. Never has any society made any attempt to declare that an attempt made by the common man to acquire knowledge shall be punishable as a crime. Manu is the only divine lawgiver who has denied the common man the right to knowledge".

Here, Ambedkar refers to the same point as Dubois, where they mentioned the hypocrisy of dominant knowledge. As Du Bois states, "all through the world this gospel is preaching; "[i]t has its literature, it has its priests, it has its secret propaganda and above all—it pays!".[207] Subsequently, it's all about controlling the agency to expose the truth to the public. Knowledge dominance is not about the production of culture, but rather to control the truth of domination. Somewhere, it reflects in the public sphere to maintain the habitus of the community.

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[207] Jennifer C. Mueller, Symposium on W. E. B. Du Bois: Du Bois and the Sociology of Knowledge (Or, A Lesson in White Ignorance and Knowledge Resistance), *Section Culture: Newsletter of the ASA Culture Section*, Vol. 30 Issue. 1, 2018. https://asaculturesection.org/2018/07/22/symposium-on-w-e-b-du-bois-du-bois-and-the-sociology-of-knowledge-or-a-lesson-in-white-ignorance-and-knowledge-resistance/ access on 12.08.2021.

Chapter- 3

Thinking with the Public: Rise of Kanshi Ram

In the perception of a democratic society, ideological contours are managed through public philosophy. Walter Lippmann in his book 'The Public Philosophy' defines that term as a normative one and contends about the crisis on the intellectual basis in the west due to losing its importance to save the liberal democracy. It was due to the spreading of existentialism and relativism, that the disinclination and loss of purpose among intellectuals were growing and the liberal democracy was a way to save it from its adversary by the intellectuals.[1] Lippmann contended in the context of the west, "the traditions of the civility in which the good society, the liberal, democratic way of life at its best, originated and developed," "the doctrine of natural law" and "the traditions of civility…[that] facilitated and protected the institutions of freedom and the growth of democracy".[2] The idea of public philosophy contextualizes with constitutional democracy to achieve the aspects of freedom and a good society. The journey of this term in the mainstream of social sciences started in the late 1960s and 1970s, when two America's well-known political scientists, Theodore J. Lowi and distinguished scholar of British politics, Samuel H. Beer, adopted it as a central concept.[3] They used that concept in the synonyms of the 'ideology' perpetuated in American politics, i.e., to set the ideas to define the political program

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[1]   Walter Lippmann, *The Public Philosophy*, New York: Routledge, 1955, p. 14.

[2]   Ibid., p. 14.

[3]   James W. Ceaser, "What is Public Philosophy?" *Perspectives on Political Science*, Vol. 30(1), 2001, pp. 9-19. In all, Lowi spent 49 years as a faculty member at Cornell, with its focus on the intersection of American political institutions, political history, and public policy. Lowi's approach to political science produced findings that still hold up in light of current events. In his classical book *(The End of Liberalism, 1969)* Lowi writes about the crisis in the rule of law and displacement of representative government in the United states, by the prospering interest group liberalism. And with those circumstances, it creates an easier way for the business groups and displaced the public interest. He has also written about the communication crisis between leaders and the public (*The Personal President: Power Invested, Promise Unfulfilled, 1985*), due to the accessibility of technology in political campaigns. The same perspective has been dealt by Samuel H. Beer, who was a distinguished British scholar and American Political Scientist. Although he was a scholar of American federalism and European political development, as well

with the debate of liberalism and conservatism. But due to the carrying negative connotations of the word 'ideology' with the rigid and closed world views of Marxism or fascism, public philosophy as a new substitute emerged with modern concepts.[4] In the discipline of sociology, public sociology engages with the context of the public and how intellect engages with the public or a larger audience. Public sociology has two manifestations: traditional and organic public sociologies.[5] Public sociology is the antithesis of traditional sociology because it doesn't interact with the 'public' whereas organic intentionally engages with the general audience in the public sphere.[6] Public sociology is inclusive and engages a large group of audiences outside the professional field though. Michael Burawoy writes "a sociology that seeks to bring sociology to the public beyond the academy, promoting dialogue about issues that affect the fate of society…".[7] This debate intensifies the discourse of knowledge production with restricted groups and general audiences or beyond the intellectual arena.

The pertinent question is about the public, and how intellectuals shape the public. The public for knowledge and knowledge production entangles with intellectual fields and how they manage with their logic. James Tully with the new key approach of public philosophy contended about civic freedom and the citizen indulged in the struggle against the injustice, oppression, and curtailment of freedom in society. In his way of public philosophy, he wants to establish the pedagogical relationship between academic research and civic activities with fellow citizens. With the critical perspective, public philosophy focuses on the practices that exist in the field, in which civic struggle takes place and is entangled with the availability of practices of civic freedom to change them.[8]

as British politics. He brought up important topics relating to the historic and contemporary aspects of British politics.

4 Ibid.

5 David Boyns & Jesse Fletcher, "Reflections on Public Sociology: Public Relations, Disciplinary identity, and the strong programme in professional Sociology", *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 36, 2005, pp. 05-26

6 Michael Burawoy, "2004 Presidential: Address For Public Sociology", *American Sociological Review*, Vol.70. 2005, pp. 4-28.

7 Michael Burawoy, et al. "Public Sociologies: A Symposium from Boston College", *Social Problem*, Vol. 51, no. 1. 2004, pp. 103-130.

8 James Tully, *Public Philosophy in a New Key: Democracy and Civic Freedom,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 3.

The above description of public sociology measures the crisis in society at that time and how we should understand the correlation between society and individual agency. The role of public philosophy is to engage beyond the imagination in the public sphere, which dominates without their real aspects in society. The vantage point is all about the demarcation between the understanding of ongoing turmoil at the governance level and developing the response against it by the civic activists and the academic researcher at the same level.[9] Somewhere, he tries to contextualize the category of citizens at the governance level and how we should understand the governance relationship process in a democratic society.

Public philosophy in that context emerged with the collaboration of civic activists and academic researchers to develop a response to political problems. But the question of agency and location is important to deliver contextual meaning against the political turmoil. How does an academician write about that turmoil depending on the structure and agency in the society? The question of the legitimacy of that writing is itself the ideological underpinnings of that location. Public philosophy is a matter of understanding the common language to define the structural problem in society. It's not a matter of perception but engaging with reality beyond the imagination and countering the injustice, and oppression in society. The question is why public philosophy emerged as a new form of discourse. It is due to the development of lapses to understand the critical inquiry about the ongoing turmoil in society. How does an individual respond with morality to counter everyday oppression? Public philosophy renovates these ideas with the critical understanding of the legitimate past and counters that past with the public's conscience.

This theoretical debate emerges with some questions on understanding a crisis in society and how the social life of the public is affected by political decisions. In that common parlance, the discussion about the common language or common interest counters the crisis in the society or the legitimate past. Articulating the past and oppression is a subject matter to contextualize the role of public intellectuals in society. It's not about criticizing or questioning or not questioning, but rather falsifying the notion of objectivity in the context of knowledge production. As Julien Benda wrote about the role of intellectuals and their attachment with the particular ideology and

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9   Ibid., p.3.

political passion, "intellectuals ought to pursue justice, truth, and knowledge for their own sake, but that they had recently gone astray because of the pernicious influence of various "political passions" whether in the name of patriotism, class, or race".[10]

But, like Du Bois, African Americans who conduct intellectual work in a culture that wants to make us servants must constantly battle to establish conditions that allow for our own intellectual expression.[11] Petricia writes 'Du Bois was the foremost public intellectual in black history and doctorate from Harvard University who has written about racial discrimination, *The Philadelphia Negro,* an impressive work. Du Bois belonged to an exclusive group of African-American intellectuals. He was one of the lucky ones whose mix of status and gender enabled him to capture the public attention. These connections between black intellectual expression and the concept of race will endure for as long as the social context in which African Americans actually live. The University of Pennsylvania declined to provide him a position there.'[12] These two examples recognize the background of intellectual tradition and socialization of the condition where they come from. Subsequently, the construction of the public is a socialization process with education, the identity of location, and writings to expose the truth. The same example traces out from the last chapter about Phule and Ambedkar's understanding of the public. Here, in this chapter, Kanshi Ram will be at the center and his thinking with the public, which engages with the legacy of Ambedkar and Phule.

To locate the ideas of the public, Kanshi Ram is an unrivaled personality who constructs his public with an understanding of the field. At the time of political crisis after Ambedkar, he proposed politics as a social practice, mentioned in his cadre camp that *main tikau samaj chahta hu, Bikau samaj nahi* (I wanted a durable society, not saleable). In the Indian socio-political scenario, Kanshi Ram is a name to understand politics from a Bahujan perspective. In the categorization of the community as political and public, Kanshi Ram clearly understood the

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[10] Patrick Baert and Joel Issac, Intellectuals and Society: Sociological and Historical Perspectives, in (eds.) by Gerard Delanty & Stephen P. Turner, Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory, London: Routledge, 2022 (First edition Published in 2011), p. 197. See also, Julien Benda, *The Treason of the Intellectuals*, NewYork: William Morrow, 1928 (1927).

[11] Patricia Hill Collins, "Black Public Intellectuals: from Du Bois to the present", *Contexts*, Vol. 4. Issue. 4, 2005, pp. 22-27.

[12] Ibid.

division in the Bahujan community. He had started a magazine, newspapers, and pamphlets to engage with the masses. Kanshi Ram, the founder of the BAMCEF [All India Backward (SC, ST, OBC) And Minority Communities Employees Federation], D-S4 (Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti), BRC (Buddhist Research Center), and the Bahujan Samaj Party, was born on 15 March 1934. His legacy lives on in the harsh and heightened Bahujan politics. Because of the installation of confidence, self-respect with self-help, and identity of the location in the Dalit public sphere, the concept of the messiah is lauded.[13] He developed the demarcation of society in the context of the public and political community. And inculcate the idea of assertion with the social and political consciousness. He was the one who had given them the social, cultural, and political clout to combat injustice, as well as the daily humiliation and persecution they experienced. Kanshi Ram starts to mobilize the people during the crisis of Dalit politics. All over India, some organizations were working at the social level to develop consciousness in dalit. In Maharashtra, the Dalit Panthers organization was in a heightened position and trying to develop the counter-public through literature.[14] The founder members were poets and were influenced by the black panther movement established in 1966, in California. In 1960, the two factors were important to mention here on one hand the youth culture was emerging due to the rapid expansion of higher education in Maharashtra. And the other side, caste atrocities against Dalits were also increasing, and to respond to the atrocities youth formed the Dalit Panthers. Namdeo Dhasal,[15] J.V. Pawar,[16] and Raja Dhale[17] was the core founder of the Dalit Panther movement.[18]

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[13]   Vivek Kumar, "Dynamics of Kanshiram's Movement", *Forward Press,* December 2019. https://www.forwardpress.in/2019/12/dynamics-of-kanshi-rams-movement/

[14]   Lata Murugkar, *Dalit Panther Movement in Maharashtra*, Bombay. Popular *Prakashan*, 1991.

[15]   In his revolutionary works, Namdeo Dhasal contested social and political caste hierarchies. He is speaking of a caste-based society's long history. Dhasal claims that the anti-caste ideas of Jyotirao Phule and Babasaheb Ambedkar, as well as traditional theater and tamasha, have impacted his poetry. Ram Manohar Lohiya's ideas have had an impact on Dhasal in addition to these. Overall, Ambedkarite and socialist thought had an impact on Dhasal. Dhasal claims that untouchability is so ingrained in rural life that it persists even after moving to the city based on his day-to-day encounters. Dhasal's life was filled with misery; from the caste prejudice he endured as a youngster to his experiences working as a cab driver as an adult, privileged society did not treat him with respect. His experiences served as the curriculum, and his life itself served as the school, which he created in order to advocate for social change. See, Prashant Ingole, Namdeo Dhasal and his irreplaceable Grammar of Social Change, The Wire, 15 January 2022. He wrote many poems like Golpitha (1973), Tuhi Iyatta Kanchi, Tuhi Iyatta 'What grade are you in, What Grade?" in 1981.

[16]   J.V. Pawar was the co-founder of Dalit Panther, and latter appointed as General Secretary. He is also known as the historian of Ambedkarite movement. He was arrested by the police for

But it was not sustained for a long time due to ideological fragmentation. It was divided into two factions Marxist (Radical) and Ambedkarite. In her scholarly writing, Gail Omvedt contended that:[19]

> It was an intellectual movement, which succeeded in establishing new cultural and religious values among the urban Dalits. But at the peak of its popularity, differences arose between the two most dynamic leaders of the Dalit Panther, Namdeo Dhasal and Raja Dhale, over the primacy of Buddhism in the movement… The movement split into two distinct camps, with one group, Dhasal adopting the Marxist class perspective and the other Dhale adopting the Ambedkarite Buddhist model for bringing change. The movement also faced the unavailability of infrastructural assets, sound political vision, and the direct onslaught of militant Hindutva forces. Due to the divergent ideals of the leadership and other related problems, the Dalit panthers collapsed after a half-won battle leaving behind a great legacy of vast revolutionary literature and culture.

RPI and Dalit Panthers did not successfully capitalize on the arouse in the youth. Because of the impractical action and Buddhism as a philosophy, most of the Dalit communities and their

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burning a book of M.K. Gandhi in 1975. While Namdeo Dhasal and Pawar both wrote at the same period, Pawar's approach to poetry was distinct. Instead of using metaphors or figures of speech, he used poetry rhythm to capture the suffering and tenacity of Dalits. His poems therefore focus on events and characters that were not part of India's official history, making them more societal than personal. His famous writing is Blockade (Nakelbandi in Marathi), collection of poems to articulate the everyday experience of dalit, their struggles, their agonies, and their hopes in the context of Ambedkar legacy. He also writes about the hypocrisy of culture and famine in Maharashtra. See Yogesh Maitreya, Dalit Writings, Global contexts, JV Pawars poetry collection Blocakde embodies the spirit of the Dalit Panthers, Firstpost, 27 June 2019.

17   Raja Dhale, was the one founder member of the Dalit Panther. He was also remembering his own aspirations from that revolutionary era as a founder member of the Dalit Panthers as well as a painter, poet, and editor of "Vidroh" magazine in the 1970s. He discussed the need for new Ambedkarites to study Ambedkar first, how factionalism and individual interests have impacted the movement, and other topics. He belonged to the Republican Party of India and oversaw the Raja Dhale section after the party broke up. On the platform of the Bharipa Bahujan Mahasangha party, he fought in the parliament election of 1999 from the Mumbai North Central seat. In 2004 parliament election, again he contested from Mumbai North East constituency from BBM. See, Anupama Rao, *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

18   J.V. Pawar, Dalit Panthers: An Authoritative History, New Delhi: Forward Book Press, 2018.

19   Gail Omvedt, "Ambedkar and After: The Dalit movement in India", in Ghanshyam Shah (eds.), *Dalit identity and Politics*, New Delhi: Sage publication, 2001. p. 53, See also Badri Narayan, *Kanshi Ram: Leader of Dalits*, New Delhi: Penguin, 2018, pp. 32-33.

leaders (non-Mahar) were not associated with the RPI and Dalit Panther.[20] At the electoral level, the Scheduled Caste Federation, Independent labor Party, and Republican Party of India emerged to strengthen the idea of social transformation and economic emancipation. On the other side, the reformist organizations were organizing the people and developing the consciousness against the hierarchy like Ad-Dharma (organized in Punjab, 1926)[21], the Namo-Shudra movement in Bengal[22], the Adi-Dravida movement in Tamil Nadu[23], the Adi-Andhra movement in Andhra[24],

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[20] Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's silent revolution: The Rise of the Lower Castes in North India*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006, p. 390.

[21] The Ad Dharm movement was founded by Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia, who lived from 14 January 1886 to 22 April 1980. He was a member of a family of leather workers from the Hoshiarpur district hamlet of Muggowal. Like the Satyashodak Samaj movement in Maharashtra, Mangu Ram's pioneering Ad Dharm movement quickly gained notoriety among the Untouchables of Punjab. The movement's "Ad Dharm Mandal " headquarters were constructed in Jalandhar with assistance from well-known local leather merchant Seth Kishan Das of Bootan Mandi. Mangu Ram quickly became revered by the region's Untouchables as a result of his tireless efforts, which brought the movement to their doorsteps. He battled under the banner of the Ad Dharm movement for the long-denied land rights of the SCs, who were legally prohibited from holding agricultural land along with other non-agricultural castes by the Land Alienation Act of 1900. The Ad Dharm movement also waged a significant campaign for the Untouchables to get specific legal protections for education and employment in the government. For the first time, the Untouchables were able to band together in order to fight for a life of dignity and to press for their long-pending claim to a part in the local power structures. The Ad Dharm was founded on the teachings of the Bhakti movement's saint poets, notably those of Ravidas, Valmiki, Kabir, and Namdev. See, Harish K. Puri & Paramjeet Singh Judge (eds.), *Social and Political Movements: Readings on Punjab*, Jaipur & New Delhi: Rawat, 2000, see also, Ronki Ram, "Untouchability, Dalit Consciousness, and the Ad-Dharm Movement in Punjab", *Contributions to Inidan Sociology*, Vol. 38, no. 3, 2004, pp. 323-49.

[22] As a result of certain upper-caste Hindus' refusal to attend the shradh ceremony for a respected namasudra member, the Namasudras first made their existence known in 1873, when they declared a boycott of them.According to Historian Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, "The Namasudra Movement in Bengal is the story of antyaja, or untouchable caste, transforming itself from an amphibian peripheral multitude into a settled agricultural community, protesting against the age old social disabilities and economic exploitation it suffered from, entering the vortex from institutional politics and trying to derive benefit out of it through an essentially loyalist political strategy". Guruchand, the son of Harichand, advanced the cause by highlighting the need of education, particularly in English. Guruchand presided over the All Bengal Namasudra conference in 1881, which was held in the Khulna district at Dattadanga. Namsudra Hitaishini Samiti, a charity and activism group, was established in 1902. In 1907, Guruchand started publishing the newspaper Namasudra Suhrid, which led to the start of numerous additional local periodicals. The Bengal Namasudra Association was established in 1912, and it quickly established branches in almost every region of undivided Bengal. At the end of 1930s Jogendra Nath Mandal rose to become the most prominent leader of Namasudra. He won the Bengal assembly election in 1937 as an independent candidate. He also established the Bengal Unit of Scheduled Caste Federation in 1942, which was launched by Dr. Ambedkar in the previous year in Maharashtra. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Mukunda Behari Mallick, Dwarikanath Barui,

Nagendranath Roy, and Kshetranath Singh, representatives of Bengali Untouchables from the districts of Faridpur, Jessore, Khulna, and Barisal, now in Bangladesh, were political shrewd and foresight in their selection of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to the Constituent Assembly in 1946. These districts are now The Namasudra-populated areas are suspected by the Bengali Dalits to have been given to Pakistan in exchange for Dr. Ambedkar's election to the Constituent Assembly. These Untouchables still go unacknowledged despite playing a significant part in the creation of the Constitution. See Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Caste, Protest and Identity in Colonial India, The Namasudras of Bengal, 1872-1947*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011. See also, N.B. Biswas, "Emergence of Namasudra as a Sub-Caste: An Ethnological View", *Man in India*, 91 (3-4), pp.559- 566.

[23] The Dravidian Movement was a sequence of actions that were a socio-cultural-religious movement, spearheaded by various leaders of the era. However, each conflict had a similar premise or goal. In Tamil Nadu, at a time of several movements in Central India and North India, this movement was founded by a famous Buddhist scholar who is also the father of Neo-Buddhism in India. Iyothee Thass was the man's name. Madras was the birthplace of the South Indian Buddhist Association, which eventually flourished throughout India and internationally. The Dravidian Movement in Tamil Nadu, as Adi Dravida called it in 1914, also has Iyothee Thass to thank for its foundation. owing to the Dravidian-Aryan worldview. In Tamil or Dravidian territory, there was an invasion by foreign Aryans. Therefore, this was the conflict between Brahmanism (Aryans) and Dravidians (Non-Aryans). These were dispersed over the southern Indian states of Malabar Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh. In the Provincial Civil Service, 94 percent of positions were held by Brahmans, as shown by the 1901 census, who made up 3% of the population. The Madras University graduated 650 students that year, and 450 of them were brahmins. The three founders of the Justice Party, Dr. C. N. Mudaliar, T. M. Nair, and P. Theagaraya Chetty, demanded democratic representation for non-Brahman castes in the spheres of education, administration, and law. The Madras Presidency's diarchic administration was headed by the Justice Party in 1920, and this win was notable. Additionally, representatives of non-Brahmin Castes in administrations and education were provided. E. V. Ramaswamy Periyar was rising as a radical leader in Tamil Nadu at the same time. For the castes who were outcast and underrepresented, he founded the Self-Respect Movement. After his vehement counter against the Brahmanical structure of the Indian National Congress, the foundation was set in 1926. The self-respect movement in Tamil Nadu has mobilized the whole downtrodden class, empowered them to uphold their own dignity, and given them the means to rebel against Brahmanical systems. In Tamil Nadu, Periyar affiliated with the left-wing party in 1932 after developing a socialist perspective. But in 1936, he broke away from the false comrades after learning that Marxist Communists were also afflicted with the Brahmanical Disease and had begun collaborating with Congress. Consequently, the movement was boosted by the participation of Adi Dravida leaders like M C Rajah. The movement quickly extended to the close-by South Arcot and Salem neighborhoods. Despite its short-lived popularity, it was nonetheless a major social protest incident since it helped the "untouchables" develop a concept of an equal social structure. The movement's widespread support inadvertently compelled the government to take note of the growing Adi Dravida consciousness in Madras Presidency. See, Braj Ranjan Mani, *Debrahmanising History: Dominance and Resistance in Indian Society*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2005. See also, T. K. Oommen, *Social Movement I: Issues of Identity*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010. S. V. Rajadurai, V. Geetha, *The Periyar Century: Themes in Caste, Gender & Religion*, Bharathidasan University, Silver Jubilee Publication, Palkalaiperur, Tiruchirappalli, 2007. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya & Yagati Chinna Rao (eds.), *The Past of the Outcaste: Readings in Dalit History*, New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2017.

and the Adi-Hindu movement[25] was centered around Kanpur in UP, and also organized the Pulayas and Cherumans in Kerala.[26] All these organizations were targeting the idea of

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[24] In Andhra, the process was speed up by the commercialised coastal regions, which gave rise to a mobile Dalit agricultural class and a small educated section, which produced leaders like Bhagyareddy Varma and Arigyay Ramaswamy, who were able to convince almost a third of the Malas and Madigas of the Madras Presidency to declare their identity as Adi-Andhra in the official census of 1931. To encounter the social hierarchy, Untocuahbility, discrimination and civilizational violence, Adi-Andhra movement known for his vital history. M.G. Bhagya Reddy Varma was a prominent cult to raise the voice against untouchability and founded the organization, Jagat Mitra Mandali in 1906. The First Andhra Desa Panchama Conference took place at Bezawada 3 on November 4, 5, and 6, 1917, with Bhagya Reddy Varma serving as the conference's chairman. Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao Pantulu, Guduru Ramachandra Rao Pantulu, and Vemuri Ramoji Rao were among the national leaders that attended this meeting. In that meeting, Varma contended about the atrocities on untouchables committed by caste hindus. Nowhere in the scriptures is the name Panchama used, hence he denounced it. At the gathering, 18 motions were voted demanding the government to provide land for free to the Adi Andhras, open public wells, schools, and hospitals to them, and to appoint Adi Andhras to the Legislative Councils, Municipalities, District, and Taluk Boards, among other things. Progressive people of all castes fervently requested that the government stop using the word Panchama because they found it to be offensive. And Bhagya Reddy Varma's perseverance wasn't ignored. The term "Panchama or "Taraya," hitherto used to identify the ancient Dravidian community in Southern India," was deleted by the Government of Madras, Law (General) Department in their G.O. No. 817, dated March 25, 1922, and was replaced by the terms "Adi-Dravida in the Tamil Districts" and "Adi-Andhra" in the Telugu Districts. 5 This Government Order was created in accordance with the Legislative Council decision that was adopted in January 1922. See, Yagati Chinna Rao, Dalits Struggle for Identity: Andhra and Hyderabad, 1900-1950, New Delhi: Kanishka Publishers, 2013 (First published in 2003). See also, Yagati Chinna Rao, "Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh: A Historical Outline of a Hundred Years", *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. 42(1), pp. 113-139. M.B. Gautam, Bhagyodayam-Maadari Bhagya Reddy Varma: Life sketch and Mission, Hyderabad: Samantara Book, 2009 (First Published in 1989), p. Appendix v, 91. (M.B. Gautam is the son of Bhagya Reddy Varma, He has been active in leading the Adi Hindu Social Service Activities after his father passed away.)

[25] Adi Hindu movement known as the assertive identity formation movement in the oppressed communities. This movement has a long impact on the migrated lower castes from rural to urban. In the 1920s, a new generation of literate untouchables developed the Adi Hindu worldview. From Christian missionaries working in the cantonments or civic stations, some untouchables had learned the basics of literacy. Others, with untouchable parents who had immigrated to the towns and had children in the 1880s and 1890s, were enrolled in municipal schools to the extent that their parents could pay the costs. 21 This freshly developed public space in the city encouraged dalit attempts to reclaim their cultural identity. Swami Acchutanand (1879–1933), a major Adi Hindu leader in the 1920s and 1930s, was raised at a military cantonment where his father served before relocating to Kanpur. He has completed his preliminary education from missionary school and gained the knowledge of religious texts. Another prominent leader of the Adi Hindu movement, Ram Charan (1888-1938) was born in a slum at Gwaltoli in Kanpur. His family's economic condition was not good. Parents were the regular laborers, but they were aware about the power of education. After completing the preliminary education, he worked in the Railway audit office and earned the money to complete his higher education. He got a degree in Law. As new social and political trends began to

influence the untouchables in the 1920s, Adi Hinduism developed in this context. The second generation in the towns, in particular, saw an increase in job insufficiency due to population expansion during the interwar period, causing them to look for employment outside of menial labor and trades. But they had a very limited number of options. For the untouchable generation that entered maturity in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, the barriers imposed by caste in obtaining employment became increasingly apparent. Chamars, doms, and bhangis, for instance, who dealt with dead animal hides and skins or reared pigs and were subject to city sanitary bylaws and licensing requirements, experienced greater enforcement of these rules. (Nadini Gooptu, *The Politics of the Urban Poor in the early Twentieth Century in India: Cambridge studies in Indian History and Society,* UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Therefore, the second generation untouchables from urban class started to mobilize and raise their voice against the exclusionary practices in the society. But due to the lack of resources and direction, some of them had joined Arya Samaj. This organization provides scholarships, hostel facilities, and more resources to untouchables students. That was the co-option to get them in the hindu fold with the practice of shuddhi (purification). Due to the political reform of 1919, introduced by the British Government brought the issue of numerical strength relative to various religious groups, as the principle of communal represenataion was fully recognised. Arya Samaj started to co-opt the untouchables through the shuddhi movements. As Swami Achyutanand said that "the samaj aimed to make all hindus slave of the vedas and the Brahmins". (See Chandrika Prasad Jigyasu, *Adi Hindu Andolan ka Prabantak Sri 108 Swami Acchutanand Harihar (Hereafter Acchutánand biography)*), Lucknow 1968, 2nd edn.) On the other side, Ramcharan Ram claims that "in 1919 reforms came and representation was given according to population; those religious groups who are more numerous get more places, and then what else but acchutoddhar conferences everywhere to uplift untouchables". (A. P. Chaudhury, *Picchre tatha Dalit Barg Ke Mahan Neta Rai Ram Charan Ka Jivan Charit tatha Unke Sanshipta Karya (hereafter Ram Charan biography)* Lucknow, 1973, pp. 1-2.). Local Adi Hindu sabhas (associations) were founded in Kanpur, Lucknow, Benares, and Allahabad in 1924 to promote the Adi Hindu religion. The initiative was taken by literate untouchables and bhakti religious speakers. Every Sabha had cits own pracharaks and upadeshaka who visited their untouchable neighbors on a regular basis. These individuals were fashioned after Christian missionaries and Arya Samajist preachers. (See, Om Prakash Singh, "Evolution of Dalit identity: History of Adi Hindu Movement in United Province (1900-1950)", *Indian History Congress*, vol. 70. 2009-10, pp. 574-585. During that period some other organizations were founded, Adi Hindu Samaj in 1919 in Lucknow, the Adi Hindu Mahasabha in Kanpur in 1923, and a similar organization was formed in 1920 in Allahabad.

The literary production at that time was the basic feature to construct the counter-public. The Adi Hindu movement has a specific role to develop the knowledge society in the context of literature and cultural fields. Before the Adi Hindu movement's agitations began in 1922, Achutanand originally communicated his Adi Hindu beliefs through poetry in 1917. (Jaffrelot 2003: 201–4). He actively urged people of all "untouchable" cultures to "remember" their past as Adi Hindus and rise to regain their real inheritance as the offspring of these ancient kings. His poetry provided a rudimentary history of the early inhabitants of India and their persecution by the invading Aryans (Achutanand in Badri Narayan and A.R. Misra (eds.), *Multiple Marginalities*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2004, p. 111). He wrote several poems, including Itihas Gyan (Knowledge of History) and Adi Vansh Ashtak (The Original Ancestry in Eight Stanzas), which allowed the audience to relive the brilliance of their lineage and their eventual "fall" as a result of an Aryan plot (Chandrika Prasad Jigyasu, *Swami Achutanand 'Harihar'*, Lucknow: Bahujan Kalyan Prakashan, 1968, pp. 112-13). Achutanand's initial use of poetry, music, and subsequently theatre as a way of disseminating Adi Hindu philosophy shows his attempts to close the gap between the text and the predominantly

reformation within the structure. Subsequently, these attempts were limited to constructing the sphere to counter untouchability. Therefore, the legacy of anti-caste discourse is known for constructing the public and political imagination to counter the hierarchy. To maintain that legacy, Kanshi Ram emerged as a messiah in Indian society and defined a social movement with a new perspective. He found the lacuna at the level of responsibility in the educated groups and drew the map to develop an understanding of political and non-political aspects. After getting the reservation, an elite class emerged in the society, who alienated themselves from the left of the society. The emergence of public intellectuals reflects the level of crisis in society. Political elites and their allies maintain the network and dominance in every institution. In India, after independence, different political parties emerged with particular ideologies and strengthened the power clout in democracy.

These parties were followed by their social and cultural organizations and the legacy of the independence struggle, except for some parties. Political parties like ILP, and SCF emerged with the consciousness of oppression in society and the courage to demolish the hegemonic structure. They raised their voice for representation and autonomous leadership. Dalit politics was in chaos with the leadership issues and ideological crises in different organizations, and political parties. However, in a different state, the mobilization process of Dalits was working at the grass-root level to raise the voice against the domination.

Therefore, to prepare the ground of assertion for Dalits, Kanshi Ram followed the legacy of Phule-Ambedkarite ideology and their practices for emancipation.[27] Before entering into the Kanshi Ram forays into politics, firstly trace out the political ground in late 1960 or early 1970,

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illiterate Dalit audience. In other words, Achutanand favored literary subgenres that were comfortably situated between written and spoken forms of communication. (See also, Sarah Beth Hunt, *Hindi Dalit Literature and the Politics of Dalit Representation*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2014, pp. 41-45).

[26] Mark Juergensmeyer, *Religious Rebels in the Punjab: The Ad Dharm Challenge to Caste*. New Delhi: Navayana, 2009. See Eleanor Zelliott, "Learning the Use of Political Means: The Mahars of Maharashtra " in Rajni Kothari, ed, *Caste in Indian Politics*, Orient Longman. 1970.

[27] Oliver Mendelsohn and Marika Vicziany, *The Untouchables: Subordination, Poverty, and The State in Modern India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998. See K.C. Das, *Indian Dalits: Voices, Visions and Politics*. Delhi: Global Vision Publishing House, 2004.

India experienced multiple crises due to the war, student protests against the authoritarian state, and the emergence of Prime Minister India Gandhi as an authoritarian leader i.e., to suspend the constitutional rights during the emergency period for 22 months (1975-77).[28] That time period was crucial for Indian democracy because authoritarian characteristics were dominated by undemocratic practices. Therefore, this chapter is entangled with the crises in the 1970s of Indian politics and the emergence of Kanshi Ram and his thinking with the public and attempts to identify those political actions which were taken by Kanshi Ram in 1981. And how these actions introduce the idea of a counter-public at the political and social levels.[29]

The 1970s: Populist Politics- 'Garibi Hatao' and Changing Public Sphere

Congress has a history of strongholds, the power base in the SCs communities. Their political elites developed the nexus to co-opt the local leadership and launch the policies to maintain the necessity of these sections.[30] That party was successful in developing class drift and conflict between the non-brahmins. Those strategies imbued the Marxist propagation of conflict as have and haven't. Gail Omvedt contended that 'Due to the significant political alienation of middle caste peasants in the late 1960s, Congress maintained its dominance in North India. It happened as a result of the congress political leaders' long-term strategy being perfected. 'Kulaks' and the 'rich and middle-class peasants' are the only benefactors of agricultural advancement, as well as the principal exploiters of agricultural laborers and Dalits, described by pro-Congress progressives as' urban salaried brahmins'.[31]

The political strategies of Congress are somewhat conservative due to the existence of Gandhian political culture and its historical social profile. The demarcation of joined Congress

28 Christophe Jaffrelott and Pratinav Anil, *India's First Dictatorship: The Emergency, 1975-77*, India: Harper Collins, 2021. See also Henry C. Hart, ed. *Indira Gandhi's India: A Political System Reappraised,* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976.

29 Olga G. Bailey, Bart Cammaerts, Nico Carpentier, *Understanding Alternative Media: Issues in Cultural and Media Studies*, UK: Open University Press, 2007.

30 Rajni Kothari, "Rise of the Dalits and Renewed Debate on Caste", *Economic & Political Weekly*, vol. 29, no. 26. 1994, pp. 1589-1594.

31 Gail Omvedt, "Ambedkar and After: The Dalit movement in India", in Dalit identity and Politics, ed. by Ghanshyam Shah, New Delhi: Sage publication, 2001, p. 155.

between conservative notables and upper-caste conservatives and intelligentsia among the party leaders reflect the compatibility of ideology and opposition to the social reform programs.[32] Indira Gandhi and Congress hide their Brahminical alliance in the umbrella coalition of unnamed terms KHAM- Kshatriya, Harijans, Adivasis, and Muslims, in Gujarat with M.S. Solanki maintains that alliance in many states. Congress projected that alliance to unite the upper castes with the lowest castes against the politically assertive middle castes.[33]

Moreover, Congress stables the process of assertion of Dalit to come out from the identity of Hindu. But the manufactured fractions and politics of necessity helped Indira Gandhi to popularize himself as a popular figure within the marginalized communities. Subsequently, Indira Gandhi emerged as a populist leader with the 'slogan *Garibi Hatao* in 1971'[34] to project the real survivor of 'the people'. She emerged as a populist figure that could be defined through various instances. In 1971, the electoral campaign was the insights of a combination of a socialist discourse at the top and at the local level and conservative practices were there. She has addressed 250 public rallies and many smaller meetings with the slogan: *"Some say let us get rid of Indira Gandhi (Indira Hatao), I say let us get rid of poverty (Garibi Hatao)."*[35]

It is vital to look back in time to comprehend the historical backdrop of populism and Indira Gandhi's populist action. In the 1960s, there was a rise of peasant populism, an ideology

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[32]   Christophe Jaffrelott, *India's Silent Revolution*, op. cit., p. 84.

[33]   Ibid, 155-56. Madhav Singh Solanki was the senior leader of Congress and known for being the architect of caste based alliance. He belonged to the Koli caste. He was the four time Chief Minister and also an external affairs minister in the central government. Those who were negatively impacted by KHAM's successful experiment, which gave the state's marginalized backward castes more influence, shifted their allegiance to the BJP. In order to defeat the Congress, Patels, Baniyas, and Brahmins banded together, which allowed the BJP to advance in Gujarat and win the support of the Kolis as well. When he led the Congress to an incredible victory in the 1980 Gujarat assembly elections, winning 141 out of 182 seats, Solanki effectively established the beginning. In the 1989 elections, when Congress won 149 of the 182 seats, he repeated it. Editor, "Madhav Singh Solanki: Architect of Caste Based Alliance", *News Riveting*, January 9, 2021.

(https://newsriveting.com/madhav-singh-solanki-architect-of-caste-based-alliance/)

[34]   Vernon Hewitt, *Political Mobilization and democracy in India: States in Emergency*, Delhi: Routledge, 2008, p. 128.

[35]   Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution*, op. cit., p. 118.

that erased the class divide to promote rural and urban differentiation. The Indian National Congress carried forward the populist spirit in a new form under Indira Gandhi's leadership from the late 1960s to the early 1980s.[36] In the mid-1970s, after the proclamation of the controversial Nation Emergency, she invented the popular slogan "Garibi Hatao" (Remove Poverty, Rescue the Country) and secured the left's support. She has launched the targeted pro-poor program popularized as a 20-point program.[37] She has become the socialist voice of the nation under the slogan "Indira is India, India is Indira". After the emergency period, she flourished again in power in 1980 with the rhetoric of *Desh Bachao*. Thus the period (1967-1980) was specifically described by Nayyar in the context of co-option and mediation.[38]

During her political campaign, she never regretted the emergency and its repercussions on the country. Her populist aura reflected the communication of poor people. In 1978, a massacre happened at Belchi in Bihar. Some Dalits were massacred and Indira Gandhi went there to read the pulse on the ground. People felt connected with her and argued that 'she felt our pain'.[39] That was a populist communication between Indira and the suffering people. At that time, she also went to meet Jayaprakash Narayan[40] in the hospital.

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[36] The middle of the 1960s saw tremendous political and economic upheavals that gave populism its radical undertone. The economic crisis and the split in the Congress party in the 1960s accelerated the shift from "inclusive," "consensus," and "mass politics" to "exclusivist," "confrontational," and "elite" politics, which prompted the party to adopt radical populist politics in an effort to win over the groups who had become estranged. Indira Gandhi endorsed the radical populist platform, which gave the Congress' economic strategy and policy a fresh spin, in an effort to restore the party's damaged reputation as being left of center. She used extreme tactics to persuade the populace that her administration was still committed to socialism even after opposition socialist factions broke away from the party. V. Bijukumar, "Economic Reforms, Populism, and Party Politics in India", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 65., No. 2, 2004, pp. 161-180.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Deepak Nayyar, Economic Development and Political Democracy: Interaction of Economics and Politics in Independent India, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 33, No. 49, 1998, pp. 3121-3131.

[39] Bharat Wariavwalla, "A backward glance at that great populist", *India Today*, October 31, 2011. https://www.indiatoday.in/opinion/bharat-wariavwalla/story/indira-gandhi-emergency-desh-bachao-post-independence-india-144484-2011-10-31 Accessed on 10 October 2021.

[40] Jayaprakash Narayan was born on October 11, 1902, in the village of Sitabdiara, Patna. An enthusiast for Indian independence and political figure, Jayaprakash Narayan. He was known as JP or Lok Nayak ("The People's Hero") and was imprisoned for his active participation in the civil disobedience campaign against British rule in India. He was raised reading accounts of the bravery and valor of Indian monarchs while growing up in Bihar, British India, which

However, the role of authoritarian government and public policies emerged together as a crucial element in the evolution of populist politics. Populist politics by definition is anti-elite and anti-pluralist which speak for the rights of the common people. Populists claim that they are the 'only' representative of the people. And they will represent the 'genuine will' of the common people.[41] According to Mudde, populism has three core concepts i.e., "the people", "the elite" and "the general will".[42] If populism is anti-elite, does it minimize the relationship between the state and the people? Does it make any relationship with the elites or those who rule?

From different works of literature, it is found that populism has several definitions depending upon its context and party positions. The left, center, and right-wing are no different in adopting the populist strategy to widen the scope of politics. Kaltwasser sees populism as a threat or corrective to democracy.[43] Laclau sees populism as a political style,[44] Muller sees populism as a "thin centered ideology."[45] Populist strategy practices inclusion and exclusion simultaneously. The example of Indira Gandhi's idea of *Garibi Hatao* marks the interpretation of democracy to cultivate her position to think about the poor. But methodologically, the subject matter was not poverty alleviation for Indira Gandhi, it was a projection of a leader with an

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significantly influenced his young mind. He relocated to the United States for his graduate studies despite being a stellar student. He obtained M.A. in Sociology from University of Wisconsin, US. (Alan and Wendy Scarfe, *J.P. His Biography*, New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited, 1998). He became aware of the struggles the working class experienced as a result of his struggles to survive in a strange country. He was persuaded that Marxism was the best strategy for easing the suffering of the masses after reading Karl Marx's "Das Kapital" for the first time. JP embodied the definition of a rebel. He challenged authority without fear and disobeyed rules. He was ardently questioning the existing quo since he was always seeking out fresh ideas and customs. He was opposed by practically all political parties in India as a result of this quality, and in the 1960s and 1970s he had the unusual distinction of being a political figure that both Congressmen and Communists despised.(Bimal Prasad & Sujata Prasad, *The Dream of Revolution: A Biography of Jayaprakash Narayan*, New Delhi: Vintage Books, 2021)

[41] Cass Mudde & Kaltwasser Cristóbal Rovira, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2017. Ernest Laclau, *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso, 2018., Jan-Werner Müller, *What is populism*? UK: Penguin Books Ltd, 2018.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Cass Mudde & Kaltwasser Cristóbal Rovira, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press 2017.

[44] Ernest Laclau, *On Populist Reason*. London: Verso, 2018.

[45] Jan-Werner Müller, *What is populism*? Penguin Books Ltd, 2018.

alliance from below. Charismatic leadership is a valuable asset for mobilizing the masses for any political movement. According to Barr, there are three aspects through which we can understand the populist phenomenon. First, a populist frequently employs rhetoric appeals against the ruling elite. Such appeals are attractive for mass mobilization during times of crisis. They usually claim where the people are i.e., common people. Second, they claim that they are the voice of the people and stand against the power elite.[46] And the final defining aspect of populism is that it emphasizes its linkage between the political actors and the citizens.[47]

As a populist leader, Indira Gandhi formulated the crisis as a dent in the country's dignity and developed the general will against that crisis. In the process of being populist, the slogan "*Indira is India and India is Indira*" was raised by her sycophants Dev Kant Barooah during the emergency.[48] In 1974, the nuclear explosion at Pokhran was an act to gain the pride of the nation and the popularity of leadership over the world. It helps Indira Gandhi to get the legitimacy of charisma in the masses.Indira Gandhi made the sarcastic remark that "*food is more important than freedom*" at the pinnacle of the state of emergency, which was indicative of a populist authoritarian administration.[49] This style of politics maintains the crises as a performance for the people. Muller states that a "crisis" is not an objective state of affairs but a matter of interpretation.[50] To further extend, he states that a crisis can be a performance. So, is it constantly creating pressure on "the people," or is it truly a crisis?[51]

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[46] Robert R. Barr, Populism as a Political Strategy, in Carlos de la Torre, *Routledge Handbook of Global Populism*, Routledge: London, 2018.

[47] Aytaç, S and Őniş, Z. *Varieties of Populism in a Changing Global Context: The Divergent Paths of Erdoğan and Kirchnerismo*, Comparative Politics, Ph.D. Programs in Political Science, City University of New York. 2014. pp. 41-59.

[48] Outlook Web Desk, "Indira is India, India is Indira, JP's Crusade", *Outlook*, 5 February 2022. https://www.outlookindia.com/magazine/story/indira-is-indiaindia-is-indira-jps-crusade/204064 (Dev Kant Barooah was a politician from Assam and MP also. He has served as the President of Congress during emergency (1975-77).

[49] Ravi Visvesvaraya Sharada Prasad, "Why Did Indira Gandhi Call for Elections in January 1977?" *OPEN,* 23 January 2022. https://openthemagazine.com/special/indira-gandhi -call-elections -january-1977/)

[50] Jan-Werner Müller, What is Populism? op.cit., 2018, p. 62.

[51] Ibid.

The aura of Indira Gandhi was countered by the socialist Jayprakash Narayan, against the authoritarian populist. But on the other side, Socialist Jayaprakash Narayan was against Indira Gandhi's politics and argued that "Freedom became one of the beacon lights of my life and it has remained so ever since…Above all, it meant freedom of the human personality, freedom of the mind, freedom of the spirit. This freedom has become a passion of my life and I shall not see it compromised for food, for security, for prosperity, for the glory of the state, or anything else."[52] Jayapraksh Narayan was the one who dismantled the legacy of Indira Gandhi and developed a new public sphere to understand the idea of freedom. To reject the authoritarian aggression, JP Narayan rejoined active politics in 1974. Student unrest erupted in protest of unemployment, corruption, and dictatorial government, and when it became out of hand, it became violent.[53]

He seized command of that movement, which became known as the JP movement, to suppress the repression and terror. The movement was responsible for creating a new narrative in the country and maintaining a stronghold position against authoritarian authority. A quiet march-past was held in Patna on April 8, 1974, under the leadership of JP, and police used lathi charges throughout the procession. And that movement, which is fighting corruption and dictatorial leadership, has gained widespread support.[54] Authoritarianism creates a mass that feels apolitical and indifferent in thinking. But crises cannot survive for long and counter-narratives emerge with unrest in public life. JP Narayan addressed a rally in Patna on 5 June 1975 and said "This is a revolution, friends! We are not here merely to see the Vidhan Sabha dissolved. That is only one milestone on our journey. But we have a long way to go... After 27 years of freedom, people of this country are wracked by hunger, rising prices, corruption... oppressed by every kind of injustice... it is a Total Revolution we want, nothing less!".[55] He was successful in creating a public sphere against the unrest in the country. People were raising their voices and discussing

[52] M.G. Devasahayam, Jayaprakash Narayan: An Idealist Betrayed, *The Hindu Center*, 11 October 2018. https://www.thehinducentre.com/the-arena/current-issues/article25188707.ece

[53] P.N. Dhar, *Indira Gandhi, the 'Emergency', and Indian Democracy.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 301. Michael Henderson, *Experiment with Untruth: India Under Emergency*, Delhi: Macmillan, 1977, p. 5. Kuldip Nayar, *The Judgement: Inside story of Emergency in India*, New Delhi: Vikas, 1977, p. 68.

[54] M.G. Devasahayam, "Jayaprakash Narayan: An Idealist Betrayed", *The Hindu Center*, 11 October 2018.

[55] Ibid, See also, Ghanshyam Shah, Revolution, Reform, or Protest? A Study of the Bihar Movement: I, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 12, No.15, 1977, pp. 605-614.

the authoritarian aggression inaugurated by Indira Gandhi. She was found guilty by the Allahabad High Court on 12 June 1975, of corrupt practices during the election, which obstructed her six years in holding the office.[56]

JP Narayan: Performative Politics

25 June 1975 was the turning point in the Indian democracy[57] to enter into authoritarianism as an emergency was announced by Indira Gandhi:[58]

> In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (1) of Article 352 of the Constitution, I, Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed, President of India, by this Proclamation declare that a grave emergency exists whereby the security of India is threatened by internal disturbances.
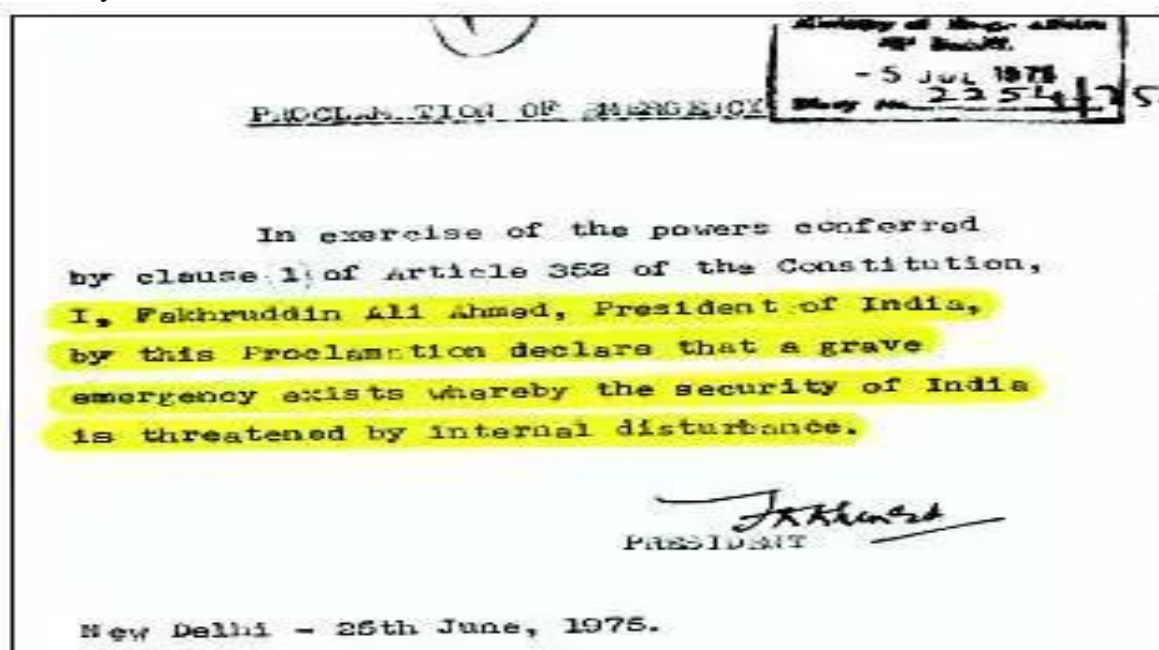
Fig. 3.1. Order Copy of Emergency[59]

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[56] Bipan Chandra, *In the Name of Democracy: JP Movement and the Emergency.* New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003, p. 64. See also, P.N. Dhar. *Indira Gandhi, the 'Emergency', and Indian Democracy*, 2000, p. 258. Henderson, Michael D. *Experiment with Untruth: India Under Emergency*, Delhi: Macmillan,1977, p. 1. Nayar, Kuldip. The Judgement: Inside story of Emergency in India. New Delhi: Vikas, 1977, p. 4.

[57] Gyan Prakash, *Emergency Chronicles: Indira Gandhi and Democracy's Turning Point,* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019, p. 25, 140.

[58] Report, "Emergency Papers Found", *Time of India*, 30 June 2013. (Accessed on 5 August 2022) (https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/sunday-times/deep-focus/emergency-papers-found/articleshow/20839450.cms)

After declaring the emergency, JP Narayan was the one who was arrested under the Defense of India rules. Because he was working as a resistance intellectual and democrat to expose the truth of the undemocratic practices of Indira Gandhi. During the 20 months emergency period, 'People have moved in a hushed quiet, astonished and traumatized by the harsh events. Academicians, lawyers, and accountants competed to sing paeans of honor to the Emergency authorities, with some swearing bloody allegiance and obedience. Politicians of all stripes lie flat and prostate, with a few honorable exceptions. There was darkness in the air, and it appeared as if everything had come to an end, and the world's largest democracy was on the verge of becoming a dictatorship.'[60] It was the reflection of the violence with the power of a leader to feel loneliness in democracy. The process of increasing violence, as Arendt suggested, to understand 'holding' power 'feels slipping from their hands'.[61] In such cases, 'the expression of violence is not the manifestation of superior power but weakness.'[62]

JP Narayan was consistently adamant and was thinking of freedom for the country. At the juncture, when RSS nationalists were in a position of compromise, JP Narayan wrote a letter to Indira Gandhi from prison on July 21, 1975:[63]

> ".... You know I am an old man. My life's work is done. And after Prabha's going I have nothing and no one to live for... I have given all my life, after finishing education, to the country and asked for nothing in return. So, I shall be content to die a prisoner under your regime... Would you listen to the advice of such a man? Please do not destroy the foundation that the Fathers of the Nation, including your own noble father, had laid down. There is nothing but strife and suffering along the path that you have taken. You inherited a great tradition, noble values, and a great democracy. Do not leave behind a miserable wreck of all that. It would take

[59] Ibid. (https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/home/sunday-times/deep-focus/emergency-papers-found/articleshow/20839450.cms)

[60] M.G. Devasahayam, "Jayaprakash Narayan: An Idealist Betrayed", *The Hindu Center*, 11 October 2018. See also, Gyan Prakash, *Emergency Chronicles: Indira Gandhi and Democracy's Turning Point,* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019.

[61] Patricia Owens, *Between War and Politics: International Relations and the Thought of Hannah Arendt*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, p. 16. Arendt, Hannah. *Crises of the Republic: Lying in Politics, Civil Disobedience On Violence, Thoughts on Politics, and Revolution*, San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1972, p. 184.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Jayaprakash Narayan, *Prison Diary,* Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1979.

a long time to put that all together again. For it would be put together again I have no doubt. A people who fought British imperialism and humbled it cannot accept the indignity and shame of totalitarianism. The spirit of man can never be vanquished, no matter how deeply suppressed. In establishing your personal dictatorship, you have buried it deep. But it will rise from the grave…"

This letter has the depth to establish the idea of democracy and citizens' freedom to think about their rights. He was in agony, and pain and couldn't see the death of democracy in front of his eyes. He used the word totalitarianism to identify the regime and practices developed by Indira Gandhi. Intellectuals were in trauma and felt cautious with the regime of Indira Gandhi. The imposition of press censorship restricted public knowledge and also discussion about police atrocities[64] in public. All famous newspapers and magazines stopped publishing the undemocratic and authoritarian practices of the government. Western newspapers were warned to adhere to the censorship regulations, although they had uniformly criticized the Emergency's implementation.[65]

Gyan Prakash wrote 'The Daily Telegraph's Peter Gill and The Times' Peter Hazelhurst were expelled on July 22 for refusing to formally certify that they would adhere to the censorship rules, while the BBC withdrew Mark Tully rather than requiring him to do so. After being accused of acting as a courier for other foreign journalists, Financial Times reporter Kevin Rafferty was sent away. The Guardian's Martin Woollacott was informed that he would not be allowed to enter the country unless he signed the commitment while he was outside of it.'[66] In response to the emergency and the impunity of censorship, Indira Gandhi was being criticized by Western academics and intellectuals. Old Indian patrons and intellectuals in the US and the UK, especially her longtime American acquaintance Dorothy Norman, who frequently wrote protest letters and remarks, upset her. For instance, the New York Times published an open letter signed by 80 illustrious Americans condemning persecution and urging the restoration of basic rights. Benjamin Spock, Noam Chomsky, Allen Ginsberg, Norman Mailer, Lewis Mumford, Philip

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[64] Gyan Prakash, *Emergency Chronicles: Indira Gandhi and Democracy's Turning Point*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019, p. 17.

[65] Ibid, p. 154.

[66] Ibid, p.155.

Randolph, and Arthur Schlesinger were a few of the signatories. Linus Pauling, a Nobel Prize winner, and tennis great Arthur Ashe both signed the petition.[67]

Regardless of how annoying and unpleasant these were, she remained obstinate. In any event, controlling the Indian press was a far more vital task for Indira Gandhi. After giving the Hindustan Times and Indian Express a taste of its goals by cutting off the electricity on the evening of June 25, the government issued a warning that printing blank editorials, as they had done, would not be authorized. K. R. Malkani, the editor of the Motherland, an RSS publication that had run exaggerated stories about Indira and Sanjay, was taken into custody early on June 26. A month later, renowned journalist Kuldip Nayar was detained. He provoked official ire because of his work for the Indian Express, a newspaper that supported JP.[68] After having caution and fear, intellectuals in India experienced silence over unrest in the society. An editor of *Seminar* (a famous and literate Indian journal of opinion) on the anniversary pointed out the crisis of writing and the lack of contributors from all over India.

Intellectuals and Public Sphere during Emergency

The intellectual climate has been ruined and fear has taken a stake in their writings. In a statement published in a magazine, the editor of Seminar said "That we are unable to gather material despite considerable effort is a sad and demoralizing fact which no censor or Government edict can obliterate,". To further extend "Fear has taken hold. Silence is the rule. We are witnessing the slow death of the social sciences in India."[69] The intellectual exercise has been deteriorating and can't expose the truth about the crisis in society. In an interview by a famous historian not to mention his name said that "We'll become semi-literate, insensitive, brutalized, amenable and passive. You can't break new ground intellectually if there is repression

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[67]   Ibid, p. 172. (Refer to New York Times, March 5, 1976)

[68]   Ibid, p. 155.

[69]   William Borders, "Intellectuals in India, Feel Caution, Fear and Concern", *New York Times*, May 26, 1976. https://www.nytimes.com/1976/05/26

archives/intellectuals-in-india-feel-caution-fear-and-concern-intellectuals.html   (Accessed   on 20/04/22)

and you feel you must be careful all the time."[70] Intellectuals never felt that repression at the level of ideas after independence. It's a history of repression of intellectuals by authoritarian states in different periods. For example, Socrates, Giordano Bruno, Tommaso Campanella, Spinoza, Roza Luxemberg, and Gramsci etc. These are some philosophers and intellectuals imprisoned by the church and state against the writing of authority. Because intellectuals expose the truth against the crises and authoritarian state and their ideas work as cultural goods, which reflect in the everyday practices of the public. They have their wider audiences and construct the public realm to deliver the meaning of mundane practices. But on the other side, due to ill intentions, intellectuals don't have morals and accept the unrest in society, and work without ethics and a sense of responsibility.

The supporters or managerial intellectuals of the Prime Minister were supposed to articulate that move of emergency constructively. As reported by the New York Times,[71] "Supporters of Prime Minister Gandhi point out that the state of emergency that her Government declared last June, altering the course of the whole society, has brought an end to the tumultuous campus rioting which had all but paralyzed many institutions in 1974 and 1975." Prof. V. P. Dutt was one of those who supported the emergency to track down the university on its right path.[72] He said that "Far from stifling academic inquiry, the declaration of the emergency has made it possible again, by returning peace to the campuses by ensuring that they are orderly places of thought." To further extend, 'They are also giving talks overseas to counter the negative press reporting that India's shift toward authoritarianism has received in the West, pointing out that there are considerably fewer police officers on India's campuses now than there were a year ago.'[73] Here the reflection seems on intellectuals' affiliation with politics to counter the narrative against the crises in society.

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70   Ibid.
71   Ibid, 1976.

72   Ibid.
73   Ibid.

As Karl Mannheim writes, "political affiliation or opposition will be decided on the basis of a conscious orientation in society and in accordance with the demands of intellectual life."[74] The intellectual sphere is not autonomous,[75] It has a socio-cultural impact from past to present. The contradictions between the intellectuals constitute the debate between resistance intellectuals and collaborationist intellectuals. It reminds us of the chaos in French society from 1940 to 1945 and how intellectuals became involved in the intense power struggle. Patrick Baert writes that 'how intellectuals such as Sartre wrote about cultural trauma rather than writes on traumatic events. It can't be denied that what happened in France between 1940 and 1944 was particularly disruptive, confusing, and terrifying in several ways for many French people. Not only did the expeditious military loss come as a shock to many, with over seven million civilians fleeing south to avoid the war zone; 92,000 French soldiers died between 1939 and 1940, and 1,850,00 soldiers were imprisoned by the Germans'.[76] This makes a reference point about how intellectuals write and think about the crises in society. The difference is clear that the intellectual sphere and their writings are entangled with the socio-political circumstances at that time, but deviate between the resistance, free-floating, and collaborationist categories. And which public you want to target is also an important factor for intellectuals and can help to create the public sphere.

In a democratic society the public sphere matters which envisaged the inquiry of domination with opinion and formation of consensus about checking of power. It also helps to get the legitimacy to exercise power in a modern democratic state.[77] On the other side, people feel lonesome, and isolated, and block communicative action in a totalitarian state. To

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[74] Karl Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, London: Kegal Paul, 1929, p. 160. See also, John Heeren, "Karl Mannheim and the Intellectual Elite", *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 22, No. 1., 1971, p. 6.

[75] Refer to Anne Boschetti on intellectuals, where she talks about the intellectual sphere as autonomous from socio-political circumstances. But Patrick Baert raises the question of how socio-political factors outside the intellectual arena interact with it. He makes that point with the reference to Sartre emerging as a Public Intellectual in the particular period of 1941-44 in France. *Patrick Baert, The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015, p. 7.

[76] Ibid, p. 3.

[77] Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* 1991, pp. 201-08. See Kristin Plys, Political deliberation and democratic reversal in India: Indian coffee house during the emergency (1975-77) and the third world "totalitarian moment", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 46, 2017, pp. 117-142.

understand the repercussions of this, Arendt argued that "on the experience of not belonging to the world at all, which is among the most radical and desperate experiences of man. Loneliness, the common ground for terror, the essence of totalitarian government, and for ideology, or logicality the preparation of its executioners and victims, is closely connected with uprootedness and superfluousness which have been the curse of modern masses since the beginning of the industrial revolution and have become acute with the rise of imperialism at the end of last century".[78]

The repression of loneliness distracts the individual from the collective action[79] and consciousness against the dominance of the state. Due to that, the public sphere loses its sense of the critical inquiry of the totalitarian state and its policies against the rights of the individuals. At the time of the emergency, the Indian Coffee House was known as the space of interaction between ideologues, activists, and leaders associated with communists, Naxalites, Congress, Socialists, and RSS.[80] That place was the news center to know who was arrested the previous night and found the people who were fighting against the dictatorship.[81] It was the place to raise the voice against the repression of emergency and subversion of the rights of the citizens. But in 1976, the Indian coffee house was demolished by Sanjay Gandhi,[82] to obstruct intellectual and communicative action. The public sphere in a democratic society represents the space to govern the society and think critically. That critical publicity mediates public perception when private people participate in a formal process conducted through the intra-organizational public spheres. It keeps the lines of interaction open between individuals and the social milieu's "quasi-public opinion".[83] Co-opting the public sphere for private interests cannot succeed. Even when the press was censored, the Coffee house served as a hub for counter-narrative against the authoritarian

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[78]   Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, New York: Harcourt, 1966, p. 475.

[79]   Ibid, p. 478.

[80]   Kristin Plys, "Political Deliberation and democratic reversal in India: Indian Coffee House during the emergency (1975-77) and the third world "Totalitarian Movement", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 2017, p. 122.

[81]   Ibid, p. 121.

[82]   Promilla Kalhan, *Black Wednesday: Power Politics, Emergency and elections,* New Delhi: Sterling Publishers. 1977, p. 10.

[83]   Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. MIT Press: Cambridge, 1962, p. 248.

state during times of emergency.[84] To take reference from the writings of Kristin Plys, who had an interview with Socialist administrator at Max Muller Bhawan, contended that 'due to the violent dictatorship, the coffee house was changed. The coffee house had a larger crowd and served as a communication hub for those who had retreated underground to evade the emergency. People who were against the emergency showed up at the coffee house, he claimed.'[85]

Pamphlets (Janwaani and Resistance) were distributed in the coffee house against the emergency, with the names of leaders, activists who were arrested by the police, and criticism of dictatorship mentioned in the writings.[86] Therefore, the 'political public sphere' developed with institutional sociability such as coffee houses, salons, and newspapers, pamphlets to exchange ideas to strengthen the idea of democracy. That sphere is an extension of the 'literary public sphere' to envisage the understanding of the public realm and political realm.[87]

But it should be recognized that a large portion of the population was out of that public sphere. The accessibility was limited to the political elite and intellectuals from the upper strata. People from the margins were battling for basic needs and due to fractured consciousness, their leaders were co-opted by Congress. Congress was successful in maintaining the internal conflict within Scheduled Castes based on have and haven't. As Gail Omvedt explained that "the appeal to Dalit poor peasants/agricultural laborers to see the village dominant peasants/middle castes as their main enemies and exploiters did, of course, have the base in day-to-day forms of subordination and exploitation—and the power of this appeal and the ideology of the "rural poor" took on even more force when backed up by the very substantive political/economic benefits which congress had to offer (at least to Dalit leaders)."[88] The consequences of this

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[84] Kristin Plys, "Political Deliberation and democratic reversal in India: Indian Coffee House during the emergency (1975-77) and the third world "Totalitarian Movement", op. cit., p. 122.

[85] Ibid, p. 130.

[86] Ibid, p. 131.

[87] Sanyal Shukla, *Revolutionary Pamphlets, Propaganda and Political Culture in Colonial Bengal*, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014, p. 5.

[88] Gail Omvedt, "Kanshi Ram and the Bahujan Samaj Party", in K.L. Sharma ed. *Caste and Class in India*, South Asia Book: Delhi, 1994, p. 156.

fraction helped Congress to capture the Dalit vote bank in many states. And the various fractions of the RPI also maintain an alliance directly or indirectly with Congress.[89] Their interests were represented through sectional lobbying by the community contractor.

It's a history to co-opt the Dalit leaders and plant them against the real voice of representation for Dalits. For a separate electorate, Ambedkar was adamant but Hindu Mahasabha planted M.C. Rajah and Jagjivan Ram by Congress.[90] And after independence, there are more big leaders co-opted by BJP and Congress. Even in the early 1970s "Dalit Panthers" leaders who were radical in thought and develop the counter-public sphere through literature, were co-opted by Congress. Possibly it can be said that Dalit movement leadership ideologically emerged but due to the circumstances of the weakness of 'non-political roots', they were co-opted easily.

To critically engage with these practices, Kanshi Ram wrote a book "The Era of Stooges" (Chamcha Yug) on the occasion of the 50 Years of Poona Pact.[91] In 1980, the politics of assertion or independent leadership emerged against the anti-Congress political force. It was the time for the renewal of the earlier political thrust of the Ambedkarite movement[92] with the Bahujan perspective by Kanshi Ram. The leadership emerged in Backward and exploited communities to encounter the discourse of co-opted politics. Kanshi Ram was conscious of the criticism of the Dalit movement and its leadership. He criticizes the leadership of RPI due to being dominated by one community like Mahar.[93]

For Kanshi Ram, the critical inquiry of the movement was the epistemic source to maneuver the cadre-based leadership. His critical thinking about leadership conveys the message to society to think differently in this ethnic democracy. To understand his philosophy and idea of the counter-public, uncover the nature of the public and its role to dismantle the narrative of dependent politics. Most of the scholarly writings focused on the emergence of BSP and

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[89] Ibid. For further explanation see also, Kanshi Ram, *Chamcha Age: An Era of the Stooges*, Delhi: Vedic Mudranalaya, 1982.

[90] Christophe Jaffrelot, *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability: Analyzing and Fighting Caste,* London: Hurst & Company, 2005, p. 66.

[91] Kanshi Ram, *Chamcha Age: An Era of the Stooges*, Vedic Mudranalaya: Delhi, 24 September 1982.

[92] Ibid, p.156.

[93] Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, New York: Routledge, 2016, p. 86.

consciousness among Dalits with a past that lapses the debate of the emergence of Kanshi Ram and his narration of hierarchy at the micro-level in different states and how he has proposed the idea of power through struggles at national and international level.

What is the Public of this Counter-Public?

> *'Dukh Daridra ki bhari gatharia*
> *Ghat jaye mil Baante*
> *Dukhiya ke dukh*
> *Dukhiya baante'.*[94]
> (Bundles of sorrow
> get reduced through sharing
> the sorrow of the Sufferer
> Share by sufferers)

For a public intellectual it is necessary to understand his/her audience and the public.[95] Through a certain understanding of the society, both at a cultural and historical level one can figure out the discontents (social-political frustration of the backwardness) of the society. Many discourse communities in social movements gather through the thoughts and actions of the intellectual. People closely identified the individual with the communitarian action as a whole.[96] In the journey of being a public intellectual, the role of the audience is important where you identify the clout of the public to deliver his or her message in society. As argued, 'knowledge for whom' is a framework to understand the dichotomy between public and intellectual class (elite intellectual).[97] It's a fundamental question, what is public for a public intellectual to engage with

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[94]   Recorded Interviews with Jagdish Chandra from Allahabad dated 17/09/20.

[95]   Lorenzo Morris, "Rules for Public Intellectuals", *Political Science and Politics*, Vol. 43,No. 4, 2010, pp. 671-674.

[96]   Jonathan Roberge and Thomas Crosbie, "Critics and Cultural intermediaries", in Christian Fleck and Andreas Hess (eds.) *Knowledge for Whom: Public Sociology in the making*, USA: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2014, p. 275.

[97]   Ibid.

the past of the public sphere? To develop the counter-public, it's necessary to understand the layer of the existing public sphere and the consciousness of the past.

The history of the public sphere is a process of thought and action developed through writings and protected by elite intellectuals. Therefore, the public sphere works with the networking of ideas of elite intellectuals and protects these ideas through the domination of knowledge production. Bourdieu's knowledge production is a form of cultural capital, which maintains the habitus of a particular class.[98] Those communities face the challenge of accessing the public and how it is possible to be part of the public sphere. Therefore, they developed a parallel framework to engage with the public, and Nancy Frazer called this 'subaltern counter-public'.[99] Therefore, thinking with the public entangles with the counter-public in the excluded communities from the dominant sphere. To trace that framework, Kans Ram's political action is at the center to understand the social context of the Bahujan movement. But imagine that society, the larger part of the community, was illiterate, and to awaken them politically was challenging.

Kanshi Ram has studied the social structure in order to create his audience. Kanshi Ram was familiar with Ambedkar for such a long time, but not with his early thoughts. He recounts a day when Kanshiram enquired as to why his roommate "Shri Gaini" was sobbing. He retorted that Baba had left. Kanshi Ram then enquired, "Who is your Baba?" He said that Baba, who drafted India's constitution, is a true deity in our nation.[100] A lifetime adventure with Ambedkar and his movement started at that point. Kanshi Ram later learned about his roommate's occupation and his family's relocation abroad. In order to highlight the risks associated with

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[98] David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.

[99] Nancy Frazer, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text*, No. 25/26, 1990, pp. 56-80.

[100] Mahendra Raut, "Kanshiram Itihas ke Panno Per, in Kanshi Ram," in Kanshi Ram (eds.), *Bahujan Nayak: Samta, Swatantrata, Bandhutva evam nyaya ke manviya moolyo ka sajag prahar*i, Nagpur: Geetanjali Press, 1999. Narendra Kumar, "Manyavar Kanshi Ram and Sense of Responsibility", *Doing Sociology* (online blog), 31 May 2021. https://doingsociology.org/2021/05/31/manyavar-kanshiram-and-a-sense-of-responsibility-narendra-kumar/

"irresponsibility" in society, Kanshi Ram told the cadre camp about this occurrence. People frequently stop thinking about society and their challenges once they get a job.[101]

For this reason, Kanshi Ram envisioned Phule and Dr. Ambedkar's strategies and developed the practices of 'Mission Payback to Society' as a social responsibility for the government employees of the oppressed community.[102] He has started to mobilize the people to construct his public. To develop the responsibility and social utility in the educated employees of the marginalized communities, BAMCEF was the first attempt. Kanshi Ram was aware of the Ambedkar words which were said in Agra on 18 March 1956. In the words of Kanshi Ram, "During his lifetime Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was feeling disgusted looking at the behavior of this class. On 18 March 1956, while addressing the huge gathering of the oppressed and exploited masses at Ramlila Ground, Agra, he denounced and condemned the attitude of this class of educated employees towards their own people amongst whom they were born. Today this class of more than 20 lac educated employees has sought to organize itself under the banner of about 10,000 organizations for their selfish ends."[103] These words attract Kanshi Ram to understand the gap between the educated and the rest of the people in oppressed and exploited communities. He

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[101] Recorded Interview with T.R. Khunte from Noida Dated-21/12/20 (He was the one who had worked with Kanshi Ram in Chhattisgarh, West Bengal, and other regions of India). See also, Narendra Kumar, "Manyavar Kanshi Ram and Sense of Responsibility", *Doing Sociology* (online blog), 31 May 2021.

[102] Christophe Jaffrelot, *India's Silent Revolution: The rise of the low castes in North Indian politics*, Permanent Black, 2003.

[103] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, Bhubaneshwar: Rashmi Enterprises, 1981, p. 5. In the words of Kanshi Ram, 'Almost a decade long effort, directly, or indirectly, has gone into the making of BAMCEF. A full and detailed account of that long effort will appear in book form very shortly. The book may be about 250 pages. Owing to an enormous amount of fieldwork and organizational effort. I was required to put it in during the last year, but I could not complete that book. Otherwise, the ripe and right time for releasing such a book was the occasion of the 3rd-National Convention to be held at Chandigarh, on 14 Oct. 1981. To compensate for this loss, I have dictated this short introduction to the detailed account that will appear in that full book. This has been done to provide, if not detailed but authentic information on this occasion, when the delegates from all over India are meeting at Chandigarh. He thanks Mr. Nanawate of Nagpur for taking the dictations to save valuable time, and also thanks Mr. Ramraj Ram from Jabalpur for Hindi Translation and Mr. Fateh Jang Singh of Chandigarh for Punjabi Translation. Due to that it is possible to release the short introduction in these three languages on the occasion of the 3rd National Convention.

critically engaged with these nuances and tried to mobilize the people with a set of goals. It was his observation to educate the educated people with social responsibility.

For the construction of the public, Kanshi Ram writes "keeping the sentiments of the father of this class in mind and its social responsibility. Some of us in Poona (14 Oct 1971) decided to organize these educated employees for pay-back to society."[104] To further extend "it was also decided to organize the employees on an all-India basis and firm footing if something tangible was to be accomplished through such an organization." Subsequently, to propound the idea of social utility, BAMCEF came into force around 1973. In 972, a seminar was organized by Kanshi Ram, called 'Employees' Problems and their Solutions'.[105] But exactly, BAMCEF as an idea was conceived on 6 December 1978. A handful of employees of Poona and Delhi gathered in Delhi and decided to give birth to the BAMCEF within 5 years. After doing the fieldwork and mobilizing educated people from different states, BAMCEF as an idea was converted into an established organization on 6 December 1978 in Boat Club Lawn, Delhi.[106] This organization is known as the 'brain bank' for the exploited and oppressed society to move its mission ahead and forward.[107] BAMCEF stands for "The All India Backward (S.C., S.T., O.B.C.) and Minority Communities Employees Federation, Delhi".[108] The term 'minority' denotes religious minorities only such as Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, and Parsees. To quote from the original book, "BAMCEF is a product of deep desire, careful thoughts, conducted experiments and evolved concepts"[109] to strengthen the non-political roots.

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[104] Ibid, p. 5-6. (In April 1971, Kanshi Ram organized a meeting at the Madrasi School in the Khadki region of Poona. This meeting was attended by fifty to sixty government employees including D.K. Khaparde (He was the co-founder of BAMCEF and General Secretary of the organization) Madhu Parihar (He was also the founder member of BAMCEF and General Secretary of the Organization before Khaparde), Bhimrao Dalal (He was an auditor of BAMCEF), and Manohar Ate (First Joint Secretary of the BAMCEF and wrote editorial in The Oppressed Indian Magazine). Six months later, the SMCEA was formally launched. This meeting was held on 14 October 1971 at the Nehru Memorial Hall in Poona and was attended by nearly a thousand workers. In this meeting, Kanshi Ram was nominated as President of the association. See Badri Narayan, *Kanshi Ram: Leader of the Dalit*, op. cit., p. 38)

[105] Y. K. Yaad, *Samajik Parivartan ke Mahanayak Manya Kanshi Ram Sahab,* Lucknow: Bahujan Sahitya Sanstha LTD, 2005, p.15.

[106] op, cit., p.6.

[107] Ibid, p.6.

[108] Ibid, p.1.

[109] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op.cit., p. i.

Therefore, the aim to organize the educated employees of Backward and minority communities is "to pay back to the oppressed and exploited society to which they belong."[110] In the words of Kanshi Ram, 'the educated employees of these communities appear to be the benefactors among the oppressed and exploited society, based on our knowledge and experience, and in light of our best assessments.'[111] Subsequently, it was essential to develop the moral obligation and sense of responsibility of these beneficiaries to the oppressed.

To counter the idea of the oppressed elite, Kanshi Ram developed a sense of responsibility in society "Self Help is the best help and self-respect movement cannot be built without self-help".[112] He always said in cadre camp that '*Hamare poorvajo ne dusro ke joote khaye hai, hame apno ke joote khane ke liye taiyaar rehna chahye, tau doosro ke joote khane ki naubat nahi ayegi'* (Our ancestors have kicked the shoes of the others, We should prepared themselves to kick the shoes of our own people, then we can save ourselves from the shoe's kick of the others).[113] Somewhere he focused on the importance of our own organization or platform to strengthen the voice. In that sense, Kanshi Ram draws the analogy between the oppressed elite and victims (Backward and Minority Communities) of the system. Consequently, victims should organize themselves to construct the counter-public sphere against the injustice done to them. Some theorists have already mentioned that a public intellectual should be aware of his audience.[114] In that sense, Kanshi Ram was successful in identifying his audience and generating emotions for communities. However, the journey to understand the audience was very scientific.

It was his far-sighted imagination to project "BAMCEF as a non-political, non-agitational, and non-religious movement."[115] Because of the imposition of the civil service conduct rule, they can't participate in the agitational movement, and if they are found indulged,

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[110]   Ibid, p. 1.
[111]   Ibid, p. 1.
[112]   Ibid, p. 1.
[113]   Recorded Interview with Jagdish Chandra from Allahabad dated 17/09/20.

[114]   Patrick Baert, The Existentialist Moment: *The rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual*, op. cit. See also Marcus Morgan, Strategies of Public Intellectual Engagement, *The Sociological Review,* Vol. 68, No. 5, 2020, pp. 982–998.

[115]   Vivek Kumar, "Dynamics of Kanshi Ram's Movement", Forward Press, 13, December 2019.

can be arrested or imprisoned for more than 48 hours. Therefore, they can't participate in any political action. On the non-religious stand, he argued that "BAMCEF must remain secular in outlook and action".[116] It does not mean that BAMCEF members cannot believe and practice religion. They are free to practice any religion of their choosing in their personal lives, whether it be the religion of their birth or the religion of their choice. However, this does not imply that they should be affected by Brahmanism, the spirit of inequity, or that they should strive to influence others in this way. Its members' efforts to eliminate it as a cause of inequity.[117]

Fig. 3(2): Delegation card of BAMCEF Third National Convention in Chandigarh

Consequently, it is clear that "BAMCEF must remain non-religious for tactical reasons and non-political and non-agitational for legal reasons".[118]The social structure at the time was under some strain, and Kanshi Ram was aware of this. In that context, BAMCEF was the thought for 'social progress' of the exploited and marginalized communities. It is known as the collective action for the community to reach the goal of social utility. He differentiates the educated elite from the rest of the masses in society. But to socialize them in the context of politics and responsibility to engage with the idea of social, that develops the collective identity. Melucci argues that:[119]

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[116] Ibid, p.16.

[117] Ibid, p. 17.

[118] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op.cit., p. 16.

[119] Alberto Melluci, The Process of Collective Identity, in Hank Johnston and Bert Klandermans (eds.)*, Social Movements and Cultures*, University of Minnesota Press: Minnesota, 1995, pp. 41-63.

>Collective action is made possible through creating a 'collective identity – a shared definition of the social world, shared goals, and a shared conception of the possibilities and constraints of collective action; collective identity is thus "the process of 'constructing' an action system.

To contextualize the BAMCEF as a collective action of exploited communities with shared goals and meaning, perform the cultural consciousness with responsibility, make sense about the location 'where are you from' and trained ideologically to uproot Brahmanism. And also, can say that it was a sphere, where people discuss and understand the hierarchy and its consequences in Indian society. The construction of BAMCEF was a cultural turning point as a political one in backward communities.

As Stuart Hall observed in 1983, "people have to have a language to speak about where they are and what other possible futures are available to them."[120] To understand the context of 'future' given by Stuart Hall, it is indispensable to trace the history of Dalits and their quotidian lives based on atrocities, indignity, and sufferings. This community could not imagine itself in any better place/position. Their imagination was concretized and their destiny was pre-defined. BAMCEF has emerged as a light to provide alternative futures for them to think about social change and economic emancipation. BAMCEF provided a definition of 'future', where they can see themselves in different positions which are different from their history and pre-defined destiny constructed through the hierarchical society. Kanshi Ram was successful in creating the language through the 'cadre camp' (Training Session), where he articulated the history of oppression and glorification of Bahujan Icons to counter that history, and talk about positive agendas for social change and economic emancipation. BAMCEF is known as the 'Brain Bank'[121] to develop the network at all India levels with 5000 cadres of 1 lac people. To run the organization three things are important, $O = M*M*M$ (Organization= Man*Mind*Money).[122] The combination of all these is necessary to strengthen the idea of organization and run the movement for a long time.

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[120] Stuart Hall, Slack D. Jennifer, and Grossberg Lawrence, *Cultural Studies 1983: A Theoretical History*, Durham [North Carolina] London [England]: Duke University Press, 2016.

[121] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op. cit., p. 6.

[122] Recorded Interview with Mehar Singh and Tilka Devi from Roorkee dated on 30/07/2020.

For that, Kanshi Ram was scientific in approach and utilized his training as a scientist to create the laboratory of missionary leadership. He was the one who developed the missionary leadership in Indian politics to engage with the masses and the elite from the oppressed section. Therefore, the public of this counter-public emerges with missionary leadership and communitarian action. To maintain the communitarian action, Kanshi Ram developed the structure of the BAMCEF with 10 major organs. He writes that "the structure of the BAMCEF is built to suit the requirements of the oppressed and exploited society and to achieve the objectives for which the organization is built."[123] The motive of the organization is to develop the notion of responsibility and ideological socialization in the oppressed and exploited communities. Kanshi Ram was conscious that the '*self-respect movement can be run by self-help*'[124] and if you will take the help, the signal will come out from the contending ideologies. It was another line of thinking to understand the society and repercussions of contending ideologies in a hierarchical society.

The idea of 'self-help' constructs the public to dismantle the practices of political co-option done by upper caste leaderships. It's a known fact that the history of the Dalit movement carve out the idea of 'self-help', from the genealogy of Saints with the discarded of the existence of god by Raidas, Kabir, Chokhamela, Gadge, and in the context of leadership Phule, Ambedkar, Periyar, draw the line of independent leadership to counter the hegemony of upper caste with the idea of 'self-representation.' They construct their public to project the idea of emancipation to represent themselves in governing institutions. Although communitarian action evolved with self-help which entangled with shared experience, shared belief, and shared involvement. Durkheim simplifies it as a community of habits to think, act, and involve with shared experiences from the past and present.[125]

Kanshi Ram with his field experiences like Marx and Bourdieu understood the community habits and transformed into a different type of public which entangled with the political agency as Ambedkar described, 'Politics is a master key which can open each and every

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[123]   Ibid, p. 6.

[124]   Recorded interview with K.C. Pippal from Kasganj dated on 23/12/20.

[125]   Robert Prus, "Examining Community LIfe "in the Making": Emile Durkheim's "Moral Education", *The American Sociologist*, Vol. 42, No.1, 2011, pp. 56-111.

lock of development.'[126] To contextualize the statement of politics as a master key, Kanshiram prepared the oppressed communities on social and cultural levels with everyday movement. He developed the nuances of politics through the social and cultural practices in every state of the country. Even BAMCEF was working in the North-East areas[127] with the idea of representation and carved out the idea of Bahujan at ground level.
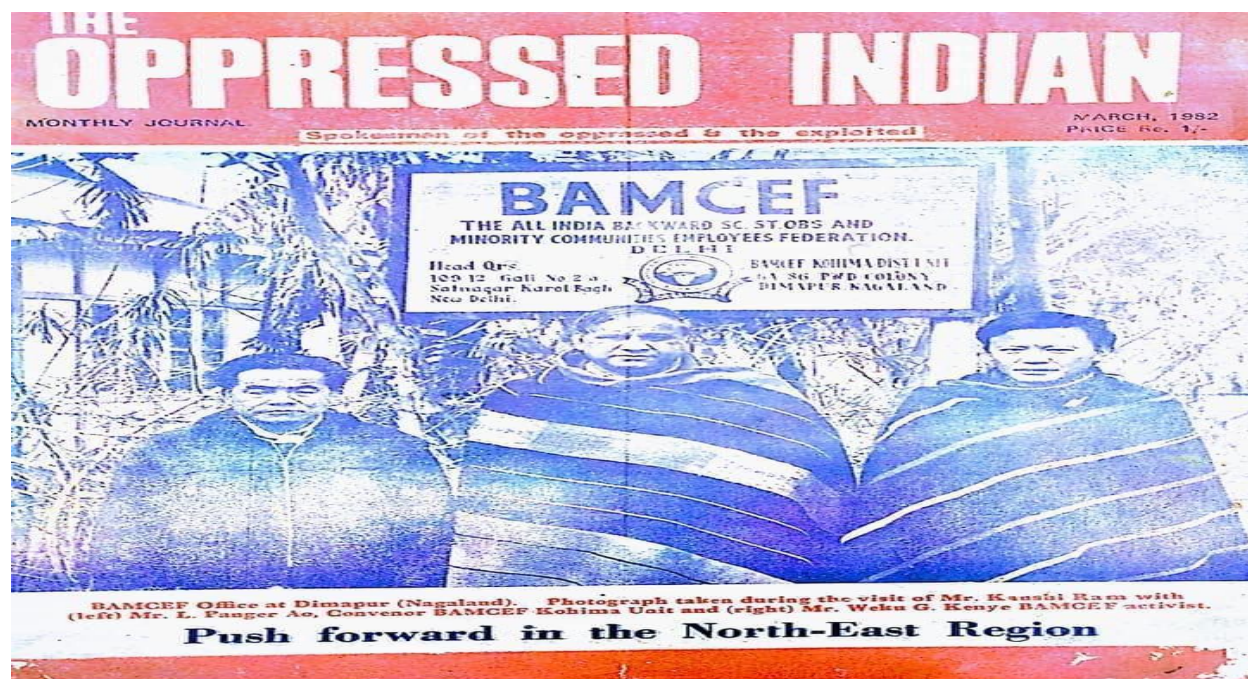
Fig. 3(3). Kanshi Ram with BAMCEF activists of Kohima unit.

The movement carved out by Kanshi Ram was not limited to a particular region or place. And most of the research never mentioned the intensity and depth of BAMCEF. For him, politics was about social transformation and wanted to develop the political agency of the oppressed. In an interview, a reporter asked a question to Kanshi Ram, 'why are you so hostile against the Congress, especially the Communists?[128] Kanshi Ram argued:[129]

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[126] Ambeth Rajan, My Bahujan Samaj Party, Delhi: ABCDE, 1994, P. 32. See also A. M. Rajasekhariah & Hemalat Jayaraj, "Political Philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar", The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 52, No. 3, 1991, p. 371.

[127] Editorial, "BAMCEF push forward in the North-East Region", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 4, No. 1, March 1982, p. 4,9 (This volume covered the activities of BAMCEF in the North-East region).

[128] Nikhil Lakshman, "I want permanent changes" in N. Manohar Prasad (ed.), *Views and Interviews of Kanshiram*, Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2012, p. 5.

[129] Interview with Kanshi Ram by Nikhil Lakshman, *The Illustrated Weekly*, 8 March 1987.

To my mind, all parties represent the forces of status quo. For us, politics is the politics of transformation. The existing parties are the reason for the status quo. That is why there has been no upward mobility for the backward communities. The communist parties have become the biggest stumbling block in this regard. They keep talking about change but work for the status quo. The BJP is better, they never talk about change. So, people never feel duped. Parties like the Congress and communists talk about abolishing poverty but work towards keeping people poor. If the poor are not kept poor, these people cannot remain in their seats.

His words criticize the role of political parties and their strategies to maintain the status quo in society. He has some reflections about RPI and Congress' tussle about seat-sharing in the election, and RPI compromised with only one seat out of 521.[130] After this compromise, Kanshi Ram critically engaged with the movement and political crisis and examined the dependent leadership and independent leadership in society. He criticized the RPI and replied to a reporter, "The RPI never bargained. It was begging. It never reached the status of bargaining. I remember in 1971, the party struck an electoral alliance with the Congress to contest 521 seats. The Congress contested 520 seats, the RPI contested one seat. I love the RPI, but I hate being compared to it."[131] Three parties contested the 1971 general election by name of the Republican Party of India (Ambedkarite), known as RPA, the Republican Party of India stands for RPG and the Republican Party of India (Khobragade) RPK.[132] He also mentioned in his speech about the peoples of Maharashtra, where they contended *Ambedkari Vichardhara Changli aahey par safal ho sakta nahi* (Ambedkarite ideology is so good but cannot be successful).[133] In that context Kanshi Ram said:[134]

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[130] Ibid. See, Vivek Kumar, *Dalit Assertion & Bahujan Samaj Party: Perspective from below*, Delhi: Samyak Prakashan, 2013.

[131] Interview with Kanshi Ram by Nikhil Lakshman, *The Illustrated Weekly*, 8 March 1987.

[132] Election Commission of India, General Election, 5th Lok Sabha, Vol.1, 1971. (https://eci.gov.in/files/file/4115-general-election-1971-vol-i-ii/), https://archive.org/search

[133] Mahendra Raut, "Kanshiram Itihas ke Panno Per ", in Kanshi Ram. (eds.) Bahujan Nayak: Samta, Swatantrata, Bandhutva evam nyay ke manviya moolyo ka sajag prahari. Nagpur: Geetanjali Press, 1999.

[134] A. R. Akela, *Sakshatkar*, p. 13; Kanshi Ram, *Chamcha Yug*, p. 94. See also J. Sarkar, *Politics as a Social Text in India*, Taylor and Francis: Delhi, 2021, p. 35.

I have learnt a lot from the people of Maharashtra. I have learnt a half lesson for running the Ambedkar movement from Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. The other half lesson I have learnt from the Mahars (here it means Mahar-dominated RPI) in Maharashtra. I have learnt from Babasaheb how to run the movement (and) from Mahars of Maharashtra I have learnt how not to run a movement. If you do not know how not to run the movement then you will never be able to know how to run it.

He was very critical of the ongoing movement and Dalit leadership. Kanshi Ram criticizes the lieutenants of Dr. Ambedkar that if you want to revive Ambedkarism you must learn a lesson from their misconduct, and they were neither involved nor aroused, inspired or motivated missionaries, and entangled with the mission when things are going well.[135] He remembered the message of Dr. Ambedkar "Whatever I have done, I have been able to do after passing through crushing miseries and endless troubles all my life and fighting with my opponents. With great difficulty, I have brought this Caravan where it is seen today. Let the Caravan march on despite the hurdles that may come it's way. If my lieutenants are not able to take the caravan ahead, they should leave it there, but under no circumstances should they allow the caravan to go back, this is the message to my people."[136] To strengthen the idea of non-political roots he chose the field and constructed a public that should be rational and aware of the structure of the society. And trained them in everyday forms of resistance with ideological vocabularies and political socialization.

Non-Political roots: Methodology of Political Socialization

Kashi Ram was very optimistic about strengthening the idea of non-political roots with emancipatory causes. It was the source and foundation of his analysis of political socialization in oppressed communities. In non-political roots, 'attentions and activities that are directed towards

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[135] Kanshi Ram, The Chamcha Age (The Era of the Stooges), New Delhi: Vedic Mudranalaya, 1982, (first edition published on 24 September 1982, on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of The Poona Pact).

[136] Editorial, "Will Ambedkarism revive and survive", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 1, No. 2, April 1979, p. 1.

the polity' to emancipate the community.[137] As early as his first major work, 'The Division of Labour in Society', Durkheim (1893) was writing: "What brings men together are mechanical causes and impulsive forces, such as the affinity of blood, attachment to the same soil, ancestral worship, community of habits, etc. It is only when the group has been formed on these bases that cooperation is organized there."[138] The mechanical causes and impulsive forces result in the sense of solidarity or community based upon shared beliefs and sentiments and a close resemblance between its members. Non-political roots somehow elaborate the context of the social-cultural practices and practices of being political. Therefore, the realm of non-political is entangled with the idea of responsibility and collective consciousness in society.[139] Because the historicity of the co-option of Dalits reflects in the practices of different organizations.

At the juncture of oppression, when Ambedkar was the figure of an emancipator, most of the scheduled castes were snared in their identity as Hindu and traditional subordination, which helped the organizations like Hindu Mahasabha and Congress to co-opt them.[140] The political agency of Dalits to think about independent leadership has lost its vision due to the Poona pact of Gandhi in favor of Hindu unity. Gandhi and Congress have organized various programs to unite the Dalit in the Hindu fold. But Gail Omvedt argued that even not only Gandhi but the elites of congress also have consistently worked to mobilize the scheduled castes as they were threatened by the non-Brahmin peasantry.[141] It was the strategy of Congress to maintain the class conflict between scheduled castes and hold the political agency of independent Dalit leadership. In other words, "the congress capitalists tried to use agricultural laborers against peasants, and the Congress Brahmins tried to use Dalits against the non-brahmin middle castes, and they were

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[137]   See,Nicholas Jaoul, "Political and 'Non-political' Means in Dalit Movement", In Sudha Pai. (ed.) *Political Process in Uttar Pradesh: Identity, Economic Reforms and Governance*, New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2007, pp. 191-220.

[138]   Theodore D. Kemper, "E. Durkheim and the Division of Labour", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1975, pp. 190-206.

[139]   Kanshi Ram always mentioned in cadre about the non-political roots as described by Bakhtawar Singh from Meerut. See also, Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[140]   Gail Omvedt, *Kanshi Ram and the Bahujan Samaj Party*, op. cit., p.156.

[141]   Ibid, p. 155

quite successful in doing so".[142] At the level of organization, Gandhi's Harijan Sewak Sangh worked to co-opt the Dalits to remove untouchability. Jagjivan Ram also founded the agricultural labor organization to dent the Bihar Kisan Sabha, and at the counter of ILP and Depressed Class Federation, he launched the Depressed Class League in 1936.[143] Therefore, the Congress elites prepared the ground to stronghold the political agency of Dalits with contradictions. Congress elites were aware of the contradictions between Scheduled Castes, and they wanted to maintain it through the policies and politics of necessity.

The habit of uniting Hindus was reflected during the early phase of the Poona Pact. Concerning Gandhi's fast against a separate electorate, Ambedkar wasn't positive. Ambedkar's

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[142]   Ibid, p. 155. See also, Gail Omvedt, "Caste, Agrarian Relations, and Agrarian Conflict", *Sociological Bulletin,* Vol. 29, No. 2, 1980, pp. 142-170.

[143]   Ibid, p. 155. 'The Sonepur location saw the official founding of the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha in November 1929. Despite the fact that there were a few local Kisan Sabhas in the 1920s, these weren't very reliable organizations that served primarily to mobilize voters for elections. The government's decision to pass the Tenancy (Kashtkari) Bill in 1929, which would have increased the zamindar's influence over tenants, provided the immediate impetus for the creation of the Kisan Sabha. The Sabha's founding members gathered in Sonepur in November 1929, all of whom were opposed to the proposed Bill. In the end, the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha was formed. A number of movements were started in the 1930s by the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha. It orchestrated several satyagraha conflicts, protests, and gatherings. The Kisan Sabha played a crucial role in helping the Congress establish a rural base in Bihar and was a major factor in the Congress' resounding win in the 1937 elections. The Kisan Sabha's growing radicalization compelled the Congress to take a populist stance. The Kisan Sabha did play a significant role, but it was unable to significantly alter the feudal agrarian system'. See, Lata Singh, "The Bihar Kisan Sabha Movement: 1933-39", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 20, No. 5-6, 1992, pp. 21-33., Walter Hauser, 'The Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha, 1929-1942 A Study of an Indian Peasant Movement, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1961, Micro Film, NMML, Delhi.

With a thorough programme to address the demands and problems of the landless, low-income renters, farmers, and workers, Ambedkar went on to found the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in 1936. The first election under the recently passed Government of India Act of 1935 was conducted in 1937, and it was a resounding triumph for the ILP, which took 15 of the 17 seats up for election to the Bombay Legislative Assembly. On September 17, 1937, he filed a bill to end the Khoti system of land tenure in Konkan at the Poona session of the Bombay Assembly. Because it eliminated the employees' ability to strike, he opposed the enactment of the 1937 Industrial Disputes Bill.

Babuji, often referred to as Jagjivan Ram, was a politician and Indian independence campaigner from Bihar who lived from 5 April 1908 until 6 July 1986. After being elected to the Bihar Legislative Assembly in 1937, he organized the rural labor movement. In 1935, he played a key role in the establishment of the All India Depressed Classes League, an organization committed to achieving equality for untouchables.

pragmatic approach didn't win the argument as fellow untouchables like M C Rajah were in favor of Gandhi's fast and Ambedkar had to compromise with the warning of Rajah.[144] Rajah had feared that, owing to the fast, if Gandhi dies, then the entire civilized community would stand against the untouchable community. Apart from fear, Rajah had also warned Ambedkar that he would not agree with his idea of a separate electorate; this is evident in the Rajah-Moonje Pact.[145] The general sentiment towards Gandhi since he was an advocate of the freedom of India from the British made the Indian community vouch for Gandhi's life. Owing to the larger people's pressure and Rajah's constant pressure, and Gandhi's fast, Ambedkar had to compromise on the separate electorate.[146]

It was the force that propelled Gandhi on Ambedkar due to the absence of non-political aspects at that time. Kanshi Ram deeply studied the Poona Pact and its repercussions on oppressed communities. He wrote the book Chamcha Age (The Era of Stooges) on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Poona Pact, on 24 September 1982.[147] He dedicated that book to Mahatma Jyotirao Phule, who started the cultural uprising in colonial India, which was later continued by Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, and many other rebellious spirits, and which brought us to the point where we are contemplating, planning, and striving to put an end to the chamcha age and usher in a bright age for the Shudras and Ati-Shudras.[148]

To take inspiration from Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, "politics is a master key" by which we can achieve all social progress, Kanshi Ram proposed that it is common knowledge to gain political success, the agitational struggle is a must. Therefore, to gain that success, it is important to prepare themselves for agitational and political action, as indicated by Ambedkar. For that,

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[144]   Christophe Jafffrelot, *Dr. Ambedkar and Untouchability*, op. cit., p. 66

[145]   Ibid.

[146]   Narendra Kumar, "Co-option and Appropriation: Socio-political Experiences of Contending Ideologies", unpublished M.Phil. dissertation submitted to JNU, 2018, p. 40.

[147]   Kanshi Ram, The Chamcha Age (The Era of the Stooges), New Delhi: Vedic Mudranalaya, 1982, (first edition published on 24 September 1982, on the occasion of 50th Anniversary of The Poona Pact).

[148]   Ibid.

Kanshi Ram introduces an idea of non-political roots to strengthen the idea of social progress. He argued that:[149]

> The agitational struggle and politics of only such communities whose "non-political roots" are strong succeed. Unfortunately, perhaps the leader of the oppressed and exploited communities remains ignorant about this hard fact of life. That is why they have not made any effort to strengthen the non-political roots of oppressed and exploited society to which they belong and to which they are supposed to lead.

The 'non-political roots' for Kanshi Ram is a methodology to create the counter-public contrary to the dominant public sphere. It was the result of his findings from the field and the observation he got with theory and practice. He observed that 'Employees in oppressed and exploited communities who are educated make up less than 1.5% of the entire population. As a result, these educated employees can readily delegate agitational and political action to the remaining 98.5 percent of their society. So far, the leaders of oppressed and exploited people have been attributed with agitational and political achievements. The oppressed and exploited communities' leaders were unable to organize and supply resources on their own. As a result, they are stooges under the leadership of high caste Hindus under the banners of several political parties.'[150]

Fig 3(4): Kanshi Ram chairing the BAMCEF North-East Zonal Conference meeting with employees in Siliguri.

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[149]   Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, Bhubaneshwar: Rashmi Enterprises, 1981, p. 18.
[150]   Ibid, pp.17-18. See also, Ronki Ram, "Beyond Conversion and Sanskritisation: Articulating an Alternative Dalit Agenda in East Punjab", *Modern Asia Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3., pp. 639-702.

Kanshi Ram breaks the stereotypes of autonomous leadership in the oppressed and exploited communities. They were not the leaders but the ladder.[151] He criticizes the leaders of the oppressed communities for being ignorant about the hard fact of non-political roots and not being able to lead society. They have not done any attempts to strengthen the idea of non-political roots and stooging in the different political parties run by upper-caste Hindus.[152] The critical analysis of the social order that determines the distribution of power reflects in the action of Kanshi Ram, and it's a function of public intellectuals to be critical of the structural reproduction and its acceptance by the oppressed. With a critical understanding of social order, he unmasked the domination maintained by upper-caste Hindus in the public domain. Kanshi Ram wants to break down the conformity which developed through the regular patterns followed by the oppressed. These patterns develop habitus and dominant symbolic forms in the public.[153]

Bourdieu invokes the notion of habitus: "A system of lasting, transposable dispositions - which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems".[154] It's a disposition of the past that entails the individual activity and the objective of the structure. Due to the past disposition and the discarded from the public, Dalit leaders were co-opted by the upper caste Hindu leadership.[155] Kanshi Ram's idea of 'non-political' emerged to strengthen the counter-public against structural reproduction. Why are non-political roots important to develop the counter-public and autonomous leadership in the oppressed communities? In Indian democracy, a minority ruled over the majority and that is constructed not born. To understand this, Kanshi Ram gives an example of a pen, where the cap denotes 15% of the population of India as a minority ruling over the 85% of the majority of the population.

Phule, Ambedkar, and other Bahujan heroes construct the concept of counter-public to reveal the reality of hegemonic structure and its justification in society, breaking preconceptions

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[151]   Recorded Interview with Shyam Singh Tez from Saharanpur, dated on 10/08/20.

[152]   Kanshi Ram, The Chamcha Age (The Era of the Stooges), New Delhi: Vedic Mudranalaya, 1982.

[153]   David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*, op. cit.

[154]   1971a, p.83.

[155]   Kanshi Ram, The Chamcha Age (The Era of the Stooges), op.cit., pp. 89-90.

of the prevailing public sphere. In Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, on October 10–11, 1998, as the keynote speaker at the first International Dalit Conference, Kanshi Ram said, "I will not merely sit quite an in anticipation that someday or the other caste will be annihilated automatically; but as long as the "caste" is alive, I will continue to use it in the interest of my society." This is how he developed the discourse of caste in the public.[156] In order to preserve social order, the leading nationalists and power elites in Indian society have strengthened their attack on caste's morality. With his knowledge of the subject and reading of the eradication of caste, Kanshi Ram articulates the caste. He formed the voice of the counter-public, which was ignored in the public arena, after using practical logic.[157]

Kanshi Ram, an astute politician and organizer, has firsthand knowledge of the weaknesses and assets of the marginalized populations. Ambedkar's request for political authority, which was made to the Dalits on September 24, 1944, in Madras, had a significant impact on him.[158] Ambedkar Declared: "Understand our ultimate goal. Our Ultimate Goal is to become the rulers of this country. Write this goal on the walls of your houses so that you will never forget it. Our struggle is not for the few jobs and concessions but we have a larger goal to achieve. That goal is to become the rulers of the land".[159] Ambedkar was certain that legislative reform would be more effective than guerrilla warfare. This strategy is used by Kanshi Ram to

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[156] The conference in Malaysia (Kuala Lumpur) was organised by Dalit International Organisation and Indian Progressive Front (Malaysia). More than thirteen social-cultural Indian based organizations of Malaysia co-operated with that conference. He started his speech to quote Bbasaheb Ambedkar undelivered speech Annihilation of Caste. He raised the question that is it possible to annihilate the caste in India? In this conference Phoolan Devi, a leader and women's right activists from marginalized groups (Mallah Community), Jalaun District of Uttar Pradesh, was also there. She also served as a Member of Parliament from the ticket of Samajwadi Party. Kanshi Ram has some international engagement to deliver the reality of subordination of marginalized communities in India. He got the invitation from Malaysia (First International Dalit Conference), Japan (Buraku Liberation League Conference, 12 August 1983), US, UK, and Canada to deliver the speech on discrimination and casteism in India against the marginalised communities. For further explanation see, Editorial, *Bahujan Sanghatak,* New Delhi, Dt. 16 November 1998. See also Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and The idea of sense of Responsibility", *Countercurrents.org*, 09/10/2021 (Accessed on 10 March 2022).

[157] Ibid.

[158] Sanjay Gupta, Post-Ambedkarite Dalit Movement in India and Kanshiram's Contribution, The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 75, No. 3, 2014, p. 479.

[159] Ambedkar's speech on 24th September 1944 at Madras. Quoted by Gail Omvedt in *Ambedkar: Towards an Enlightened India,* New Delhi: Penguin, 2004. See also, B. Crossette, 'Call to the Downtrodden: Break Down the Door', *The New York Times*, 18 April 1990.

support Dalit communities. At that time, he is not a part of any radical Dalit movement that is forming. Considering that Kanshi Ram opposes conservative politics. He provided the formula for drawing a line to cut the drawn-out line. You should be ready to establish that boundary and create a "action-reaction-counteraction" plan. People won't continue to support your cause if you don't take any counter-action.[160]

Utility of BAMCEF: Social Action for Public

BAMCEF is not only an organization, it's a system of interaction to govern the oppressed section with their cause and intensify the Phule Ambedkarite ideology with shared belief, shared experience, and shared involvement. It was the result of field analysis and understanding of communitarian action on an everyday basis. He has established the structure of BAMCEF to strengthen the idea of communitarian action at every level. Because he wants to construct the public (Bahujan Samaj) who never had any idea of power performance and has a past of slavery. To enhance the consciousness about power performance, Kanshi Ram has some lines of action borrowed from the experience of Ambedkar and Phule against the hierarchical society. The function of the organization covered all the institutions which are helpful to socializing the oppressed communities and constructing the public sphere. Kanshi Ram argued about the utility of BAMCEF for an oppressed and exploited society:[161]

> By the full-blooded operation of BAMCEF through its various wings, it can help in a big way in strengthening the non-political roots of the oppressed and exploited society to which they belong. Once BAMCEF succeeds in acquiring the roots for the rootless society and helps further strengthen the non-political roots of the society, the political and agitational success becomes a natural corollary.

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[160]   Recorded interview with Dayal Singh Kashyap (OBC) from Haryana, 27/02/21. He was the prominent face in D-S4 and BSP. He narrates the story of many protests against the atrocities and land grabbing cases. In his earlier days, he was very conscious about the untouchability practices and atrocities against backward communities in Haryana. He and his friends decide to enter into politics to end the discrimination and planned to contest. Manyavar Kanshi Ram heard about these people and called them in his office and told them if you want to contest the election, why are you going to contest from Congress. Then Kanshi Ram said "Hum Ticket Banana Sikhenge" and convinced them to contest the election under the banner of D-S4. See also Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and The idea of sense of Responsibility", *Countercurrents.org*, 09/10/2021 (Accessed on 10 March 2022).

[161]   Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op. cit., p. 18.

BAMCEF is an outcome of communitarian action to establish the relation between the oppressed elite and the rest of the masses in an oppressed and exploited society. It was the first experiment by Kanshi Ram to institutionalize political agency. Prior to that, Ambedkar was the one who employed political tactics to improve the condition of the Dalits. He did this by submitting a note to the Simon Commission, testifying before the Southborough Committee, participating in three Round Table Conferences, and founding political organizations.[162] On the other hand, Kanshi Ram has brought out the civil sphere to conceptualize the idea of emancipation with a sense of responsibility. In his book, Jeffrey Alexander raised an important premise about the civil sphere, contended:[163]

> The premise of *Civil Sphere* is that societies are not governed by power alone and are not fueled only by the pursuit of self-interest. Feelings for others matter, and they are structured by the boundaries of solidarity. How solidarity is structured, how far it extends, what it's composed of—these are critical issues for every social order, and especially for orders that aim at the good life. Solidarity is possible because people are oriented not only to the here and now but to the ideal, to the transcendent, to what they hope will be the everlasting.

Therefore, the idea of solidarity in the civil sphere has to contextualize the common goal or hope to socialize the people about the discardness of dominating hierarchy, divisive institutions etc. Somewhere it propounds the democratic exercise and critical analysis of the existing situation among the masses. In his approach of justice, cultural representation and social recognition are the basic underpinning of democracy. Because historically, the social movements always worked for civil repair and social activists used the communicative institutions to communicate the social injustice in the public. Civil sphere denotes the solidarity among the members and feel collective obligation to the other, who constitute into the sphere.[164] But what about the excluded communities in the formation of the civil sphere and how do they structure the solidarity among the communities? Kanshi Ram developed the notion of responsibility among the oppressed through BAMCEF and constructed the different communicative institutions with different wings.

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[162]   Yagati Chinna Rao (ed.), *Dividing Dalits: Writings on Sub-categorization of Scheduled Castes*, Delhi: Rawat, 2009. See also V. Kumar, *Dalit Assertion and Bahujan Samaj Party*, New Delhi: Samyak Prakashan, 2013, p. 25.

[163]   Jeffrey C. Alexander, *The Civil Sphere*, New York: Oxford University, 2006, p. 3.

[164]   Jeffrey C. Alexander, Theorizing the "Modes of Incorporation": Assimilation, Hyphenation and Multiculturalism as Varieties of Civil Participation", *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 19, 2001, p. 239.

It was an example of collective obligation for other members of the community with the idea of 'pay back to society'. And also develop the communicative institution to regularize the idea of solidarity with different wings in the BAMCEF. It was the first attempt of Kanshi Ram to institutionalize the non-political idea to shape the thinking among the oppressed. He exposes the inequality and hierarchy through the cadre camp. Somewhere, it was the reflection of characteristics of the civil sphere to expose the lapses in democracy. He socialized the community with the social problems through self-creating vocabularies. In the formation of the civil sphere, exposition of non-civil is necessary to attain justice or represenataion in hierarchical society. To maintain democracy and to achieve justice, Alexander contended that "it is often necessary for the civil to 'invade' non civil spheres, to demand certain kinds of reforms, and to monitor them through regulation in turn".[165] In that context, the civil sphere set the standard against the non-civil realm and proposed the options to regulate the reform in the society. Kanshi Ram generates the source of communication to construct his public. He was aware that communication is not only a form of interaction, it's a power to hold the meaning of experiential reality and symbolic expression of assertion. To develop the civil sphere under the leadership of BAMCEF, Kanshi Ram inaugurated ten organs of the organization for social action. These organs develop with the idea of functionality to work with ideological baggage and co-optation of the oppressed elite to think about the sense of responsibility. These organs are the substitute to make the organization named BAMCEF-

1. **Framework- Mass-Based, Broad-Based, and Cadre-Based.**

Mass-based- With the requirements of large numbers of membership, BAMCEF has decided to have a minimum of one lac educated employees as its members. For them, it was only possible to gain minimum requirements. They have a plan to develop the capacity to organize one lac educated people out of 20 lac educated employees spread all over India. And prepare the cadre to maximize these numbers in upcoming years.[166]

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[165]   Jeffrey C. Alexander, *The Civil Sphere*, op.cit, p. 34.
[166]   Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op. cit., p. 6. See also, Raja Ram Syan, *Mission of Baba Saheb Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji*, Jalandhar: White Cross Printers, 2011.

Broad Based- To strengthen the organization, it's important to widen the range of the organization at multiple levels. They want to spread it all over India. In the words of Kanshi Ram, "It should be our endeavor to cover each and every corner of the country but covering more than 50% districts in more than 50% States and Union Territories should be the minimum to make it a Broad-based organization."[167]

Cadre Based- After having the mass-based and broad-based structure of the organization, we should have well-informed workers who have knowledge about the mechanism and operate the complex organization with a decided goal. For the requirement of the organization, 5% should be the cadre out of the total membership and this cadre should not be concentrated in only a few spots but should be spread all over the country.[168] Kanshi Ram contended that 'the combination of these three characteristics makes the organization fairly strong'.

2. Secretariat

BAMCEF's function will be (a) to get the rules, regulations, and laws implemented, (b) to get the plans, programs, projects, and budget of various authorities meant for the backward and minority communities and fully arid and faithfully executed.[169] The role of the secretariat was very specific to maintain the check and balance about the execution of the rules and regulations. Therefore, the size of the secretariat depends upon the expectations and getting the work done for the huge mass of people spread all over India. On the Other side, it will work to serve the employees, students, youth, ladies, workers, and indeed all the sections of the oppressed and exploited society.[170]

3. Organizational Set-up.

The secretariat of the organization will move from center to state and move towards districts. But an organization like BAMCEF will work in reversible order from district to state and towards the

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[167] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, op. cit., See also, Raja Ram Syan, *Mission of Baba Saheb Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji*, Jalandhar: White Cross Printers 2011.

[168] Ibid, p. 8.

[169] Ibid, p. 8,

[170] Ibid, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, pp. 8-9.

center. Therefore, the district will be the central unit of the organizational setup of the BAMCEF.[171] Therefore, in BAMCEF the membership should be made at the only district level, and based on membership, the whole setup is built from district to state and towards the center. But to run the organization effectively and efficiently, Zones have been too specified to reach out to the Taluka/Tehsil from the district and towards the block level and finally reach the village level.[172] It makes sense about the interaction with organizational set-up and also the development of communitarian action on an everyday basis.

4. Network of about 100 offices with the control room in Delhi.

After having the functional role of an organization at the district, state, and center level, now requirements of offices emerge to run the organization efficiently and effectively. For that, we have to develop the network of 100 offices spread all over the country in a specially designed manner which is most essential. To enhance the capacity of the organizational building, four factors are in view to open full-fledged offices at the level:[173]

> a. All the capitals of the States and Union territories.
> b. All the corporations and cities of India.
> c. To make the network more meaningful, and effective, some small linking towns also should have full-fledged offices.
> d. Keeping the industrialization of India in mind, the major industrial complexes should also have full-fledged offices.

All these 100s or so offices must be effectively controlled from the control room in Delhi.

5. BAMCEF Brotherhood.

or

6. BAMCEF Adoption.

Kanshi Ram took leave from Ambedkar's idea of separate settlement for Scheduled Castes to contextualize the idea of the public in rural and urban areas. He makes reference points for this scheme to understand the dynamics of Scheduled Caste population problems in rural and urban

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[171] Ibid.

[172] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, p. 9.

[173] Ibid.

areas and contends that for our present purpose, we take note of the two major factors involved in the preparation of that scheme. These are:[174]

> 1. The most hopeless, dependent, and deplorable condition of the Scheduled Castes in the villages of India.
> 2. The minority character of the Scheduled Caste people in almost all the villages of India.

These factors are very important to understanding the democratic ethos in a hierarchical society. To ameliorate the condition of SCs, Separate settlement execution was important but it was not materialized due to so many well-known factors, especially the exit of Britishers from India on 15th August 1947.[175] Kanshi Ram understood the sense of the idea of majority and minority in rural and urban areas and why Ambedkar was adamant about the separate settlement. Therefore, to mobilize the public, he inaugurated these two organs known as the BAMCEF Brotherhood for Urban and BAMCEF Adoption for the rural.

These organs work with the idea of migration and develop the sense of brotherhood in Urban populations and adoption in rural populations. Due to the pressure of poverty, unemployment, and structural oppression the oppressed and exploited communities migrate from one place to another in search of survival. This is called distress migration.[176] And on the other side, the educated elite or oppressed elite category is framed due to the constitutional provisions 15(4), and 16(4), and set up in the bureaucracy, since they migrate from rural to urban to maintain the lifestyle known as prosperity migration.[177] But the distress migration counting in crores and prosperity migration is in tune with more than 20 lacs people. However, the role of these two organs mobilizes the people from urban and rural areas under the BAMCEF. But the work of the BAMCEF brotherhood was easy to mobilize as compared to BAMCEF adoption. Because in rural areas the educated people were fewer and due to that it was tough to mobilize them. They adopt some centers in rural areas, i.e., Known as BAMCEF Adoption which deals with the problems of the rural poor masses of India. He developed the culture to understand the policies and how to implement them for their cause.

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[174]   Ibid. p. 10.
[175]   Ibid, pp. 10-11.

[176]   Ibid. p. 11.
[177]   Ibid.

7. Medical Aid and Advice.

Medical Aid and Advice was a major organ of BAMCEF to develop the responsibility of the doctors of the exploited and oppressed communities. He contended that "through the expert advice and aid of our doctors, BAMCEF can serve the poor sections of society, especially it can help them by way of securing medical services for them. More than this, this type of social service on the part of our doctors and medical experts will help in building cohesion and establishing bonds of Brotherhood amongst all sections of the oppressed and exploited society."[178] He found it most essential for a democratic set-up and adopted for ourselves to maintain the communitarian action in society.

8. Literary Wing.

Literature is an important part of knowledge production and construction of the counter-public sphere with personal pain as a political assertion.[179] Kanshi Ram developed that separate organ to intensify the debate of lived experience in different linguistic groups and cohesively submerged them. He contended that:[180]

> "it is hoped that a literary wave of Dalit literature produced by Dalit writers can be created if all the ripple effects in almost all the linguistics groups can be systematically submerged into a cohesive whole. Towards this end, a separate organ known as the literary wing has been built up and is being built in a big way all over the country."

As he was aware of the strength of literary discourse that has the specific audience to interact and reproduce the culture of emancipation. And it can be seen that Dalit literary produce by the Dalit personality in different linguistics groups.

9. Probing Wing.

As Kanshi Ram talks about BAMCEF as a brain bank, the Probing wing is a brain bank. This wing has the context of the changing dynamics and complexity of society. To understand these

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[178]   Ibid, p. 13.

[179]   See Sarah Beth Hunt, *Hindi Dalit Literature and the politics of representation*, New Delhi: Routledge, 2014.

[180]   Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF*, p. 13. (Interview with Saroop Sialvi from Punjab, Dated on 09/04/21. Kanshi Ram called him a 'literary person'. He was influenced with marxist ideology in his activist days but after meeting with Kanshi Ram, started work in D-S4 and BAMCEF. He wrote his biography 'Jalalat' in Hindi and Punjabi.)

dynamics, it is important to prepare the probe wing which can provide the solution to changing patterns in society.[181] In other words, a suitable Research and Development Apparatus must be made available to us. Such an apparatus designed by us has an important organ for BAMCEF. To analyze the problem and situation scientifically and systematically, this wing adopts methods like conducting suitable surveys and sponsoring seminars, and symposiums.[182]

10. B.V.F. - BAMCEF Volunteer Force.

Kanshi Ram dictates that 'once BAMCEF is completely developed, it will be required to perform around 6000 functions across India in the 365 days available to us each year. From the simplest activity, known as the Sunday series, which is hosted by all 100 offices on all 52 Sundays of the year, through the district, state, and zonal conferences, to national conventions, held only once a year, the need for volunteer force is well acknowledged.'[183] Therefore, the work of these organs is to conduct the various functions and programs in a disciplined way.

These were the organs of BAMCEF to intensify the idea of a counter-public sphere and produce communitarian action. It was the result of the fieldwork and interaction with the public from marginality. It is feasible to say that Kanshi Ram wants to develop the BAMCEF as a system for exploited and oppressed communities. Due to the enthusiasm of being a cadre in BAMCEF, some organs developed with inspiration from the organization. These are the other organs of the organization yet unnamed and meant for social action:[184]

1. Awakening Squad

2. BAMCEF Cooperation

3. Press and Publication

4. Parliamentary Liaison Wing

5. Legal Aid and Advice

6. Students

7. Youth

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[181] Raja Ram Syan, Mission of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahi Kanshi Ram Ji, Jalandhar: White Cross Printer, 2011, p. 53.

[182] Kanshi Ram, *An Introduction to BAMCEF,* op. cit., p.14.

[183] Raja Ram Syan, Mission of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahi Kanshi Ram Ji, op.cit., P. 54.

[184] Ibid. 55.

8. Ladies

9. Industrial Labour

10. Agricultural Labour

In the process of strengthening the non-political roots, these organs developed the public, which is conscious of the location and contending ideologies. As Randall Collins writes, in his view, "the history of philosophy is to a considerable extent the history of groups. Nothing abstract is meant here-nothing but a group of friends, discussion partners, close-knit circles that often have the characteristics of social movements".[185] Bell Hooks observed that marginalized people used the site of oppression as a space of resistance, struggle, and negotiations.[186] It is identified that non-political roots are the sites of resistance with a sense of responsibility and critical inquiry about the oppressed elite. Kanshi Ram's critical thinking about the structure as well as the community itself developed the notion of political socialization in the margins. People from marginalized communities have dependent leaders which have no agency to speak about the community where they belong.[187] Scheduled Caste Federation has tried to develop autonomous leadership but has not succeeded because Congress already co-opted the Dalit leadership. Therefore, BAMCEF socializes the oppressed elite to think about society and helps to develop independent leadership. To develop societal equality, counter-public is a necessary condition against the savarna hegemony in politics. It can be observed through Bahujan discourse to be insulated with its own perspective by Kanshi Ram against the existing inequalities.

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[185]   Alex van der Zeeuw, Laura Keesman, Don Weenink, Sociologizing with Randall Collins: An interview about emotions, violence, attention space and sociology, *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 21, No. 2, 2018, pp. 245–259.

[186]   Bell Hooks, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black.* Boston: South End Press, Boston: South End Press, 1989. See also, Bell Hooks, "Marginality as Site of Resistance", in Ferguson, R., Gever, M., Minh-ha, T.T., and West, C. (eds.) *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures.* New York: MIT Press,1989, pp. 341–343. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography", in Ramchandra Guha, and Gayatri C. Spivak (eds.) *Selected Subaltern Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 3–34.

[187]   Recorded Interview with Brijpal Gautam from Haryana dated on 01/03/21. (He was the personal secretary of Kanshi Ram for a long time).

The narration of Oppression and Public Engagement

Bourdieu in his scholarship was very adamant about the public engagement of social scientists. He defined it as a moral obligation of social scientists, writing that "those who have the good fortune to be able to devote their lives to the study of the social world cannot stand aside, neutral and indifferent, from the struggles in which the future of the world is at stake."[188] He has participated in many protests and engaged with the public with their cause against the state's oppression. Why is it important to mention here Bourdieu's understanding of the public? Because Bourdieu was similar to Kanshi Ram in public engagement but different on the point of oppression. Kanshi Ram was aware of the oppressed communities and their problems which were developed by the structural hegemony. He developed the assertion in illiterate communities who don't know about the power of votes.

Even the literate or Kanshi Ram Called them an oppressed elite (*Sarkari Mulazim*) they were not aware of Ambedkar and his ideas after having the degree of Graduation and Post-Graduation.[189] He specified some places to target the employees' audiences, where people come and sit together near a tea stall. Firstly, to execute the agenda he searched some places through fieldwork. He comes to those places and starts to speak without any hesitation. He never knew how many people would come to listen to me or not to come. People found him a stranger who comes and starts to speak about the oppression and discrimination in the working places and everyday humiliation for oppressed and exploited communities. Sometimes he used a pen or a stick to define the structure of Indian society with the formula of 85% or 15%. And elaborate on the hierarchy that 15% are dominating or capturing the whole system or institutions. It was the first time in Indian politics to explain the hierarchical system with that formula of how a minority ruled over the majority in the name of democracy.[190]

Kanshi Ram breaks the stereotypes of the public sphere and constructs the counter-public who were excluded from the discourse. Gramscian critiques that the bourgeois public sphere was nothing but the instrument of the creation of hegemony that transformed into a form of political

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[188]   Pierre Bourdieu, *Firing Back: Against the Tyranny of the Market 2*. London and New York: Verso, 2003, p.11.

[189]   Recorded Interview with RamKumar Salwan from Haryana, Dated on 28/02/21.
[190]   Recorded interviews with Sobran Singh from Agra dated 10/09/20, Dalchand Nonariya from Agra dated 20/12/20, and Karaveer Ranga from Fatehabad-Haryana dated 24/03/21.

domination.[191] In the Indian context, that sphere is known as the 'protected ghettoized sphere' from the oppressed communities, by which they cannot insulate their discourse in public. It can be observed through the criticism of BSP in Bengal and Communists released a booklet on BSP.[192] A reporter asked a question to Kanshiram: "At the Congress centenary, Arun Singh your emergence was not healthy for the national ethos". Kanshiram replied, "He is the grandson of a Maharaja, who never kept the interests of the nation in mind. Nationalism to him is feudalism. Nationalism, to me, is the masses of India. I believe in the two-nation theory: those who oppress and those who are oppressed. What does the grandson of a wretched maharaja know about nationalism? what can we expect from Arun Singh other than such things?"[193]

The question proposes the situation of capturing the public discourse in the shadow of nationalism. If you talk about caste or identity-based assertion, it is dangerous for national unity as described by upper-caste leaders and ideologues in colonial and post-colonial times. This type of domination gets consent from the constructed common sense and is derived from the proliferation of normalization and naturalizing of the existing social order. To counter the existing social order, Kanshi Ram tries to understand the necessity of public engagement and think critically about the lapses in the movement.

With positive remarks, he argued that "*Ambedkar ne kitabbein ikatthi ki maine logo ko ikattha kiya*"[194] (Ambedkar collected the books, I gathered the people) reflects the engagement with the public as a necessary factor to implement the ideology at the ground level and strengthen the politics. He united the people from the marginalized communities, reflected as a democrat in practices, to bring the SC, ST, and OBC and converted minorities to one place like

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[191] Sylvia E. Sholar, Habermas, "Marx, and Gramsci: Investigating the Public Sphere in Organizational Communication and Public Relation Courses", *Journal of Communication Enquiry,* Vol. 18, No. 2, 1994, pp. 77-92.

[192] C. Rajeshwar Rao & Avtar Singh Malhotra, *The Nature of the Bahujan Samaj Party*, New Delhi: Communist Party Publication, 1988. (This booklet was released by communists to criticize BSP and the idea of Bahujan. As told by T.R. Khunte (in charge of BSP in Bengal) that BSP in the earlier days was stronger in Bengal than in Uttar Pradesh. Communists were in shock to see the mobilization of BSP.)

[193] *The Illustrated Weekly*, 8 March 1987. (Interview by Nikhil Lakshman)

[194] Kanshi Ram, interview with Abhay Bharti, 27 May 1987.

the *Bahujan Samaj* Majority Community.[195] BAMCEF in its initial years supported the Republican Party of India, which was known as the Scheduled Caste party and had a base in Maharashtra, especially.[196]

Kanshi Ram and his team tried to develop the RPI at all Indian levels. But the fraction of RPI and bowing down in front of Congress was unacceptable for Kanshi Ram.[197] Kanshi Ram and his team started to strengthen the base of BAMCEF with organizational capacity. The term 'Bahujan' popularized by Kanshi Ram, has a legacy at the time of Satya Sodhak Samaj, a lower caste socio-religious reform movement against the Brahmanical practices.[198]

The Satya Shodhak Samaj had ceased to exist by 1984, and the word "Bahujan" had become obsolete. Kanshi Ram revived the term while also redefining it 'to refer not only to Maharashtra's lower Hindu castes, but to groups across India defined by caste, religion, and tribe, all of whom he described as sharing a history of humiliation and subordination at the hands of Hindu upper castes'.[199] Kanshi Ram defined "Bahujan Samaj is comprised of Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and converted Minorities."[200] It was not the only gathering of different communities, it's about the construction of a counter-public as 'persuasion of discourse', exposing of truth, construction of knowledge, and communitarian action which is dismantled by intellectuals, leaders, and civil society of 'top of the twice-born.'He used the word Manuwadi (*Manusanhita*) as contending ideologies, that believe in hierarchy.

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[195]   Omvedt, Gail. *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahman Movement in Western India*. op. cit. p.4. Also see Rosalind O'Hanlon, *Caste, Conflict, and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India*. Bombay: Orient Longman.

[196]   Ibid.

[197]   Interview with T.R. Khunte from Noida, Dated-21/12/20. He is a senior Activist of BAMCEF and an old associate of Kanshi Ram.

[198]   Gail Omvedt, *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society,* Bombay: Scientific Socialist Education Trust, 1976, p. 4. See also, Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Party Succeed*, op.cit., p. 148.

[199]   Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. op. cit., p. 148.

[200]   Special Report, "Bahujan Samaj Party and Assembly Election", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 7, No. 1, April 1985, p.11.

Fig 3(5): In 1982, Kanshi Ram was in the two days cader camp in Siliguri (North Eastern Region).

This figure has two important dimensions: one is about the range of the BAMCEF, and the second is about exposing the truth with the idea that 85% are victims and 15% are beneficiaries of the system. It can be observed that he is trying to develop the pedagogy of resistance against the hegemonic system. This organization was not limited only to the northern region and has a base in the north-eastern region also.[201] Manohar Atey writes that "the absence of delegates from the North East region was felt at the Chandigarh National Convention and soon every sustained effort was made from committed people of Nagpur and Agra and we were successful in making a slow but steady advance to the North East region and established BAMCEF".[202] Mr. S.K. Patil from Nagpur has prepared the ground in northern Bengal. He has also developed strong contacts at Siliguri and remote regions of the North East. The top two activists of Agra, Mr. Arjun Singh, and Mr. Kundan Lal have made many links in this remote region and made many advances in Nagaland, Tripura, and Assam. They got great help from the Dimapur unit in Nagaland. With

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[201] BAMCEF Bulletin, "BAMCEF push forward in the North-East Region", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol.4, No.1, March 1982, pp. 19-28.

[202] Editorial, "BAMCEF push forward in the N.E. Region", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol.4, No.1, March 1982, p.4.

this help and dedication, they arranged two cadre camps, one at Siliguri, and the second one at Dimapur, Nagaland.[203]

Badrinarayan writes that "if Ambedkar can be credited with putting in place a constitutional edifice for Indian democracy, it was Kanshi Ram whose organizational devices and political stratagems shored up its legitimacy, by involving many of the marginalized groups in his politics."[204] As a pragmatist, Kanshi Ram's journey to understand that movement involved 'doubt, inquiry, and experiment.'[205] In the failure of RPI to consolidate the Dalit communities was doubt, and for inquiry, he studied the public through the field to understand the lapses in the movement and founded BAMCEF, and experiments done through DS4 to develop the notion of struggle and power through vote. Therefore, the experiential reality for Kanshi Ram makes the route to connect the public and introduce communitarian action to strengthen the counter-public discourse. For that, he organized many seminars, symposiums, cycle rallies, jeep rallies, protests against atrocities, awakening squads, painting squads, and cader camps to develop the pedagogy of resistance.[206]

In most of the conventions of BAMCEF, Kanshi Ram tried to develop a sense of responsibility in the government employees and forcefully argued to contribute 2 percent of their income to 'pay back to society.[207] His understanding of the dynamics of government employees and their departments, i,e., Indian Railways, HMT Pinjore, BHEL Roorkee, Indian Post office,

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[203] Ibid. (S.K. Patil is a renowned activist in BAMCEF, belongs to Maharashtra and currently staying in Noida. He was long associated with Kanshi Ram and famous for painting. At that time he made an elephant as a symbol of BSP on the wall. Arjun Singh and Kundal Lal were also the activists in the BAMCEF.)

[204] Badri Narayan, *Kanshiram: Leader of Dalits*, op. cit., p. xii.

[205] John Dewey defines the process to understand social reality in his pragmatist approach. And that is very similar to Kanshi Ram's approach to understanding society. See John Dewey, *Experience & Education.* New York Free Press, 2015.

[206] See Appendix -II.

[207] Editorial, "BAMCEF push forward in the N.E. Region", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol.4, No.1, March 1982, p. 39.

and telephone exchange offices, Kanshi Ram was the rallying point[208] to gather these employees due to his dedication and narration about the structural hegemony. His dedication is reflected in his practices as explained by Ramchet Ram 'Toofani' who had worked with Kanshiram in the initial years of gathering the people of exploited communities:[209]

> Kanshi Ram would bring an iron trunk to meetings. Portraits of major saints and figures adored by the Dalits, such as Ambedkar, Ravidas, Phule, and Periyar, were kept in the trunk. Because sculptures of these heroes were unavailable at the time, Kanshi Ram utilized these images to establish a visual recall of these heroes' great history among the Dalits. In addition to Ambedkar's portrait, literature, and poster, his gathering featured a mobile display named "Ambedkar Mela on Wheels." Some of the posters included life drawings of Babasaheb Ambedkar, while others depicted violence against Dalits, such as uncontrolled mobs attacking Dalits, a teacher slapping a Dalit for drinking water from the communal water pot, and a Dalit strolling down the street with a broom strapped to his back. Several leaflets detailing the lives of Ambedkar, Shahuji Maharaj, Periyar, and other Dalit and backward caste leaders were also available. Some of the leaflets also detailed the history of the Dalits and the decades of exploitation they had endured. All of this would be displayed on a table, and Kanshi Ram would address the crowd while displaying the posters and brochures. The majority of the meeting took place under the shadow of the Ambedkar monuments that had been erected in the majority of Dalit bastis. In his talks, Kanshi Ram would often declare, "I have learned about Ambedkar's experiences via his books." I've written them down in my diary, and I've always tried to take something away from his bitterness.

The role of the public intellectual[210] is confirmed here to fill the gap between the intellectuals and the rest of the society.[211] The emergence of the so-called "knowledge society" and the rising need for information in political decision-making and public discourse, according to many scholars, has caused intellectuals to be marginalized from public discourse and to have lost much of their respect and authority.[212] They developed their strategies to deliver the

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[208] Rallying Point is a method that attracts the people with its influence to join it and help it in deeds. (See Raja Ram Syan, *Mission of Baba Saheb Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji,* Jalandhar: White Cross Printers, 2011, p. 18)

[209] Anil Kumar, Bahujan Nayak Kanshiram ke Avismarniya Bhashan, Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2007, p. 89. See also Badri Narayan, *Kanshi Ram: Leader of the dalits*, op. cit., pp. 40-41. See Vivek Kumar, *Dalit Assertion and Bahujan Samaj Party*, Samyak Prakashan: New Delhi, 2013.

[210] Maria Todorova, "On Public Intellectuals and Their Conceptual Frameworks", *Slavic Review*, Vol. 74, No. 4, 2015, pp. 708-714.

[211] Henry A. Giroux, "Public Intellectuals, the Politics of Clarity, and the Crisis of Language", *Counterpoints*, Vol. 400, 2012, pp. 99-115.

[212] Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Basic Books Inc, 1973. See also, Mohamed Amine Brahimi, Marcos Gonzalez Hernando, Marcus Morgan, Amín Pérez,

vocabulary to the masses. And it's a known fact that public intellectuals have their audience to interact with and develop the agency to think with their cause and effect. Kanshi Ram has an experiential reality about the field and constructs his public (illiterate and semi-literate) to make sense of the oppression and know the history of their existence. In the strategies to involve the people from different communities, Kanshi Ram introduced four strong applications:[213]

1. **Caste History**
2. **Caste Geography**
3. **Caste Philosophy**
4. **Caste Psychology**

These applications are the strategies to understand the caste dynamics or to mobilize the communities to persuade the Bahujan discourse. He mentioned all these strategies in the Cader Camps. It was the first attempt in Indian politics to develop the agency in the exploited communities to think about the power domain and the counter-public. During fieldwork, Kanshi Ram observed the reality of caste and the cognitive blackout of most of the communities from the political, cultural, and social spheres. To consolidate them, he introduced methods or strategies like mela on wheels, atrocities incident exhibition, awakening squad-portray caste discrimination, and assertive cultural songs. Gramsci, who was heavily influenced by Marx and Machiavelli, proposed that for every social group that emerges from the world of economic production, there are intellectuals who work to ensure the group's stability and leadership, not only in the economic sphere but also in the political, social, and cultural spheres..[214] Gramsci's ideas are reflected in the formation of BAMCEF and practices of Pay Back to society.

"Strategies of Public Intellectual Engagement", *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 68, No. 5, 2020, pp. 982-998.

[213] Recorded Interviews with T.R. Khunte from Noida dated 29/12/20 and K.C. Pippal from Uttar Pradesh dated 23/12/20, associated with Kanshi Ram.

[214] See Antonio Gramsci, Quintin Hoare, and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers, 1971. See Mohamed Amine Brahimi M.G Hernando, M Morgan, and A Perez. "Strategies of Public Intellectual Engagement", *Sociological Review*, Vol.68, No.5, 2020, p. 982-998.

Kanshi Ram's field work allows us to think on that line which performs the communitarian action and political imagination, reflected in the caste dynamics of the workers who worked in BAMCEF, DS4, and BSP. He introduced the icons like Ambedkar as Tie- Coat wala Baba, Phule as Pagdi Wala Baba, Periyar as Dari Wala Baba, and Shahu Ji Maharaj as achkan Wala Baba, and tell them a story about the pain and agony they have faced.[215] Here Kanshi Ram is similar to Bourdieu's method to understand the structure and agency which interact and inform practices. Intellectuals have the agency to write or interpret history to legitimate the debate.

But it makes sense how the public will find or understand that interpretation of history. For that, he used the method 'rebuff and reform'[216] to articulate the pain felt by Ambedkar and Phule and after facing the discrimination, they stand against this hierarchical system. The same happened with Kanshi Ram and that was the time he never looked back and left the home and wrote a 24 pages letter to his mother with some reflection that I will not come back to home, I will not marry, and Bahujan Samaj is my family now.[217] Kanshi Ram understands the responsibility on its own and argued that *dil mein agar sachi tamanna hai toh raste nikal aate hai, agar tamanna sachhi nahi hai toh hazaro bahane nikal aate hai*, if there is a will then there is a way and if there is no will then there are thousands of excuses come out.[218] In the honor of Kanshi Ram, Hariram Gautam, who was general secretary of the awakening squad and long associated with him writes:[219]

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[215] Recorded Interview with Uttam Shewde from Maharashtra, Dated on 21/04/21.

[216] The man who is given pushes started reforming himself like Ambedkar was not allowed to sit in the classroom, same as happened with Phule to be pushed out from the marriage party. See Raja Ram Syan, *Mission of Baba Saheb Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji*. Jalandhar: White Cross Printers, 2011, pp. 21-22.

[217] Interview with Bishhan Kaur (Mother of Kanshi Ram) in (eds.) by Kanshi Ram, *Bahujan Nayak: Samta, Swatantrata, Bandhutva evam nyaya ke manviya moolyo ka sajag prahar*i, Nagpur: Geetanjali Press, 15 March 1999, pp. 25-27.

[218] Raja Ram Syan, *Mission of Baba Saheb Ambedkar: In the vision of Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji*, Jalandhar: White Cross Printers, 2011, p. 16.

[219] Recorded Interview with Hariram Gautam from Saharanpur dated 28/07/20, he was long associated with Kanshi Ram. He was the general secretary of the Awakening squad (Jagriti Jattha).

> Jise manzil ki dhun
>
> ek aisa hausla hu main,
>
> Jeevan ke safar mein dosto tanha chala hu main
>
> Jamane par koi tohmat lagane ki jaroorat kya
>
> Khud apni hi tabahi ka anokha silsila hu main.
>
> (Who indulge with goal
> I am such an inspiration
> Friends, in the journey of life, I have walked alone
> Where is the need to cast any blame on congealment
> I myself a unique chain of devastation)

These words instigate the popularity of Kanshi Ram's sacrifice for exploited and oppressed communities. It's another factor for a public intellectual to live like a common man and sacrifice his life, and family for society and the audience will understand this sacrifice with a sense of belonging. It can be understood through the narration by Raj Kishor from Meerut, who worked in DS4- and participated in cycle march:[220]

> I have heard that Saheb Kanshi Ram Ji is in Meerut and staying in Shubhash Nagar. I was waiting for a long time to meet with Kanshiram. That day, I picked up my bicycle in the morning from my village Meeva and reached there. A man comes out and asks what you want. He replied I want to meet Saheb. A messenger went inside the room and told Kanshi Ram that a man with a bicycle wanted to meet him. Kanshi Ram was a comfort to meet with people. Rajkishor went inside and he saw that 'ek aadmi shirt aur paint mein baitha hai uski sleeves ke button khule hue hai, mujhe laga hi nahi ki ye Kanshi Ram ji hai ek dum sadharan aadmi ki tarah (a man sat in shirt and paint. His sleeves was unbuttoned. I was in a dilemma to accept Kanshi Ram Ji's style of living as a simple person). Kanshi Ram asked why do you want to meet me? Rajkishor replied that ki sahab aapka Bahut naam suna hai ki aap dabe kuchle samaj ko upar uthane ke liye kaam kar rahe hai (I have heard your name many times that you are working to emancipate the downtrodden people). Kanshi Ram listened to him and asked what do you have in your bag? He replied sahab roti hai kyoki dhoop mein chala tha, gaanv door hai isliye raste mein bhookh lagegei to roti rakh liya tha (Sir I have bread in my bag. Because I left early in the morning to meet you). Kanshi Ram asked how many pieces of bread do you have? He said four pieces of bread. And you will not believe that Kanshi Ram said thik hai nikalo roti, 2 tum khao aur 2 main khaunga. Rajkishow was shocked and from that day he never looked back. He has participated in the cycle march and attained a cader.

Kanshi Ram has the deepest sense of his audience's feelings and the pain they have in their mind. His idea of face-to-face interaction with people is a reflection of being a public intellectual. It's a well-known fact that those who meet Kanshi Ram once never ran away from

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[220]   Recorded Interview with Master Raj Kishor from Village Meeva (District Meerut), dated 18/08/20.

him. His personality and dedication to movement reflect in his practices. A newspaper reporting about his dedication, published in the form of a story:[221]

> Sahib had to have angiography at one point and was told to rest for twenty-four hours. However, he had already scheduled a conference in Pune and needed to leave Delhi the next day. The physicians had advised against traveling, but Sahib did not heed their advice. When the doctor urged him to cancel his trip to Pune with Anant Rao Phule, Sahib said, 'Doctor, I completely understand your sentiments,' If this had happened 10 years ago, I would have followed your orders. But, given the state of our community today, I feel compelled to make the most of every moment. People are starting to comprehend me after a lot of effort, so I have to work extremely quickly now.' Saying this, he left for Pune.

His commitment to the movement made him a leader of the people. In most of the meeting and cadre camps, Kanshi Ram tried to develop the notion of responsibility with his own experience. Those practices are the reflections of public intellectuals that shape the imagination or develop the compulsion to think about what things are good for their perspective. In the words of Edward Said, "the intellectual authority to 'speak truth to power', and to be the voice of the poor, the disadvantaged, the voiceless, the unrepresented, and the powerless".[222] His way of thinking incorporates the dialogue to discuss and construct the public sphere against popular discourse and where they are in that. In this line of thinking, Kanshi Ram comes up with new ideas in terms of strategies to introduce the past and their strength to capture power. Once he was addressing the meeting in Andhra Pradesh, he argued:[223]

> I will destabilize the upper caste government in order to strengthen the Bahujan movement. This is the secret. I dedicated myself to building up the Bahujan Raj. I sacrificed my life, my happiness for our people. I have been working since October 1971. I came to know that I am diabetic in July 1988. I did not rest a minute from October 1971 till July 1988. I don't have a family. I don't have property. If there is family, there should be property. So, I don't have any family or property. I worked with one pair of pants and one shirt for many years. I have succeeded in lifting the party up to this stage. Police stand on guard wherever my

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221   S.S. Gautam, *Bahujan Nayak Manyavar Kanshi Ram Smriti Granth*, New Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 2006, p. 70.

222   Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, New York: Vintage Books, 2006, pp. 85-113. See Peter J. Vrovsek, *Jurgen Habermas and Public Intellectuals in Modern democratic Life*, Philosophy Compass, 2021.

223   K Y Ratnam, The Dalit Movement and Democratization of Andhra Pradesh, Working Paper in East-West Center Washington, No. 13, December 2008, p. 28.

helicopter lands today. All this is possible as the party accomplished power. You also should dedicate yourself to the party and form the Bahujan Samaj.

These words look similar to those observed by E. Said, an intellectual's life goal is to enhance human freedom and knowledge. This purpose frequently entails operating outside of society's institutions and aggressively disrupting the status quo. However, as a contributing member of society, he should let as many people know about his worries as he can. Said's thoughts are always balancing the private and public as a result. His or her own, personal commitment to a project provides the necessary motivation. But the ideal must be applicable to society.[224]

Seminars and Conferences: 'Interaction Ritual Chains'

Kanshi Ram works on positive agendas with a critical understanding of discourse. He was very critical of the reactionary politics practiced by exploited communities and said 'action will lead to the reaction which will need a counter-action'.[225] If you don't have any counter-action, then you will lose the faith in the public. To further extend, 'That is, you should not take any action until you have anticipated the potential for backlash and have a strategy in place to address it. Otherwise, you'll take a step and be taken off guard by the reaction.'[226] To strengthen the idea of action, Kanshi Ram goes beyond the classification of Emerson's idea of intellect which should not be bound by only books after being enriched by the past; his/her important activity is an action.[227] Kanshi Ram gave importance to action but the reality from the ground extended him to think about counter-action against the reaction of the action.

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[224] Edward Said, *Representation of the intellectual: The 1993 Reith lectures, op. Cit.* p. 17. See also Alan Lightman "The Role of the Public Intellectual." MIT Communications Forum. web.mit.edu/comm-forum/legacy/papers/lightman.html (Accessed on 2/2/22)

[225] BAMCEF Bulletin, "BAMCEF activities", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 3, No. 1, March 1981, pp. 25-26.

[226] Vivek Kumar, *India's Raring Revolution: Dalit Assertion and New Horizons*, Delhi: Gagandeep Publication, 2006.

[227] https://emersoncentral.com/texts/essays-first-series/intellect/

To think critically about the ongoing crises, Kanshi Ram starts the conferences as a public engagement with the intellectuals and their understanding of communitarian action. With his critical engagement of Ambedkarism as practice in oppressed communities, BAMCEF organized a seminar on 'Will Ambedkarism Revive and Survive?' at the constitution club in Delhi from June 11th to 14th, 1979. The symposium was also conducted at 10 different places covering different regions of India starting on 14th April 1979 and ending on 14th June 1979.[228] It was an attempt to find out the lapses or failure of Ambedkarism as a question before us. BAMCEF choked out of the program for six months to find the answer. Manohar Atey writes "when the circumstances created by caste Hindus to trample Ambedkarism, the only answer after a thorough probe lies in the revival of Ambedkarism by clearing confusion among the depressed classes. BAMCEF was the instrument by which Kanshi Ram attempted the task by giving a standardized definition to distinguish between genuine and counterfeit".[229] These seminars and symposiums were part of an 'interaction ritual chains'[230] between the distinctive intellectuals from the different regions. Collins' central thesis is that 'intellectual innovation and output are rooted in human relationships and face-to-face networks, which transfer emotional energy and cultural capital.[231]

Emotional energy and cultural capital[232] are both important for the creative process; the former serves as a motivator, while the latter aids in the successful direction of creative output'.[233] In that context, Kanshi Ram's idea of organizing conferences, seminars, and symposiums perform the face-to-face interaction and construction of cultural capital. In one of the seminar, to define Ambedkarism, refer to the writings of Ambedkar, when he established 'Depressed Classes Institute' in June 1925, said that "The Depressed Classes Institute is an organization of the depressed classes which is conducted by the members of the depressed

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[228] "Will Ambedkarism revive and survive?", in Manohar Atey (ed.), *The Editorials of Kanshi Ram* (The Oppressed Indian), April 1979, pp. 7-11.

[229] Ibid.

[230] See Randal Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains*, op. cit., p. 19.

[231] Randall Collins, *Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change*. op. cit., pp. 19–20, See also Patrick Baert, *The Existentialist Moment*, op. cit., p. 8.

[232] Diane Reay, "Gendering Bourdieu's concept of Capitals? Emotional Capital, Women, and Social Class", *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 52, pp. 57-74.

[233] Ibid, p. 8.

classes in the interest of the depressed classes. The institute aims to raise the depressed classes from their present-day downtrodden condition to a status of social and political equality in Indian society and to promote their economic welfare."[234]

At the theoretical level, they believed that definition to be enough, but when it came to actual practice and a variety of opportunities, they discovered different interpretations. Somewhere, Ambedkarite intellectuals were unable to understand this definition and interpret their own way with a deliberate effort to create confusion. Kanshi Ram criticized the Ambedkarite intellectuals or Ambedkarite lieutenants to create confusion about Ambedkarism and due to that cause, it produces irreparable damage for the mission. On the other side gullible masses understand Ambedkarism as raising their voice against the atrocities and gaining the support of the exploited communities. These practices create confusion about Ambedkarism, and what it is. He gave some critical insights which are helpful to understanding the lapses or reviving Ambedkarism:[235]

> 1. The Entangled Untouchables
> Those who associate with the mission, when things are going well or either way maintain the distance and are converted into mercenaries.
> 2. All Round failure
> He criticizes the politics of RPI and Dalit Panther due to the fractions. He concluded that during the 1978 Assembly and Corporation elections, Ambedkar's followers, who are about 10% of Bombay voters, contested under 20 banners.
> 3. Uproot Brahminism, the spirit of inequality
> 4. Dynamics of Ambedkarism
> He gave insights about Dr. Ambedkar's work including publications- Mooknayak, Bahiskrit Bharat, Janata, Prabuddh Bharat, and political parties- ILP, SCF, and RPI. These practices or actions indicate changes at a suitable time without the loss of the spirit of the movement.
> 5. Funding of missionary movement
> 6. Revival and Survival

In that seminar he appealed to the masses to collect with their strength like Ph.D. holders who have worked on Ambedkar, can help theoretically, and those who have experienced

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[234]   Kanshi Ram, "Will Ambedkarism revive and survive?", in (eds.) compiled by Manohar Atey, *The Editorials of Kanshi Ram*, (The Oppressed Indian) April 1979, p. 7-11.

[235]   Ibid, 1979.

practically can greatly help for mission and the main focus was on lieutenants of Ambedkar who left the movement or sticking to the movements. Therefore, this attempt was important to mobilize the people through the exposition of truth about crises in the movement. After the establishment of BAMCEF, Kanshi Ram and his team organized many conferences and symposiums to mobilize the people and make them aware of the social reality. These practices helped to interact with the masses with their pain and agony and how to take the mission forward. The first convention of BAMCEF was held in Nagpur on 2nd to 4th December 1979, and approximately 2000 delegates from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and Gujarat to Bengal attended this convention.[236] At that time agitation was going on to rename the Marathwada University name as Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar University, and some people were also opposing the convention of BAMCEF in Nagpur. At that convention, the program 'awakening squad' (Jagriti Jattha in popular language) increased the attendance and reached more than 10000 people for the exhibition.[237] The presence of youth and women was the reflection of changing the dynamics in exploited communities. BAMCEF Co-operation (gave a glimpse of the economic activity and was successfully displayed by Chandigarh and Pinjore activists), BAMCEF Brotherhood (at Chandramani Nagar), and BAMCEF Adoption (at Mahadulla village) wings were launched at this convention and especially introduced for central India.[238]

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[236] Editorial, "Many Thanks to the masses of Nagpur", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol.1, No.10, December 1979, p. 4.

[237] Ibid, p. 4.

[238] Ibid, pp. 22-26.

Fig. 3(6). First National Convention of BAMCEF in Nagpur, 1979.

This convention makes sense about the missionary leadership and consciousness in the exploited communities and their strength. It was the result of the fieldwork done by Kanshi Ram and his team. Jagriti Jattha was in the center of the eyes in the convention to feel the connectivity of pain, agony, and awareness about the past and their icons through songs. In the process of strengthening the broad base of movement, the second convention was held in Ramlila ground, Delhi from November 20th to 24th, 1980.[239] The approach behind organizing the convention was to check the growth and be vigilant about it. Because the self-interest of the leaders in the name of Ambedkarism can create hurdles to strengthening the base of BAMCEF. Therefore, building the organization is not enough, instead protecting it and that cadre should be vigilant.[240] Manohar Atey wrote, "Birth of BAMCEF was announced on 6th December 1978 and has grown substantially but with troubles and problems. Pay Back ideology was its root cause. The Ambedkarite path of payback ideology brought two major problems, first being to use our own brains and funds and second, sticking to the ideology for making a living. The problem shooters made checks on the growth of BAMCEF. It was our duty to contain such mischief quickly and effectively".[241]

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[239] Editorial, "Problems of Growth", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 2, No. 9, November 1980, p. 4.
[240] Ibid.

[241] Ibid, p. 4.

So, it's necessary to unite the cadre in one place to interact and think about the challenges ahead. In that convention, almost 21 states and Union Territories delegates participated, but the majority of the delegates were from U.P., M.P., and Maharashtra.[242] Manohar Atey writes, "The second national convention of BAMCEF which met at Dr. Ambedkar Nagar Delhi, will be remembered on a large scale and represented by various states and regions, castes, communities, and linguistic groups but bound by one ideology, one objective of paying back to the oppressed society to which they belong".[243] The participation of students, youth, ladies, and the literary wings reflect the enthusiasm of BAMCEF as a form of communitarian action. Press and Publication wing was at the center of this convention and the participants were welcomed enthusiastically. The cognitive blackout of exploited communities by the Brahmin-Bania nexus in the press has been observed for a long time in history and Dr. Ambedkar took an attempt to create our own media or press. During the convention, to keep in mind the news service role in organizational building, it was welcomed to release two daily newspapers and five periodicals. But the mobilization at large level was reflected through the awakening squad performing the dance, dramas at night from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. every day during convention. The exhibition was prepared by the artist Mr. Patil from Maharashtra.[244]

Before the yearly BAMCEF convention, the Zonal conference as an experiment was introduced to chalk out the program ahead and review the last convention. These Zonal conferences are a prelude to the yearly national convention. In 1981, five Zonal conferences were conducted in Shimla, Bangalore, Bhopal, Lucknow, and Calcutta.[245] Zonal conferences, as an idea, maintain the connectivity between the exploited masses from one convention to the next. Last but not the least, the 3rd national convention of BAMCEF was organized at the Parade ground, Chandigarh from October 14th to 18th, 1981. During the five-day conference,

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[242] "BAMCEF Second National convention", in (eds.) compiled by Manohar Atey, *The Editorials of Kanshi Ram*, (The Oppressed Indian), December/January 1981, p. 49.

[243] Ibid, p. 49.

[244] Recorded interview with S.K. Patil from Maharashtra dated 20/11/21. He was the senior activist in the BAMCEF and did lots of work in Bengal. He is known as a good artist in BAMCEF.

[245] Editorial, "Zonal conferences: A prelude to the national convention", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 3, No. 4, July 1981, p. 4.

approximately 7000 delegates from more than 300 districts from all over India attended and participated. This convention was historic to depict (the front gate was designed for the convention) the silver jubilee occasion of the great conversion when lakhs of Dalits left the Hindu religion and embraced Buddhism.[246] To be aware of the history of social change, a large exhibition was set up close to the main gate, which also included a variety of atrocities (atrocities galore) on backward and minority communities. Somewhere, the exhibition set-up introduced the everyday challenge for oppressed communities but the Brahmin-Bania press blacked out the story of these atrocities. In that nexus, *Bania supplied the funds and Brahmin used the pen* to dismantle the existence of oppressed communities. For that, it's a requirement of such a press to either blackout or blackmail those who work against the value system.[247] Therefore, breaking the monopoly of the Brahmin-Bania press was another attempt to construct a counter-public. In that convention, BAMCEF adopted its flag on the 14th of October, and the first day of the convention started with the hosting of that flag in the morning. The BVF- BAMCEF volunteer force was also initiated at that convention and was the main center of attraction.[248] The role of BVF is to maintain the crowd and successfully organize the rallies or conferences.

Fig. 3(7). Kanshi Ram in the attire of BVF at the 1981 Convention.

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[246] Editorial, "BAMCEF 3rd National Convention: Some Salient Features (Blackout of BAMCEF news is ending, be prepared for blackmail)", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 3, No. 8/9, November 1981, p. 4.

[247] Ibid, p. 4.

[248] Special Report, "BAMCEF 3rd National Convention at Chandigarh", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. 3, No. 8/9, November 1981, p. 5.

Kanshi Ram as an organizer understands the responsibility and the sense of belonging between the masses. Because he knows the sense of belonging and responsibility on its own in the hopeless society work as a force in the community. If you are a part of the act as a leader, it intensifies the connectivity with the masses. At that convention, another important aspect was that the other party leaders and activists from different states were invited to attend and interact with the masses. Karpoori Thakur, and Ram Vilas Paswan were the main leaders from Bihar to attend the convention. They were the popular face of assertive politics in India at that time. The ex-chief Minister of Bihar, Karpoori Thakur (from a backward community) delivered an inaugural address and argued that '*Brahminvaad hame patan ki or le jata hai, use jad se ukhad do*' (Uproot the Brahminism, it's a way of our decadence).[249] In his speech, he said that, in this country, two ideologies are waving, one is magnanimity and the other one is fanaticism. The first one starts with Valmiki, Ravidas, Kabir, Nanak, and in modern times it starts with Mahatma Phule, Narayan Guru, Periyar, and Dr. Ambedkar. The second wave is about magnanimity or hypocrisy known as Brahminvaad and surviving for centuries. We should uproot it because it is a cause of our decadence'.[250] The presence of Karpoori Thakur and his fiery speech acclaimed the movement against oppression and reflected the far-sighted imagination of Kanshi Ram to invite the leader from oppressed communities. Karpoori himself accepted that he has learnt a lot from this convention and should participate. They have visited the BAMCEF co-operation stall and atrocities galore exhibition.

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[249]   It was the main headline of Bahujan Sangathak, on 2 November 1981. (See, Fig. in Appendix)

[250]   Ibid, p.1.

प्रदर्शनी के उद्घाटन पश्चात् श्री कर्पूरी ठाकुर, प्रदर्शनी का अवलोकन करते हुये, श्री कांशीराम जी, प्रदर्शनी में चित्रित अत्याचारों के दृश्यों का विश्लेषण कर रहे हैं, साथ में हैं, श्री रामविलास पासवान सांसद, श्री राम खोब्रागडे (बायें) तथा कु॰ मायावती (दायें) बामसेफ कार्यकर्ता.

Kanshi Ram explained to Karpoori Thakur and Ram Vilas Paswan about the exhibition on atrocities galore.

This chapter highlighted the independent politics of the oppressed from the mainstream political parties. It changed the dynamics of the oppressed to do their own politics and assert their voice for political agency. B.P. Maurya emerged as a big Dalit leader but finally bowed down in front of Indira. There are lots of examples of Dalit leaders who emerged but co-opted to dismantle the independent leader in the exploited communities. In the 1970s, the politics of India changed in many aspects and experienced authoritarian rule where people don't have the choice or agency to question the ongoing unrest at multiple levels. Democracy was in danger, it had no right to protest against the authoritarian government, the student movement was dismantled, social activists were in jail, and the public sphere has changed. On the other side, the politics of assertion entered into a new phase, Karpoori Thakur served as CM in Bihar from December 1970 to June 1971, and Ram Manohar Lohia, and Jai Prakash Narayan were also leaders of the masses and led the movement against Indira's authoritarian politics. Between all these, Dalit politics entered into a new phase RPI, Dalit Panther, and Scheduled Caste Federation were the main political parties and organizations working for Dalit rights. But Dalit politics entered a new mode when Kanshi Ram starts to work on the ground for entity politics and did fieldwork with a bicycle "two feet on two wheels."

Once he said at Boat Club, New Delhi, that 'There hasn't been a day in the entire month when I haven't ridden a bicycle less than 100 km. The peoples of Poona are the witnesses. If I

don't work passionately at that time, we can't stand here today'.[251] His commitment and experience from the ground change the dynamics of Dalit politics and construct the leadership in the humble, poor, small workers from different communities. He developed political agency in the marginalized communities with the discourse of Bahujan. In other words, he generated the thinking about power raaj *ka chaska* (Taste of Power) and the value of votes with a clarion call *'Vote Hamara, Raaj Tumhara, Nahi Chalega Nahi Chalega'* (Our Vote, your rule, will not work). In Indian history, Kanshi Ram is an exceptional case of a public intellectual who emerged with an understanding of the public in a hierarchical society, where the illiteracy rate was found high among the exploited communities. The interaction with the wider audiences needs to develop the means of connectivity. It reflects the sociological imagination of Kanshi Ram, to propose new ideas for sustaining the movement and reaching out to a wider audience. His extraordinary ability to interact with people makes him recognizable to popular audiences and get the legitimacy as a charismatic personality. Patrick Baert wrote, "Talent and Charisma only come to the fore once recognized by the public, so we need an account for the connection (or lack thereof) between the intellectual and his or her audience".[252]

Kanshi Ram during the fieldwork engaged with the masses with the critical enquiry of the movement and observed why Dalit leadership failed to address the question of non-political roots. He observed minutely that the political clout of RPI and its leadership failed to develop the political agency in exploited communities. And he said that *Jaise log hote hai unhe waise hi leader mil jate hai, kyoki loktantra mein janta neta ko chunti hai* (They get leaders as people are, because in a democracy the people choose the leader).[253] And it was his field approach to understand the thinking of people from marginalized communities about power and politics. The question is why is the field important for a public intellectual to connect with the masses? Why was Kanshi Ram successful in relative obscurity from the others to deliver the role of power in the exploited communities? These questions will be entangled in the next chapter.

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[251] Kanshi Ram, *Bahujan Sangathak*, 14 October 1982.

[252] Patrick Baert. *The Existentialist Moment*, op. cit., p. 11.

[253] Interview of Kanshi Ram in *The Illustrated Weekly* (Interview by Nikhil Lakshman).

Chapter: 4

From Critical Enquiry to Public Intellectual: Strategies of Political Engagement

The colloquial usage of intellectual as a noun comes from the context of France's Dreyfus affair. At that time it was not a descriptive term, however, it emerged with knowledge and truth against injustice.[1] The organic intellectuals, free floating intellectuals, the existentialist, and specific intellectuals are those categories that emerged in the 20th century.[2] However, the term 'intellectuals' shifted with the socio-political and cultural framework in a contextual way and differentiated with the expertise. In the popular domain, "intellectuals" have the expertise to address the issues of wider socio-political significance in society. But expertise has the specificity of intellectuals to address the issue in a particular domain or per say, depending on context. It can be intellectual if it addresses the wider social-political and cultural issues beyond his/her speciality.

On the contrary, intellectuals are experts, if they are trained or are proficient in one field before going to engage with broader issues.[3] Patrick Baert writes 'there is no inherent reason why intellectuals should be concentrated in the arts and humanities or any other subject; they may, in theory, be found in any field of study or cultural achievement. As we will see, natural scientists and mathematicians can and have been intellectuals in the sense that we have defined'.[4] Therefore, intellectuals as a category is not restricted to only a particular domain of knowledge production, or specific area. The other implication is about intellectuals, to address the socio-political issues at a larger level or engage with the wider public beyond general or multiple, outside their expertise realm or authority. From that point of view, the engagement with the wider public beyond their expertise contextualizes the role of public intellectuals, and communicating with the

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[1]   It began with the court-martial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus in 1894 in France (due to the corruption at a high level); it was a judicial matter and transformed into a public issue. For more details see Russel Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe*, New York: Basic Books, 1987.

[2]   Patrick Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015, p. 157.

[3]   Patrick Beart & Joel Isaac, "Intellectuals and Society: Sociological and Historical Perspective", in Gerard Delanty & Stephen P. Turner (ed.), *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*, New York: Routledge, 2022 (First edition published in 2011), p. 196.

[4]   Ibid.

non-specialists public. The term public intellectual, coined by Russel Jacoby in 1987, contended that the interaction by the intellectual to the general public in democracy has an important function in democracy.[5] On the other hand, in his 1993 Reith lecture, Edward Said talks about the empowered marginality to save the universal values against personal interest.[6]

This chapter will try to locate the debate about the emergence of public intellectuals at a particular time. It's pertinent to trace the historicity of oppression and crisis in society and how an individual engages with that trauma and delivers it to the public. How does a public intellectual write about the cultural space in politics? Responsibility to write or interact with the public allows us to why does an individual get public prominence? To strengthen the idea of the public intellectual and his public reflection of his/her understanding of the field. Jean-Paul Sartre is an example who emerged as a public intellectual for some time and got public prominence in French society.[7] He was not a part of academia or from the circle of intellectual legacy at that time. He has written about cultural trauma rather than studying the traumatic events.[8] For a public intellectual, it's not about, what are you understanding and writing, rather writing as socialization or wrestling with the condition. Many sociologists would like to think that social circumstances have no bearing on our intellectual work or the tools we use to achieve it.

To make sense of the rapid rise of Kanshi Ram in India, it will analyze various aspects of the socio-political climate at that time. What type of language and vocabulary has been used by the public intellectual (from the margins) for cultural expressions? Kanshi Ram, after studying Ambedkar, made the understanding from the field and gathered the people on one platform. His journey of being a public intellectual started in 1970, but to get public prominence when he formed the DS4 (Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti) on December 6, 1981.[9] To trace out Kanshiram as

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[5]   Russel Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe*, op. cit., p. 236.

[6]   Edward Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith lectures*. New York: Vintage Books, 1996, p. xv.

[7]   Patrick Baert, "The Power Struggle of French Intellectuals at the end of the Second World War: A Study in the Sociology of ideas", *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 4., 2011, pp. 415-435.

[8]   Patrick. Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual,*op. cit., p.3.

[9]   To trace out the epistemology of the emergence of the Public Intellectual, the period or an act is very important when he/she gets the public prominence in the popular masses. In that context

a Public Intellectual, 1981 was known as the year which defined the space of culture in politics and how he proposed the cultural space to articulate politics in public. In 1981, what were his political actions that related to the ideas of Ambedkar and Phule and the history of social and political movements of Dalits by Dalits on caste in the 20th century? This is to say that whatever the varieties of history in his way, he had the caste of the mainstream politics in India, how he was trying to maneuver the political situation at one level in UP and another level is national level to construct this counter-public sphere again. So, on the one hand, social movement aspects have to continue irrespective of the situation on the political front. On the other hand, certain goals of the realm of society can only be realized through the realization of the realm of politics. How one does, at the political level in the electoral politics of India, configure the social in politics and construct the public with social practices.

The intellectual representation raises questions about the categorization of the intellectuals in society. The intellectual space of the intellectual is located within the public and political sphere. It's a different understanding of the purpose of the intellectual and the range of his/her ideas with the writing and practices in society. The writings and the vocabulary refer to someone to distinguish the paradox between popular and public. The role of language in writings and speeches evolves with the collaboration of space and location in society. Therefore, the range of an intellectual is established with his/her popular imagination about the audience. In everyday communication with targeted audiences make the perception about an individual, connect with the voice of pain and emancipation.[10] Why does someone believe in the ideas of an individual? How does an individual emerge as a public intellectual in society? How do emotions and knowledge perform the inquiry about the public sphere? Public intellectuals now face quite different challenges than Sartre, Beauvoir, or even Said and Sontag did. One of the main paradoxes at the

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1981, was the year, when Kanshi Ram entered into the political domain and popularized the debate of independent politics to dismantle the era of Stooges. His journey to being a public intellectual started in 1973, but he got public prominence in media and the national level through Bareilly March (1986), to expose the structural violence existing over the centuries. See Patrick Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual,* op. cit., pp. 143-157. See also Jeffrey Alexander, "Toward a theory of cultural trauma" In: Alexander J et al. (eds) *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, pp. 1–30.

[10] R.C. Tucker, "Politics as leadership" in A. Mughan & S.C. Patterson*, Political Leadership in Democratic Societies*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1992.

center of public intellectualism is that the more "public" or "popular" an intellectual is, the less seriously that intellectual is taken, especially by other intellectuals. This inconsistency, according to one commenter, makes it difficult for public intellectuals to maintain their intellectual integrity."[11] But the existence of the intellectual depends upon the structure of the society. In the Indian socio-political scenario, Kanshi Ram is a name to understand politics from the Bahujan perspective. In the categorization of the political and public realm,[12] Kanshi Ram clearly understood the division in the Bahujan community. In The Human Condition, Arendt describes politics as a self-revelation phenomenon that manifests itself in the public sphere to participate in political action. It's not unusual for people to attempt to establish who they are in public by revealing who they are.[13]

Another work was written by Arendt, '*On Revolution*' in which she also demarcated politics and culture in society. Culture excellence inescapably is more elitist, whereas political excellence is not. She saw that a completely democratic political system would create an elite who would believe that only a select group of people are capable of participating in public affairs and had the guts to do so. Arendt argued that the rest of the democratic political elites have the confidence to seem equal, but out of place in cultural matters.[14] In her writings, Arendt mentions that politics and culture both are phenomena of the public world. The space of appearance reflects in the public realm, which exists with both institutions and activities; they can also be separated from each other.[15] With the social realm of the public and political, Arendt entered with a new difference that people are united 'socially' due to being tied together by the private realm instead of the strictly public ones. In that contextualization, the socialization of politics through the cultural aspects was important for Kanshi Ram with the private realm and which reflected in public with the political activities like DS-4 (Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti), BAMCEF, and

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[11] Jeffrey R. Di Leo and Peter Hitchcock, (eds.) *The New Public Intellectual: Politics, Theory, and the Public Sphere*, US: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, p. x.

[12] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1998, 3rd ed., [First Published in 1958], p. 45.

[13] Ibid, p. 167.

[14] Hannah. Arendt, *On Revolution*, New York: Viking, 1963, pp. 179-215. See also Margaret Canovan, "Politics as Culture: Hannah Arendt and the Public Realm", *History of Political Thought*. 1985 Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 617–42.

[15] Ibid.

Bahujan Samaj Party. The question about the social realm in the non-political aspects appears in the political activities which are developed by Kanshi Ram. Is the social realm existing in the political realm in the Dalit movement, or reflected in the public realm with the diverse institutions and activities? Kanshi Ram, in his understanding, defines politics as a culture with political aspects in non-political terms.

Moving into Position

Kanshi Ram believed in democratic and constitutional values. His working style and collaboration with the different communities (SCs, STs, OBCs, and other Minorities) from the marginalized section strengthened the ground of democracy in India. He tried to bring them under the umbrella of 'Bahujan Samaj'. After knowing the structural oppression and its remedies, he developed the language to dismantle that oppression with the contextuality of pain. Firstly, he created the language to know about the enemy like Manuvadi, who are the followers of Manu Samhita (Social code of the upper caste).[16] Badri Narayan writes 'similar to Ambedkar, this effort to empower and enhance the consciousness of Dalits and members of other lower castes.... If Ambedkar is to be given credit for building the constitutional foundation of Indian democracy, Kanshi Ram's organizational strategies and political ploys strengthened that foundation by enlisting the support of several oppressed groups in his political endeavors.'[17] To understand Kanshi Ram's politics it is very important to understand his life journey from Punjab to Maharashtra, from a normal government servant to an icon of Bahujan Politics. His association with RPI and his critical understanding of RPI Politics as well Dalit Panther Movement is very essential to study because these two events have helped Kanshi Ram to understand the failure of Ambedkarite Politics and showed a new path to Bahujan Politics. He has good organizing skills and strategies to strengthen the Political roots of non-Political exploited and oppressed communities. So, there is a need to study his capacities for organization building and methods to mobilize historically neglected people from society. Dr. Ambedkar argued that joint electorates produced nominees from

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[16]   Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary in India*, Oxon: Routledge Abingdon, 2016. See also Vivek Kumar, *India's Roaring Revolution: Dalit Assertion and New Horizons*, Delhi: Gagandeep Publications, 2006. See Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the unfinished democratic revolution*, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002.

[17]   Badri Narayan, *Kanshi Ram: Leader of the Dalits*, Penguin: New Delhi, 2014, p. xii.

untouchable communities so they can't empower these communities under these political parties. So, the study investigates Kanshi Ram about Chamchas and how he puts an end to them, and the relevance of Chamchas under Manuwadi political parties. Kanshi Ram was strongly influenced by Ambedkar's statement that "Political Power is the master key, which can open every lock". By extending this he has concluded that 'social transformation and economic emancipation' of Bahujans would be possible through political power. It is crucial to know the means and ways of Kanshi Ram to attain political power in the U.P. It also discusses the main idea behind the BSP Movement, its Mission, and its politics in India.

This journey transformed Kanshi Ram's thought process and allowed Dalit employees to accept him as a leader in Pune. At this juncture, it is very important to trace the history, biography, and integration of both[18] to contextualize the individual background, like Kanshi Ram because when we look at a person as a leader from lower strata it becomes phenomenal due to the social structure in India. The social structure allows only twice-born castes to be part of lower caste people's liberation projects due to their social position in society. Kanshi Ram's family belonged to the Ramdasia Sikh community in Punjab (who were called chamars) once they were an untouchable chamar caste. Because of victimization in Hindu society, the entire family converted to Sikhism. Due to religious values, the Ramdasia community was allowed to have some sort of good economic position in Punjab.

Because of his religious and economic position, Kanshi Ram somehow managed to escape from untouchability and caste discrimination in his adult life and got a good education.[19] After his B.Sc. he got employment in 1958, later on, he moved to Pune as an assistant scientist in ERDL. For the first time, he had seen caste discrimination very closely when his casteist colleagues canceled holidays on the occasion of Buddha and Ambedkar Jayanti and it led to mobilizing Dalit employees against caste discrimination in the office, Kanshi Ram played a very strategic role to win the battle.[20] Very soon employees accepted him as a leader because of his dedication to downtrodden communities. This incident made Kanshi Ram know about Ambedkar and was much

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[18]   C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination,* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000 (first edition published in 1959), pp. 3-24.

[19]   Badri Narayana, *Kanshi Ram: Leader of the Dalits*, op. cit., 2014.

[20]   Ibid, p. 53.

more inspired by Ambedkar's "Annihilation of Caste" and "What Gandhi and Congress have done to the untouchables".[21] Very soon he concluded that it is the only political power by which we can bring social and economic emancipation to society. He left his job and joined RPI in 1964 after being deeply committed to Bahujan empowerment in order to join the Ambedkarite movement and help oppressed and disadvantaged people.[22] The Indian social structure has been given privileges based on ascribed status, based on this status it allows twice-born communities as leaders of marginalized communities.

He created independent leadership in the Bahujan community. Following the organizational principles of Phule Ambedkarite, Saheb Kanshi Ram recognised the necessity of counter media for the Bahujan Mass Movement. In 1972, he released "The Untouchable India," which came before "The Oppressed Indian." He founded the Marathi, Hindi, and English newspaper "Bahujan Times" in 1984. Additional monthly publications followed, including Bahujan Sahitya, Economic Upsurge, Aarthik Utthaan, Shramik Sahitya, etc., as well as weekly publications like Bahujan Sangathak and Bahujan Nayak. In the same inaugural issue of "The Oppressed Indian", Kanshi Ram concluded the editorial by saying "Publication of the Oppressed Indian, a monthly news magazine, is just beginning. The task ahead is challenging!"[23] The founder and leader of the Bahujan Samaj Party was Kanshi Ram (for the good of all). He founded the BSP in 1984 as a secession from the RPI, Dr. Ambedkar's party, which was beset by internal conflicts after his death. In his interview, Kanshi Ram exposes the severe realities of caste, which shocked him very much:[24]

> I was first exposed to the miseries of the Mahars and Mangs and then I read Annihilation of Caste and What Gandhi and the Congress have done to the Untouchables. These are the two books that have influenced me most. Later I came to know about Mahatma Jotirao Phule.

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[21] S.S. Gautam & Anil Kumar, *Writing & Speeches of Kanshi Ram*, New Delhi: Siddharth Book Centre, 2016, p. 146.

[22] Ibid, pp-146-47.

[23] A.R. Akela, *The Oppressed Indian: Manniya Kanshi Ram Saheb ke Sampadakiya Lekh*, Delhi: Anand Sahitya Sadan, 2012, p. 81.

[24] Quoted in Christophe Jaffrelot, "The Bahujan Samaj Party in North India: No Longer Just a Dalit Party?", *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East*, 1998, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 35.

Political Positioning and Power performativity- 'D-S4'

'D-S4 ka Nara hai (Slogan of D-S4 is)
Nikat Bhavishya Hamara Hai' (The near future is ours)

1978, was the time when BAMCEF was established with many wings to strengthen the movement at different institutions. Now, after three years, Kanshi Ram took an attempt to create the political public with the formation of D-S4 (Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti) on 6 December 1981(exactly after 25 years Babasaheb Ambedkar left us almost orphaned) in the office (with the size of 10x10) of Hardhyan Singh Road, New Delhi.[25] It was an attempt for 'limited political action'[26] as performance in the field and to develop political agency in the exploited communities. Kanshi Ram responds to a question about the formation of D-S4, as a political intention, saying that "I start with the idea of social transformation and economic emancipation. I still want my people (Dalits) to advance socially and economically. But I have realized that unless we have political clout, we cannot advance much on those sides."[27] For that, firstly he exposed the structural violence and the civil sphere, where exploited communities have no space for growth.

On the day of foundation, Kanshi Ram defined oppression and exclusion at the social, cultural, and political levels, and contended that "Looking at the prevalent social scenario there appears to be no dearth of goody talks and proclamations for the scheduled castes and the Scheduled tribes. It's not only a dearth of good laws, rules, regulations, plans, programs, and projects on paper. But there is a big gap between law and life…... The other Backward castes…still struggling to know the contents of the Mandal Commission Report submitted to the govt. a year back in December 1980. Looking at the sad plight of the persecuted minorities, Muslims appear to

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[25]   Kanshi Ram, Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti (D-S4) – An Organization for Agitation, *The Oppressed Indian*, December 1981, Vol.3, No. 10, p. 4.

[26]   Kanshi Ram, "D-S4 For Limited Political Action", *The Oppressed Indian*, June 1982, Vol. 4, No.3, p. 6. see Kanshi Ram, "D-S4 Kanshi Ram dwara Simit Rajnitik Abhiyan", *Bahujan Sangathak*, 26 April 1982, Vol.3, No.3, p. 1.

[27]   Christophe. Jaffrelot, *Silent Revolution*: *The Rise of the Lower Classes in North India*. London: Hurst, 2003, p. 393.

be the worst victims…communal riots that keep them anxious and worried about their future."[28] D-S4 as an organization comes to function against oppression or exploitation at multiple levels and to encounter it, the agitator class should prepare (*Jurm ke khilaaf Aandolan-Karta jamaat taiyaar Karna D-S4 ka kaam hai*).[29] To combat the oppression, it was decided that near 100 km from the center of the office, no atrocities or injustice would happen to exploited communities.[30]

There were many protests organized in different states like Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, etc. against the caste atrocities, injustices, land grabbing, and state domination. As Manohar Atey writes, "Ironically, in India, in a so-called democratic setup where one man is having one vote, the SCs, STs, OBCs, and Minorities account for 85% are more subjugated people. BAMCEF being non-agitational and restricted to strengthen the non-political roots of the oppressed and exploited, the need for an agitational organization was felt highly essential, more so when the ruling class has invented political pimps out of us to dance to their tunes, the D-S4 was launched."[31]

With missionary or dedicated cadres, D-S4 developed as a force to get recognition at political as well as social levels. In political history, D-S4 was a combination of political action and social activism to know the unknown strength of the exploited communities. He wants to develop leadership at every institution. For Kanshi Ram, leadership was the main prominent function of society. Because leadership maintains order in the society and also develops counter-force.[32] Kanshi Ram encountered the idea of a popular definition of leadership on the

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[28]   Editorial, "Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti: An Organization for agitation", '*The Oppressed Indian*', December 1981 Vol. 3, No. 10, p. 4.

[29]   Recorded interview with Prakash Singh Pakhi, (Punjab. 1/3/21), who was associated with Kanshi Ram from 1979. He was also the president of Jagriti Jattha of Haryana (North Zone). His family followed the communist ideology, as we know the communist ideology was dominant in Punjab against the Zamindari System. They had a belief in the Adi-Dharm Movement. Pakhi was involved in the communist movement after reading the book 'Sarangi Velle' (in Punjabi). But after meeting with Kanshi Ram, he has worked in the movement and takes an oath that I will be unmarried for my whole life.

[30]   Interview with Kunwar Shyam Singh Tez from Saharanpur dated 10/8/20. See pamphlet of D-S4 Appendix 1.

[31]   Manohar Atey, "Dalit Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti: An Organization for agitation", *The Editorials of Kanshi Ram*, December 1981, p.71.

[32]   Interview with Prakash Singh Pakhi from Punjab dated 1/3/21, he narrates the idea of leadership given by Kanshi Ram.

launching of D-S4- Youth, Students, and Ladies fronts in New Delhi and contended that "up to now we have seen only one type of leadership, that is those people who give forceful speeches, abuse the enemy, attract more clappings from the masses and then run away. We do not require such leaders for our movement. When I mean leadership…...not political, we have to run our agitation and politics, it requires non-political leadership."[33] To further elaborate he quotes the example of Tata and Birla, who are the leaders in the industrial field of India. He said that they are not politicians, but are the leaders of their field. And this type of leadership is called non-political leadership which is especially required for a rootless society.[34]

It's a known fact that Kanshi Ram's idea of leadership was not limited only to the political level, but to be responsible for the community and its requirements for emancipation. Therefore, for agitation and politics, the idea of communitarian action was at the center. Because the question of acceptance on the ground and interaction with the public covered the process or journey of political and social action. It's not only about being charismatic but to reach with the audience and expose the reality of domination and develop a conscience about the past and their role to encounter it. Therefore, Kanshi Ram is an exceptional personality who constructs different methods to mobilize the people from the field. For that, he introduced the DS4 as an 'instrument of struggle' to encounter co-opting politics.

Kanshi Ram describes D-S4's "political approach 'to challenging Uttar Pradesh's "caste system" in his book Chamcha-Yug (Era of Stooges).[35] A deeper look at D-S4's political strategy reveals a lot of overlap with the post-emergency BAMCEF. The book proposes both a "short-term" and a "long-term" solution that would entail "intense" social activity, including the establishment of "Jagruti Squads (awakening squads)" by a "students wing" and a "women's wing," which would eventually spread throughout the country."[36] After two months of launching the organization, ten

[33]   Special Report, "D-S4, Students, Youth and Ladies fronts", launched in New Delhi. *The Oppressed Indian*: *Spokesman of the Oppressed and the Exploited*, March 1982, Vol. IV, No. 1. Pp. 5- 16. See Editorial, "D-S4, Students, Youth and Ladies fronts launched", *The Oppressed Indian*. March 1982, Vol. IV, No. 1. p. 4.

[34]   Ibid.

[35]   Jayabrata Sarkar, *Politics as Social Text in India: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*. Delhi: Taylor and Francis, 2021, p. 48.

[36]   Ibid, p. 48.

big functions were conducted, Six in Maharashtra, three in U.P., and one in the Chhattisgarh area of M.P.[37] The first regional conference of D-S4 was conducted in Western Maharashtra (from where BAMCEF originated years back) on January 5th, 1982 at Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Mumbai.[38] The full-fledged office of D-S4 was firstly launched in Nagpur. In Chattisgarh, the first function was held at Raipur on January 18th, 1982 and all three fronts of D-S4 were represented there. The presence of Satnamis and Scheduled Tribes was at the forefront.[39] In Uttar Pradesh, the organization was divided into three regions, where Ghaziabad, Lucknow, and Varanasi were the center of these regions. The main presence was of Mr. Latoori Singh and his son Kunwar Prasad, the main victims of 'Dehuli Carnage',[40] which gives the impression about doing work for 'social action'[41] quickly and developing the excitement and attachment to work for the community with the pain and agony.

As reported, rural participation from Varanasi and women participation from Lucknow were high. With that preparation, the Student, Youth, and Ladies wing of D-S4 launched on 26 and 27 February 1982. At this conference which is held at the Constitutional Club, about 500 delegates were invited and you will not believe that 1100 delegates reached there to attend that conference from all over the country.[42] After three months of launching the D-S4, the requirement of 50,000 receipts for membership shows the depth of the missionary organization and its broader base in the country.[43] In his speech, Kanshi Ram said that "we have to move ahead under the banner of DS4 on 25 fronts. To build and run these fronts, we require on average 1000 leaders for every front. Thus, by the end of 1983, we have to produce a class of 25000 leaders."[44] At this conference, an

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[37] Manohar Atey, *The Editorials of Kanshi Ram*, New Delhi: Siddharth Books, 2019, p. 75.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid., p. 76.

[40] Editorial, "Dehuli Hatyakaand ki Vastvik Tashvir, *Bahujan Sangathak: Samta, Swatantrata, Evam Bandhutva ke Manviya Mulyo ka Sajag Prahari"*, January 4, 1982, Vol. 32., pp.1-4. (Dehuli Carnage (18 November 1981, Etawa district) was a massacre, in which 24 Jatav (Dalit) including children were killed and burnt their house by Thakur Community), Chaitanya Kalbag, "The Dehuli Massacre: Killing with Impunity", *India Today*, 3 Novemebr 2014. (issue date 15 December 1981). Accessed on 8 June 2022.

[41] Editorial, "Students, Youth and Ladies to the Fore", *The Oppressed Indian*, February 1982, Vol.3, No. 12, p. 4.

[42] Kanshi Ram, "Students, Youth and Ladies Fronts launched", *The Oppressed Indian: Spokesman of the oppressed and the exploited*, March 1982, Vol. IV, p. 4.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid, p. 6.

open session was also held on 26 February 1982 where many Members of Parliament spoke about the movement of Ambedkar and Phule, and recognized the intervention of Kanshi Ram to carve out this movement and develop leadership in oppressed communities.[45] Mr. Jaipal Singh Kashyap (M.P. from U.P.)[46] from the OBC community, in his speech, argued that:[47]

> "I am sorry to say that people have started forgetting about the mission of Dr. Ambedkar. But for the past two years, I have been watching the activities of Mr. Kanshi Ram and his colleagues…the mission of Dr. Ambedkar is acquiring renewed strength and dimensions. I am sorry to say that the leaders of the society, including me, have failed in their duty. That is why you are required together here for this purpose. Further, he said that the greatest enemy of this country is casteism. we must finish it to liberate our masses from the chains of slavery and exploitation."

In the series of speakers, R. N. Rakesh (MP)[48], Rajnath Sonkar Shastri (MP)[49], Ram Vilas Paswan (MP from Bihar)[50], Ram Lal Kureel (Ex-MP), Dr. V. Kulandaivelu (MP from Tamilnadu)[51] addressed the young achievers of the movement. The second day of the conference started with the

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[45]   Ibid, p. 7.

[46]   Jaipal Singh Kashyap was a renowned activist and leader from the OBC's Community. He served as Member of Parliament for Aonla Constituency in 1980, and was an admirer of Kanshi Ram and his work for the oppressed communities. You can find the criticism of Manuwad in his speeches delivered many times.

[47]   Ibid, p. 9.

[48]   **Ram Nihor Rakesh** is an Indian politician who served as MP from Chail Constituency of UP in 1989. He was the leader of the Indian National Congress.

[49]   Indian politician **Rajnath Sonkar Shastri**, as a Janata Dal member, was elected to the Lok Sabha, the lower house of the Indian Parliament, from Saidpur, Uttar Pradesh in 1980 and 1991.

[50]   **Ram Vilas Paswan** was an Indian politician and government official who was born on July 5, 1946, close to Khagaria, India, and died on October 8, 2020, in Delhi, India. He founded and served as the longtime leader of the Lok Janshakti Party (LJP), a local political party in the eastern Indian state of Bihar. In 1969, Paswan won his first election to a public office when he was chosen to serve in the Bihar state legislative assembly. He was appointed joint secretary of the SSP's Bihar section in 1970. After the SSP (Samyukta Socialist Party) and other parties merged to form the Lok Dal (People's Party), which was created to provide a stronger challenge to the long-dominant Indian National Congress political establishment, he was appointed general secretary of the Bihar unit four years later. Ram Vilas Paswan's career was cut short in 1975 when he was one of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's political foes who was arrested and imprisoned as part of Gandhi's installation of emergency rule in the nation. Paswan was born on July 5, 1946, close to Khagaria, India; he died on October 8. After his release in 1977, he stood for and won the first of what would be eight terms to represent a Bihar constituency in the Lok Sabha (lower chamber of the Indian parliament). He only lost two Lok Sabha elections in a period of more than 30 years, in 1984 and 2009. After losing in 2009, he was elected to the Rajya Sabha, the upper house of the Indian parliament, and once more represented a Bihar constituency. Ram Lal Kureel is an Indian Politician who served as the Member of Parliament from Mohanlalganj Constituency in 1977 as a member of Janta Party. He was a scientist earlier in solar energy, working in the Central Building Research Institute.

[51]   **Dr. V. Kulandaivelu** is a politician and served as a Member of Parliament for 7 years as a member of the DMK party.

participation of Ladies, youth, and student delegates. In his introductory speech of this session, Kanshi Ram praised the participation of the ladies from the different regions- Chhattisgarh, Lucknow, and Maharashtra. In the series of speakers, Km. Saraswati Thakur[52] said that Organization like D-S4 is a prime necessity of the region…ruling forces of the country do not allow us to avail of the facilities granted by the constitution. We have to uproot these forces to liberate our society. She also criticized the role of the politicians in the downtrodden society. They are working as a stooge of the ruling classes and ignoring the genuine problems of the society. And also appealed to the ladies to work hand in hand with man folk".[53] The next speaker was Mrs. Bimala Janardhan from Durg, 'who criticizes the inequality that exists among the oppressed, and due to that Brahminism has entered our communities also. She also narrated the horrifying tale of Kestara Kand.'[54]

Some speakers were also from different regions, Mrs. Lawatre of Bilaspur, Mrs. K.D. Kurrey of Korba, Ku. Rashmi Kaula of Bharuch (Gujarat), Mrs. Dharmishta Chaudhary of Godhra (Gujarat), Mrs. Anamika Ingole of Bombay, Ku. Bansode of Solapur, Ku. Kamble of Nagpur, Ku. Ghodeswar of Amaravati, Mrs. Atram from Yeotmal (Gond Community), Vidya Gautam from Lucknow, Mrs. Manjula Sagar from Lucknow, Mrs. Sheela Rao from Jaunpur, Mrs. Ranak Khazan Singh from Ghaziabad, Ku. Sujata from Rohtak (Haryana), Ku. Lalita Devi from Mandi (Himachal Pradesh), Ku. Sukhdarshan from Ropar (Punjab). They exposed the inequality among the oppressed, with the lived experience of their regions, criticisms of leaders, Mental slavery, and Brahminism. The session was concluded by Km. Mayawati said that she is very much jubilant to see them encouraging and inspiring participation of the ladies coming from various states and regions. Their speeches indicate the social awakening among them and their deep sentiments toward the suffering of society. And I am particularly happy to note the participation of tribal lady activists".[55]

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[52]   Km. Saraswati Thakur is a tribal activist from the Gond tribe of Raipur and a student of Sociology, from Bastar region of M.P. (Special Report, "Students, Youth, and Ladies Fronts launched", *The Oppressed Indian: Spokesman of the oppressed and the exploited*, March 1982, Vol. IV, No. 1, p.11.)

[53]   Ibid, p. 11.

[54]   Ibid, p. 12.

[55]   Ibid, pp.13-14.

The emerging leadership among women shows the process of responsibility developed by Kanshi Ram. The participation of students and youths was also the new phase of the D-S4 to enhance the base of the movement. In the students and youth session, representatives came from different regions and universities. In the series of speakers, Mr. Tarseem Lal Bhagat from Jammu and Kashmir, presence indicates the length and breadth of the movement. Adv. Milk Singh, a youth activist in Hoshiarpur, Punjab talked about mental slavery and its eradication of it, important to the movement. Ram Kishan Rohtak from Haryana, said that without the involvement of students and youth, the revolution cannot be accomplished. The other activists, Mr. Jasmer Singh from Kurukshetra, Mr. Aman Kumar Nagra from Chandigarh, Mr. H.A. Makwana from Chandigarh, Mr. Sampat Lal from Jhunjhunu, (Rajasthan), Mr. Madhukar Meshram, Mr. Prabhu DayalDhanak from Jabalpur, Mr. Mahaveer Prasad Yadav, from Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, said that "Dr. Ambedkar desired to organize all the oppressed and exploited communities of India under one banner. However, backward communities did not understand but the time is now ripe and they are realizing their mistake. Now, they will join D-S4 under the leadership of Mr. Kanshi Ram and launch a common struggle".[56]

In the process of construction of leadership, Kanshi Ram socializes the cadre to understand the responsibility and change the discourse to think about the exploitation and countering it with their leadership. The vocabularies of Kanshi Ram in the cadre camp hit on the mind of oppressed peoples that *Bahujan log shram or Sharm dono bechte hai* (The people of the Bahujan community sell their labor and honor).[57] The programs of awakening were to intensify the strength of struggle against the exploitation and popularize the discourse of '*main Bhi D-S4*'[58] (I am also D-S4), as a platform of political agency. Kanshi Ram's strategy to popularize the cause and consequences of exploitation comes under the understanding of the power struggle. A former member of D-S4 and ex-minister, R.K. Chaudhary described that "All these programs were different, concerning the problem of Dalits, and covered the length and breadth of the country".

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[56]   Ibid, pp. 15-16

[57]   Interview with T.R. Khunte from Noida dated 29/12/20.

[58]   Interview with Ajmer Singh Sen from Haryana Dated 25/2/21. He belongs to the OBC community.

1. ***Bareilly Morcha***: ***Kanshi Ram got Public Prominence***

In the series of protests or agitation, 'Bareilly Morcha' (29 June 1986) got high public prominence in the media and that was the political action that reflected Kanshi Ram as a public intellectual.[59] This agitation was a political act against the 'structural violence' existing in rural society. Somehow, one can say that it was an act to raise awareness among the rural exploited communities against the manuwadi order. It can be understood through the slogan:[60]

> *Brahmin Baniya Thakur Chod* (Leave aside Brahmins Baniyas Thakurs)
> *Baki Sab hai D-S4* (The Rest are D-S4)

It was the slogan that identified the discourse about oppressors and the oppressed. To expose the reality of that hierarchical order, he mobilized the people and organized the agitation at multiple levels. In one of them, Bareilly Morcha was against the anti-liquor shop in the Dalit colony or was also against the idea of a village. On 22 January 1987, Kanshiram addressed the public gathering (Lucknow March, under the banner of Bareilly Morcha) in front of the main gate of Bareilly collectorate, saying that "Current government is sounding high against the alcohol in the name of Gandhi, while they set up the liquor furnaces in Dalit colonies. Now, the nexus of Gandhi's disciples have been exposed."[61] It has been noted that Home Minister Gopinath Dixit during the traveling of Bareilly, denied knowing about the Bareilly movement. Kanshi Ram responds to that comment and criticizes the democratic ethos of the country. [62] They have raised the issue against the system of exploitation or structural violence that:[63]

1. Gandhi ke Chelo Jabran Sharab Pilana
Band Karo Band Karo
(Gandhi's Disciples Stopped Forcibly drinking alcohol
Stopped it Stopped it)
2. Congress (I) ke Netao Jbaran Sharab Pilana
Band Karo Band Karo
(Congress (I)'s Leaders stopped forcibly drinking alcohol

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[59]   Nikhil Lakshman, Sudden Impact!, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 8 March 1987, p. 11.
[60]   A.R. Akela, *Kanshi Ram ke Saakasthkaar*, Delhi: Manak Publication, 2007, p. 352.
[61]   Kanshi Ram, "We have to expose the non-democratic intentions", in *Bahujan Sangathak*, 9 February 1987, Vol. No. 6.

[62]   op, cit. 1987.

[63]   Pamphlet released by DS4 on Bareilly Morcha, where Gandhi was on the front page.

Stopped it Stopped it)
3. Katra Chaand Khan, Bareilly ki Bhatti
Band Karo Band Karo
(Katra Chand khan, Furnace of Bareilly
Shutdown Shutdown)

Fig. 4(1): Pamphlet released by BSP on Bareilly Morcha.

Kanshi Ram firstly exposed the nature of segregation of the exploited communities in rural areas and the settlement was like chamaro ki chamrauti (Slang used for living space of Chamar Community), bamano ki bamnauti (Slang used for livin space of Brahmin community), thakuro ki thakuraiyya (Slang used for livin space of Thakur Community), Dhobiyana (Slang used for livin space of Dhobi community), Pashiyana (for Pasi community).[64] The whole settlement or idea of the village was given by Gandhi, who was an ardent supporter of the village. In his words, "...Any lover of true democracy and village life can take up a village, treat it as his world and sole work, and he will find good results. He begins by being the village scavenger, spinner, watchman, medicine man, and schoolmaster all at once. If nobody comes near him, he will be satisfied with

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[64]   Rammanohar Lohia, "India's Path to Socialism", in Verinder Grover (ed.), *Rammanohar Lohia: Political Thinkers of Modern India*, Volume 9, Delhi: Deep and Deep Publication, 1996, p. 231.

scavenging and spinning."[65] Gandhi's idea of the village was functionalist in nature and ignored the power role or feudal practices in the village. It can be understood through the writings of Omprakash Valmiki, '*Joothan*', an experienced reality of the village structure. In the debate of Constituent Assembly on 4 November 1948, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said that "What is the village but a sink of localism, a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness, and communalism".[66] It was the real structure of the village, and till now the situation is the worst among the exploited communities. To expose it, Kanshi Ram concludes the structural violence in three lines which hit the idea of Gandhi and their successor:[67]

> *Savarno ki Basti mein School aur Dawakhana*
> (Schools and Hospital are built in the Savarna colony)*,*
> *Muslimo ki Basti Mein Thana*
> (Police Station is built in a Muslim colony)*,*
> *aur Dalito ki Basti Mein sharabkhana*
> (Liquor stores are built in the Dalit colony)

This agitation started from Mohalla Katra Chaand Khan, Bareilly, where the liquor furnace was set up. Many activists were arrested including Kanshi Ram and Mayawati.[68] This agitation got wider popularity and the illustrated weekly magazine (defined agitation as a populist and shrewd move).[69] In the process of popularization of the agitation, Bareilly Morcha has four phases of running the movement, the first one is *Jail Bharo Aandolan*, the Second is *Bareilly Rally*, and the Third is *Strike,* and *Lucknow March* is the fourth.[70] And Lucknow was the center of the anti-liquor campaign.[71] The nurturing or mobilization of the community was two ways of performance, one is social action and the other is political. That was the time when DS4 was also popular and print

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[65]   Divya Joshi, "Gandhi on Villages", *Gandhi Book Centre*, 2000, p. 4. See also M.K. Gandhi – CWMG (Collective Writings of Mahatma Gandhi), N. Delhi: Publication Division, 1979, Vol. 76.

[66]   Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly Debate on 4 November 1948.

[67]   Kanshi Ram, Bareilly Morcha, *Vaidik Mudranalaya Delhi*, 30 August 1986, p.128.

[68]   Recorded interview with Hariram Gautam from Saharanpur, Dated on 28/07/20.
[69]   *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, 8 March 1987, p. 11.

[70]   *Bahujan Sangathak*, 9 February 1987. See also, Appendix 1 on Lucknow March.

[71]   Ibid.

media like Jansatta reported with the tagline that *anpado mein English name famous Hua*[72] (The English name is famous among illiterate people). Kanshi Ram said, "…Closure of one Des-liquor shop will be a minor achievement but closure of a Congress (I) shop is a far bigger one. Let us struggle for big things for our big Samaj".[73]

In that agitation, the popular audience, especially women, feel affiliated with Kanshi Ram. The agitation spread throughout Uttar Pradesh and covered the main cities and ended in Lucknow under the banner of Bareilly Morcha.[74] It was a political action to nurture the exploited communities at the social level and a performative way of interacting with the specific audiences by Kanshi Ram, which is called a populist move. They should know about the system of dominance developed especially in these rural areas by dwija. Somewhere, it looks similar to the argument of E. Said that 'if you are not speaking as an expert, hence to utilize the political independence and their intellectual authority to speak truth to power, and to be the voice of the poor, the disadvantaged, the voiceless, the unrepresented, the powerless'.[75] Hence, Kanshi Ram as a public intellectual observed the injustice from the centuries from books (Ambedkar and Phule) and structure from the field, then exposed it in front of exploited communities. He argued that '*Katra Chaand Khan ki Bhatti se Brahmin- Kshatri thekedaar pichde samaj se 50 lakh har varsh loot lete hai*'[76] (From the furnace of Katra Chand Khan, Brahmin-Kshatriya contractors looted 50 lakhs every year from backward society). The Lucknow March was the agitation under the banner of Bareilly Morcha. A big public meeting was organized in Kashipur, on 15 January 1987 under the banner of Lucknow March, after covering the areas of Nainital. The crowd was high with 15000 people, 1000 cycles, and 40 tractors were there.[77]

Kanshi Ram addressed the public meeting and said that these people in large numbers are gathered here due to the awakening campaign of Bareilly Morcha. He raised the question that why

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[72] Recorded Interview with P.S. Pakhi from Punjab dated 1/3/21.

[73] A pamphlet released by BSP on "New Hope for The Bahujan Samaj (SC,ST,OBC, & Minorities): Kanshi Ram", p. 10. (Notice Published by Central office, New Delhi, 30-08-86).

[74] *Bahujan Sangathak*, 9 February 1987.

[75] Edward Said, Representation of the intellectuals, op. cit., pp. 85-113.

[76] *Bahujan Sangathak*, 26 January, 1987. A big rally in Kashipur under the banner of Lucknow March (under the preposition of Bareilly Morcha). See also, Appendix II on Lucknow March.

[77] Ibid.

lots of liquor shops are set up in Dalit colonies. After Kanshi Ram, there were other members, Adv. Km. Mayawati, Mufti Jaleel Ahmad (Ex MLA Nagina), Jairam Singh Jai, Dr, Mohan Singh Rai Sikh (BSP President, Punjab), and Dr. Bharat Singh Baghel (President, BSP- Agra Mandal) addressed the public meeting. The main presence was 'awakening squad' members including Kunwar Shyam Singh Tez, Hariram Gautam, and Smt. Gautami, Smt. Raameshwari Devi, Km. Poonam, Hawis Abdul, and Durga Prasad Ratnakar performed through singing.[78] In his speech, Kanshi Ram said that the success of this movement is reflected in the recent election (13-14 months before) when Foreign Minister managed to win with a margin of 5900 votes and tried hard to gather the public in his rally.[79]

On 1 February 1987, another public meeting was held at Aminabad, under the Lucknow March, Kanshi Ram said that "today we don't have radio, TV. To encounter government terrorism, we should prepare ourselves to gather the one lac people in 24 hours and for that, we have to use 'two feet on two wheels' to deliver the message rapidly between our peoples."[80] That public meeting was addressed by Kanshi Ram (President BSP, DS4), Ad. Viragidas (Hardoi), R.D. Patel (Varanasi), Baba Ramnath Yadav (Mainpuri), Dr. Bharat Singh Baghel (Agra), Rajaram Lodhi Nirbhay (Unnao), Jangbahadur Patel (Allahabad), Ramvilas Valmiki (Lucknow), Adv. Km. Mayawati, Mohanlal Maurya (Bareilly), and Dauram Ratnakar (Madhya Pradesh).[81] If you see the representation of the communities in the addressing session, you can imagine the vision of Bahujan discourse. Kanshi Ram's idea of *Jati todo samaj Jodo* (Break Caste-Connect Society)[82] is reflected through the leadership of different communities from the oppressed section. And he developed the 'pedagogy of the resistance' from the oppressed communities and delivered the real meaning of

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[78]   ibid.

[79]   Kanshi Ram, "Hume Gair Loktantrik Mansoobon ko Nakam Karna Hai ', *Bahujan Sangathak*, 9 February 1987, Vol. 7, No. 6.

[80]   Kanshi Ram, "Jabran Sharab Pilana Band Karo", *Bahujan Sangathak*, 16 February 1987, Vol. 7, No. 7.

[81]   ibid.

[82]   The 'Jati Todo Samaj Jodo' programme was launched by BSP to mobilize the MBCs communities after the alliance broke out between SP-BSP. They have organized the rallies between the MBCs communities like kumhar, teli, luhar, pals etc. See, Narender Kumar, "Dalit and Shudra Politics, and Anti- Brahmin Movement", *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 35, No. 45, 2000, pp. 3977-3979.

democracy through representation. Because the political socialization of the homeless and helpless communities makes the political system more pedagogical.

2. *Bicycle March: Means of Communitarian Action*

Communitarian action is reciprocity between the individual and public to intensify the debate of emancipation from agony, pain, suffering, injustice, and oppression. But for a public intellectual, it comes out to interact with a sense of belonging and mobilization with the rationale of self-respect and equality. However, according to Habermas' creation, the role of public intellectuals is "limited to mobilizing the pertinent concerns, information, and arguments with public conflicts."[83] Despite his reservations, Habermas decided to support this function of connecting the "informed elite discourse" with receptive civil society. Somehow, Habermas agreed to defend this role to loop between the 'informed elite discourse' and responsive civil society. Thus, public intellectuals serve a critical role in ensuring that public beliefs have benefited from "knowledge, thinking, and the interchange of ideas."[84] But interchange of ideas and thinking entangle with the location in the society and it's all about the necessity to gain or discard through the individual context of suffering. Kanshi Ram in his approach looks different from Habermas's public sphere, for him, it's all about the voice of dominance and the elite nature of discourse about society. It can be understood through the question put up by Gayatri Spivak, can subalterns speak?[85] Kanshi Ram was a man of the field and, with practical inquiry, developed the counter-public of voice-less through communitarian action. He generated the method to interact with the people and develop the 'taste of power'[86] '*Raaj ka Chaska*'. The Bicycle March under the program "Miracle of two feet on two wheels" was an example of communitarian action to awaken the oppressed and exploited society. On the launching of 'Cycle March', Kanshi Ram said: 'The Bahujan samaj is impoverished because Manuvadis keep it that way' (supporters of an exploitative caste system).

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[83] Claudia Czingon, Aletta Diefenbach, Victor Kempf, "Moral universalism at a time of political regression: A conversation with Jürgen Habermas about the present and his life's work", *Theory, Culture & Society*, 2020, Vol. *37*, p. 9–36.

[84] Simone Chamber, "Balancing epistemic quality and equal participation in a system approach to deliberative democracy", *Social Epistemology*, 2017, Vol. *31*, No.3, 266–276.

[85] Gayatri. Spivak, Can the Subaltern Speak? *Die Philosophin*, 2003, Vol.14, No. 27, p. 42-58.

[86] Interview with Harnaam Singh Bahelpuri from Punjab dated 18/3/21. He was the general secretary of Jagriti Dasta.

We don't have our speedy modes of transportation (cars, scooters, buses, trucks), so why worry about it? We have the cheapest mode of transportation (a bicycle) at our disposal.' Kanshi Ram used the example of (Chairman) Mao Zedong, who "went on a Long March (between October 1934 and October 1935) on foot and brought revolution" to urge his (supporters), and (in this fashion Kanshi Ram reminded his (supporters) to "work in a given condition without complaining.'[87]

Fig 4(2). Manyavar Sahib Kanshi Ram's bicycle march (Courtesy of www.ambedkartimes.com)

It was started on 15 March 1983, from Delhi with 100 members and covered a distance of 3000 Km within 40 days. They have decided to cover 35 centers in 7 states with cycles and interact with the public, listen to their grief, and convey the message about the struggle. They have also covered the 300 km distance on foot around Delhi.[88] In Indian political history, it was the first attempt to reach out to the oppressed communities and change the habits to bear the exploitation. Kanshi Ram during the denunciation of the Poona Pact addressed the meeting and said that:[89]

[87] Jayabrata Sarkar, Politics as a Social Text in India, op. cit., p.43. See also, Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, op. cit., pp. 87-88. See also V.D. Chandanshive, *Kanshiram, The Crusader: A Golden Phase in Post-Ambedkarite Movement*, Nanded, Maharashtra: Blue Dawn Books, 2005, pp. 27-28.

[88] Special Report, "Marching to awaken the Ambedkarite Masses (Message of D-S4: Miracle of Two feet and Two Wheels)", *The Oppressed Indian*, March 1983, pp. 16-26. See Vivek Kumar, *Dalit Assertion and Bahujan Samaj Party*, op. cit., p. 74. See also Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, op. cit., p. 91.

[89] Special Report, "Denunciation over- What Next?" *The Oppressed Indian: Spokesman of the oppressed and exploited* November 1982, Vol. IV, No.8, pp. 24-25.

"The bicycle standing by the side of the Pandal with which our activists from 200 km came to Delhi is the most important weapon in our hands. Those who desire to become the rulers of the land, require the needs of the stooges. To bring them to the Boat Club they utilize trucks and buses. These trucks and buses are available to the capitalists. We will be no match in trucks and buses. This involves lots of money. We must, therefore, be prepared to walk on our foot bicycles. This is the most important and useful weapon for us in our agitation in Delhi and elsewhere when we are required to assemble in large numbers."

It is reflected in the message given by Kanshi Ram that "85 percent of the oppressed and exploited people that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, nourished for years, has today become tools in the hand of the ruling class, to the extent that they never feel shame when others use them. Whenever rallies are organized by the political parties to show their strength, the poor SC/ST, OBC, and minority people rush there and are paid for it. They are happy to go and strengthen the hands of their oppressors and exploiters. They neither feel shame nor do they think of the harm they are doing to themselves."[90]
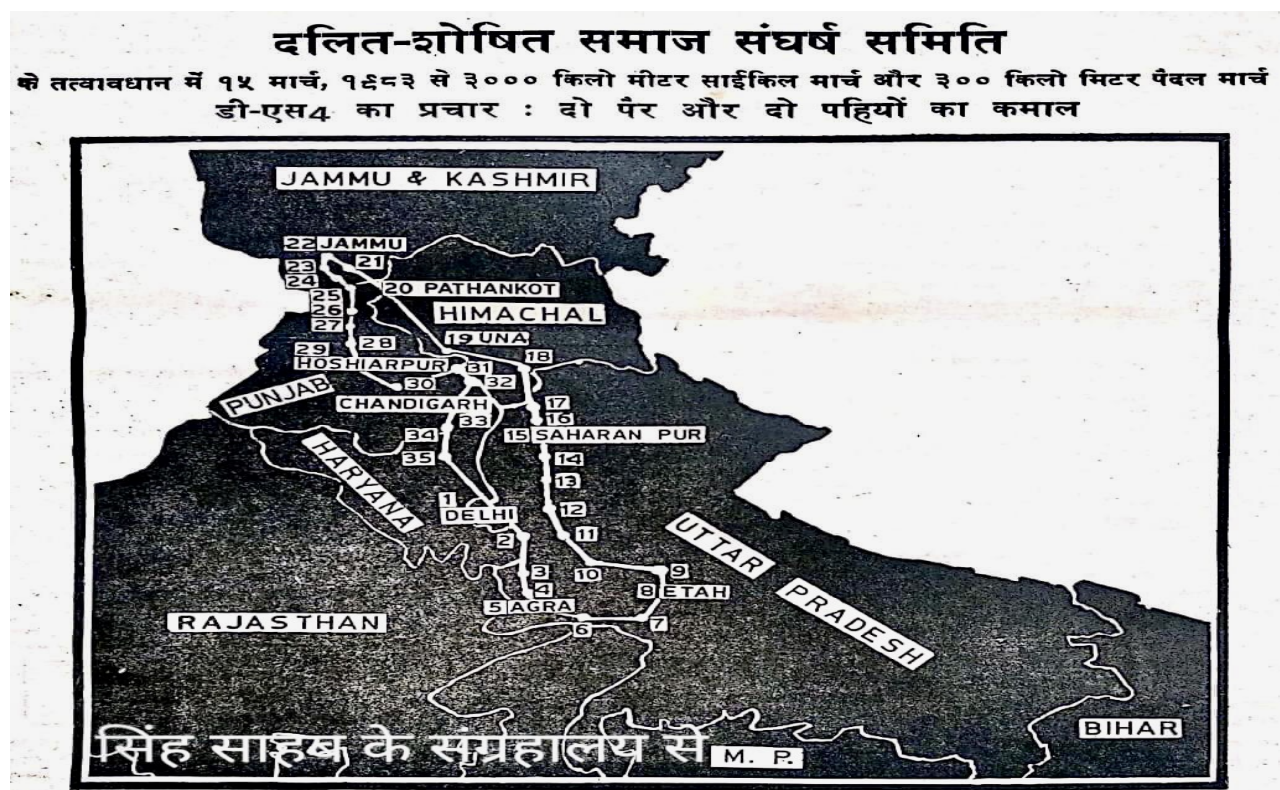

Fig. 4(3). Map of Cycle March (Two feet on two wheels) released by D-S4

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[90]   Quoted in Barbara R. Joshi, *Untouchable! Voice of the Dalit Liberation Movement,* New Delhi: Select Book Service, 1986, p. 110.

In this cycle march, people have already decided to cover the distance in a day and talk to people about the power of the vote and the formula of 85% or 15%.[91] The nature of language evolves with criticism of location and it is reflected in the understanding of the oppressor.Kanshi Ram raised awareness of their power via historical accounts of how they were exploited by oppressors due to their political influence. It is a criteria that, as a public intellectual, not only considers the issue at hand but also weaves in the tale of the past. In tearing down that history, the intellectual function plays a significant part.[92] As Gramsci argued that "all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals."[93] In the prison notebook, Gramsci's idea on intellectualism is not only to build the social movement but also the formation of the entire culture, associated with social movement.[94] Cycle March was a source of critical pedagogy in democracy. Henry Giroux said that:[95]

> "Critical pedagogy is the essential scaffolding of social interaction and the foundation of the public sphere. It is a crucial political practice because it takes seriously what it means to understand the relationship between how we learn and how we act as individual and social agents; that is, it is concerned not only with how individuals learn to think critically but how they come to grips with a sense of individual and social responsibility. It is the essential component in the realm of visibility, the realm of appearance, the realm of acknowledgment".

People from the oppressed section were inhabited by dependence without any political agency. Kanshi Ram in his interactionist and communitarian approach evolved with the critical inquiry of social order and realized the oppressed communities through the calculation of dominance with a pen. With the democratic uprising in politics, Kanshi Ram, an unheard voice that was lacking in academics and outside of academia, crossed this border and amplified the voice. What component is the most crucial to any movement? It may be their leaders' understanding of political mobilization. But it's important to understand what sort of information might contribute to the

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[91]   Interview with Sobran Singh from Agra dated 10/09/20. (He was long associated with Kanshi Ram and once he told him that he wanted to go to Mumbai to be an actor).

[92]   Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere", *Countercurrents.org*, 2021. (Accessed on 24/01/22)

[93]   Antonio. Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks: Selections, trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith*, New York: International Publishers, 1971, p. 9.

[94]   Ibid, p. 9.

[95]   Henry A. Giroux. *Pedagogy of Resistance: Against Manufactured Ignorance*, Bloomsbury Academic: London, 2022, p. 42.

"unification of thinking, speech, and action." And maybe most crucially, what steps need to be taken to preserve that information.[96]

3. People's Parliament: Performative act of representation

As we know, public intellectuals make their strategies in the reference of the audience to realize their existence. Kanshi Ram conceptualized the notion of power in democracy and how to gain it through representation in the parliament with their leader, not a ladder. The People's Parliament was a socio-political act to realize the power of the helpless and wretched masses. Because people were not aware of the real strength and functioning of democracy. And in world history, the oppressed communities assert when they realize the power of the location and their strength because mainstream cultures denied their humanity. Kanshi Ram, as a systematic thinker attempted to assert the voice with different social actions, and in one of the People's Parliament was the organized action to develop the consciousness among Dalits. On 25 December 1982, Kanshi Ram delivered a speech in the Constitutional Club under the banner of D-S4, asserting that "The parliament of our country is not representative parliament in a true sense".[97] The formation of the people's parliament was announced on 14th October 1982 at Boat Club Lawns, New Delhi.[98] On that day Kanshi Ram declared that "since the present parliament is unable to fulfill the aspirations of the exploited people, we are going to launch the "People's Parliament" from 25 December".[99] Kanshi Ram raised that issue and set up the people's parliament from where you can see the parliament. The first session was entitled "The Experimental Session", starting on 25th December, at the Constitution Club Lawn, and "after the inauguration, it will move to places to play the designed role for it".[100]

The People's Parliament was about the question of representation in the parliament after independence. He insights the example of Parliamentary democracy from the British and adopted

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[96] Narendra Kumar, "Manyavar Kanshi Ram and Sense of Responsibility", Doing Sociology, 2021. (Accessed on 19/03.21)

[97] Reporting, "Hamare Desh ki Sansad Sahi mayne mein pratinidhik sansad nahi hai", Bahujan Sangathak, Vol. 3, No. 37, 21 March 1983, p. 1.

[98] *The Oppressed Indian*, November 1982, Vol. IV, No.8, pp. 24-25.

[99] ibid, p. 25.

[100] Editorial. "People's Parliament", *The Oppressed Indian: Spokesman of the Oppressed and Exploited*, December 1982, Vol. 4, No. 9, p. 4.

by India with some fundamental changes. In Britain, we see, it was highly successful in the last few centuries. But in India, 'The Indian National Parliament has failed to inspire the vast majority of the country's citizens. The needs and ambitions of the Indian people are not represented in our National Parliament. The Other Backward Castes make up roughly half of India's population. However, they have very limited representation in parliament. Nobody can determine with certainty what percentage of seats they hold in Parliament, although it is fewer than 10%. Even the OBC legislators who make up less than 10% of the legislature spend most of their time and effort concealing. Among the terrified, the OBC MPs appear to be the most fearful and submissive.' [101]

fig. 4(5), Pamphlet of D-S4 on the launching of the People's Parliament

They will be quickly removed from national and provincial parties if they try to show off.[102] In a caste-ridden society, "4% to 5% Brahmins seem to have acquired a firm grip over the National Parliament; more than 30% of MPs, they got elected."[103] He further also mentioned that the SCs/STs people are also represented by a substantial number of MPs elected on reserved seats.

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[101]   Ibid.

[102]   ibid, see also Vivek Kumar, *Dalit Assertion and Bahujan Samaj Party: A Perspective from Below*, New Delhi: Samyak Prakashan, 2013, pp. 75-76.

[103]   Ibid.

And to cite Dr. Ambedkar for their roles that 'The Congress Party's executive had total authority over them. They couldn't pass a resolution that it didn't allow. They couldn't pass laws that they didn't like. They were unable to vote as they desired or express their feelings. They were herded in like stupid cattle. One of the goals of securing untouchable representation in the legislature is to allow them to air their concerns and seek retribution for their wrongs. This was successfully and efficiently halted by Congress'.[104] The above description indicates that the Indian Parliament is not a representative and reflects the dominance of savarna castes. To make it representative, It's the responsibility of the victims of the system and the People's Parliament is a means to provide the opportunity to make them conscious of their cause and problem, which will be discussed in the length of forays. They have planned to spread all over the country and their voice will reach there to discuss representation in the parliament. At a conscious level, "such a debate by the People's Parliament without any power will be a constant reminder for the oppressed and exploited masses to make the National Parliament, a truly representative one, as early as possible".[105]

For a public intellectual, the question of representation is always a centrist discourse to construct the counter-public against the blocked identity or per se ignored from the centuries. In my opinion, these practices were not only political but somewhere construct the Dalit counter-public with the consciousness of the political field and power formation in democracy. The People's Parliament constructed the notion of 'general will' not in a utopian sense, but from the depth of location. Kanshi Ram wants to develop the 'taste of power' (*Raaj ka Chaska*)[106] in the oppressed and exploited communities. In Bahujan Sangathak headlines, Kanshiram said, "*Kharidaro ko bata de ki aap bikau maal nahi*" (tell to the brokers that you are not a saleable good).[107]As a result of these statements' impact on the oppressor's mindset and the awareness of the "power" of the vote in the oppressed. In order to create a political alternative that could compete for political power while being outmatched in the post-Independent Indian democracy, Kanshi

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[104]   Ibid

[105]   ibid

[106]   Interview with Saroop Sialvi from Punjab dated 9/4/21. He was a long-associated activist in D-S4, BSP. Kanshi Ram called him a literary person. In his earlier days, he was influenced by Marxist ideology but after meeting with Kanshi Ram, he joined D-S4. He was in charge of the literary wing and wrote an autobiography "Jalalat".

[107]   Kanshi Ram, "Khariddaro ko bata de ki aap bikau maal nahi", *Bahujan Sangathak* 9 January, 1995, Vol. 15, No. 2, p.1.

Ram operationalized Babasaheb Ambedkar's theories. He did this by developing a new political language of oppressed politics. Kanshiram Sahab tried to bring the oppressed masses together in an effort to challenge the Savarna caste's political control since he was well aware of the significance of political power for the disadvantaged masses.[108] In addition, John Dewey (1946) contended that intervention creates an understanding of the public's political aspects of social life.[109] Here, John Dewey argues about the intervening incident, by which we can understand the oppression in society. Therefore, the intervention at the socio-cultural level makes the community conscious of the civilizational violence over the centuries.

Sense of Responsibility and creation of Public Space

As an organizer and organic leader, Kanshi Ram developed the public sphere for the oppressed section to distort the legitimate past. He wants to develop a political understanding of the non-political aspects of the oppressed communities.The political voyage on the bicycle followed a similar strategy to the March's "miracle of two-feet and two wheels," which Kanshi Ram employed to unite the underprivileged people in Indian society. In 40 days beginning on March 15, 1983, he traveled 3000 miles throughout seven states, developing the idea of responsibility on his own.[110] At different places, he had taken the meeting to the creation of the counter-public with an assertive voice. Before that, in 1980, he started the 'Ambedkar Mela on wheels' to counter the discourse developed by Congress against Dr. Ambedkar, limited to him as a Mahar leader and popularized as a stooge of the British Government. Gandhi and Congress used many reductionist methods to

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[108]   Narendra Kumar, "Manyavar Kanshi Ram and A Sense of Responsibility", *Doing Sociology*, 2021.(Accessed on 10 February 2022)

[109]   John Dewey, *The Public, and its Problems: An Essay in Political Inquiry,* Chicago: Gateway Books 1946, p. iv.

[110]   Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere", *Countercurrents.org*, 2021. (Accessed on 24/01/22). See also, Special Report, "Marching to awaken the Ambedkarite Masses (Message of D-S4: Miracle of Two feet and Two Wheels)", *The Oppressed Indian*, March 1983, pp. 16-26. See Also Barbara R. Joshi, 1986, *Untouchables: Voice of the Dalit Liberation Movement*, op. cit., pp. 109-110. See also Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, op. cit., p.91.

deteriorate the charisma of Ambedkar in the country and propose Jagjivan Ram as a popular Dalit leader against him.[111]

To counter this discourse, BAMCEF took an attempt to popularize or spread the mission of Dr. Ambedkar in 9 North Indian States surrounding Delhi. It started for two months on 14th April 1980 the birth Anniversary of Ambedkar) and ended on 14th June 1980. This mela will be covering 34 important places in this region and will reach the capitals of all the nine States only on Sunday.[112] In the editorial of oppressed Indians, Kanshi Ram proposed why this Mela is important to counter the cognitive blackout of Ambedkar and his ideas from the public sphere. He writes that:[113]

> "Most of the people in Maharashtra may not understand the significance of mela because of their ignorance of the prevailing situation in these nine states. For instance, they are not aware of the fact that even amongst the scheduled castes of this entire region hardly 20% might have heard the name of Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. Even amongst that 20%, a majority believe that great benefactors are Gandhi and Congress. Only a fraction of 1% might have heard about Ambedkar's views expressed in "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables."

And it was due to the setback to Ambedkar's mission in Maharashtra. It was the systematic effort of Gandhi and Congress to dismantle the emancipatory ideas of Ambedkar and somewhere that systematic effort got acceptance by the exploited communities. In 1977, during the organizational visit of Jhansi, Kanshi Ram was shocked to see the ignorance of Ambedkar and his mission. He elaborates "When I asked Mr. D.K. Khaparde, BAMCEF General Secretary of Maharashtra, about the efforts made by Nagpurian Mahar in enlightening the Jhansi SC's People, I was shocked to learn that almost all of them were hiding their caste. In Jhansi, these Mahar'srailway employees of Nagpur were living as Telis, not knowing that Telis are a hated caste in Uttar Pradesh. Besides, the old-timers in Delhi who were active in Babasaheb's time have deserted his mission today."[114] After observing the pattern, he decided to interact with the masses and popularize Ambedkar (Tie WalaBaba) and his ideas on the ground in the northern region. It

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[111]   Editorial, "Ambedkar Mela on Wheels", *The Oppressed Indian*, April 1980, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 4-5.

[112]   Ibid.

[113]   Ibid.

[114]   Ibid.

was Kanshi Ram who popularized Ambedkar in the Northern Region and roped the seed of revolution from that time. People from UP composed a song that is dedicated to Ambedkar, *"Hazaro Varsho ki TB ko Jad se Kaat Chuka Hu,* (I have Cut the TB from the root of thousands of Years)*, Dekhbhaal Karna Iski Jo Hissa Baat Chala Hu'* (Take Care it, that I divided).[115]

These words construct the legitimate ground of the counter-public in Uttar Pradesh and reflect work done by Kanshi Ram. Therefore, this mela proposed a positive agenda for the public to know about history and dismantle the discourse constructed by Gandhi and Congress. He propounded the idea of public space through the Ambedkar Mela which was constructed by the oppressed. This public space makes sense about discourse and power. They gather and listen to the unknown past, which transmits the collective identity of oppression. Kanshi Ram was directly hit with words against the acceptance of the inhumane condition, oppression, and dishonor of women of the exploited communities.[116] His critical pedagogy starts from the root cause of oppression and acceptance of hegemony from the oppressed. In his parliamentary speech, he mentioned that Dalits erected statues of Ambedkar, they had an affection for statues of Ambedkar, not understanding or spreading the ideas of Ambedkar. They should be involved to strengthen the movement of Ambedkar.[117] It's understood that Kanshi Ram's imagination about society and politics engages with the pedagogy of the oppressed. And he developed with the help of the field to narrate the cause of oppression and the role of political agency.

'*Power will be the product of struggle*'[118] was the phenomenon of articulating the political vocabulary and introducing the definition of power in the public space. Kanshi Ram defined

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[115]   Interview with Chaudhary Sahi Ram Ji from Haryana dated 3/3/21. He is a cadre of BSP and contested twice in the Haryana Assembly election from BSP. Here, the word TB is about Casteism.

[116]   Interview with Kunwar Shyam Singh Tez from Saharanpur dated 10/8/20. He narrated the interaction of Kanshi Ram with the Dalit. At an early age, he was an activist for RPI and was also the president of Jagriti Dasta (awakening squad).

[117]   He has started to criticize about Dalit prem performed by the opposition in the Lok Sabha on the atrocities against Dalits in Maharashtra. In that speech, he was very critical of the Dalits of Maharashtra against the atrocities occurring.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WcW0whf0Py8

[118]   Special Report, "D-S4 in January 1982", *The Oppressed Indian*, January 1982, Vol.3, No.12, pp. 8-10.

'power gaining for powerless' as a two-way process, Bahujan should seize the state power through the ballot box and another one with the formation of policies by the state for their betterment.[119] Kanshi Ram constructed the political vocabulary with interaction in the everyday process. Direct forms of interaction were the centrist approach for Kanshi Ram to articulate the idea of social transformation and economic emancipation. He argued that "We are the victims of the social system that caused inequalities among the people in all spheres of life- social, economic, educational and everywhere. All political parties which are a product of this system naturally try to sustain Brahminism. Our message has made a deep appeal amongst the masses because we are taking on smashing this system."[120] He raises the epistemological question about the structural oppression and political dominance in every sphere, or how it is sustained for a long past.

To dismantle that past or develop the consciousness for that, 'public space' was the methodological approach for interacting with the masses and tracing out the method to deliver the experiential reality between them. Because public space is a 'space of appearance' within which action and speech unfold.[121] It reflects through the communitarian action of an individual with shared experience and belief in the community. As Arendt recognizes that 'public space depends upon the functioning of democracy rather than on the structure of any institution'.[122] On the other hand, the public sphere needs or requires structure to deliver the message of communication like cafes, restaurants, salons, etc., Kanshi Ram looks similar to his earlier period with Hannah Arendt to mobilize the people without any institutions and developing the consciousness of collective identity through discourse and political action. Arendt found political action and discourse as essential elements for the construction of collective identity. They also provide a forum for actors to articulate and defend opposing views on cultural and political identity.[123]

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[119]   Sudha Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution, op. cit., pp. 121-26.*

[120]   Kanshi Ram in an interview with Nikhil Lakshman, published in *Illustrated Weekly*, March 1987.

[121]   Seyla Benhabib, The Embattled Public Sphere: Hannah Arendt, Juergen Habermas and Beyond. *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 1997, Vol. 44, No. 90, pp. 1-24.

[122]   Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1958 (Republished, Introduction with Margaret Canovn, 1998) p. 198.

[123]   Ibid, p. 201.

Similarly, Kanshi Ram contextualizes the collective identity based on Bahujan discourse, and for that, he introduces different methods to mobilize the people with the construction of political agency. In those communities that don't have any agency in thinking, being willing, and judging, Kanshi Ram imbued the notion of self-respect and prepared them to exercise political agency. For that, we should create the unsold society *'na bikne wala samaj banana hai'*, because unsold leaders emerge in the unsold society '*nabikne wale samaj mein hi na bikne wala neta paida hota hai*'.[124] Power reflects through the get-togetherness from the reciprocity of potential and it is highly independent of material factors. Because they come together for political action and deliberation to interact with the cause.[125] If we observe the method of assertion developed by Kanshi Ram to be aware of the history and cause of their oppression, it is reflected in political action and discourse between the exploited communities. For him, power lies in the people, which is free from material factors and convinces the people to understand the action and discourse toward social transformation and economic emancipation. The togetherness of the oppressed was a reflection of power because it socialized them and converted them into political communities.

Arendt argued that "power lies at the basis of every political community and is the expression of potential that is available to actors."[126] Kanshi Ram's only asset was the people, their togetherness, and their potential. He identified that the true power lies in the diverse groups of the oppressed community. They must be aware of their potential. Kanshi Ram realized that the oppressed masses can put their efforts discreetly with the available resources and convert their weakness into an opportunity to not merely mobilize the oppressed section of the society but to make them aware of their social-political positions and tend to develop a political agency.

It can be understood with the example of an activist of D-S4, Ajmer Singh Sain who belongs to the OBC community (nai) and owns a hair cutting salon. On an everyday basis, he used his assets for his basic livelihood as well as for mobilizing the people for a movement. He used to ask about the identity or caste (*Kaun biradari se ho*) of the people who come to get a haircut. Then

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[124]   It was the main motto of the cycle march, which started from Kanyakumari.

[125]   H. Arendt, *The Human Condition*, op. cit., p. 199.

[126]   Hannah Arendt, *Crises of the Republic: Lying in Politics, Civil Disobedience, On Violence, Thoughts on Politics and Revolution*, 1972, Harvest Books, New York: London, p. 151.

he started to talk about the everyday oppression by the upper caste and how this system is working against us. He used to write an address of a person if he observed any potential and send a postcard for the meeting of the BSP.[127]
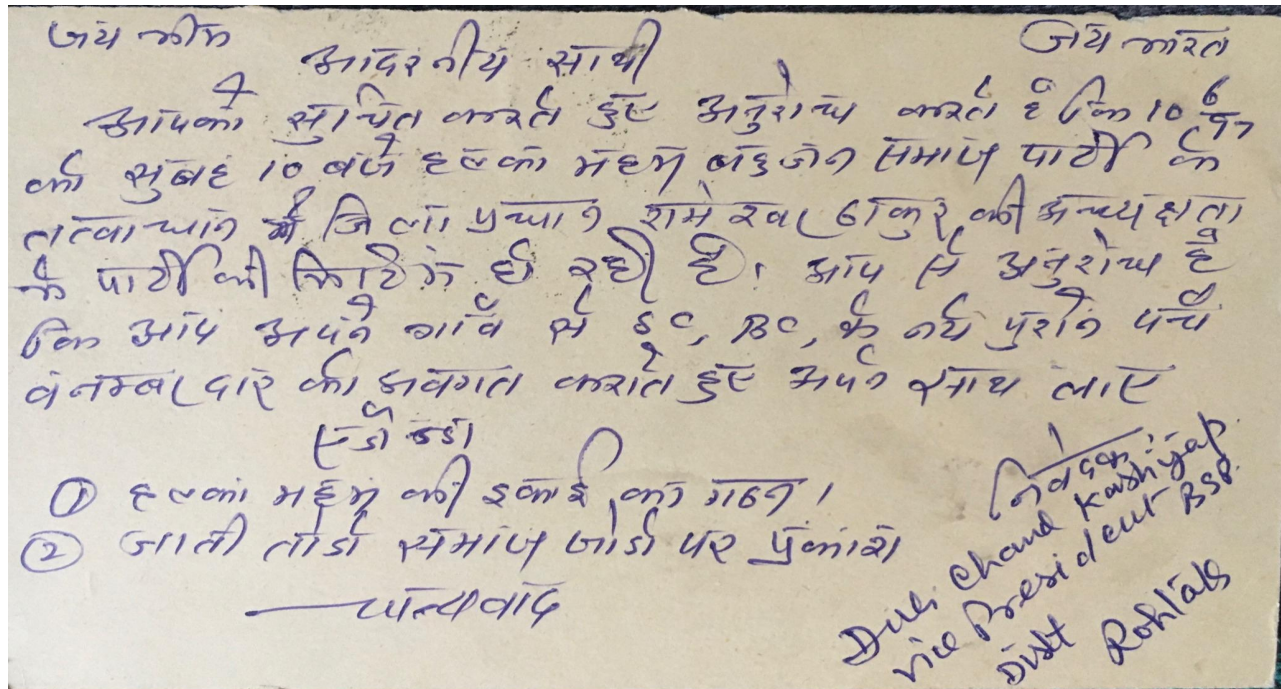
Fig, 4(6). Postcard circulated by BSP Cadre to invite for the meeting.[128]

He explained the importance of the hair salon and its utilization in cadre building in a personal interview. He also mentioned in the meeting that we should mobilize the customers of the salon to deliver a message of our movement. [129] It's important to observe here that the potential or work of the community helped to develop the counter-public against the exclusionary public sphere. The art of conversation and deep engagement of actors nurture the space into emancipatory discourse, where you have the agency to participate in the political debate or discussion. In Indian democracy, postcards were the source of mobilization or reaching out among the illiterate masses to understand the discourse constructed by BSP.

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[127]   Interview with Ajmer Singh Sen from Haryana, Dated on 25/02/21.

[128]   It was the new face of democracy in India. The oppressed communities create their space through the existing minimum resources and mobilize the people for their concerns. They mention the agendas of the meeting on the postcard and one postcard circulates the neighborhood or Mohallas. People gather at one place and one will read in of them.

[129]   Interview with Ajmer Singh Sen from Indri, Haryana, dated 25/2/21. Till now, he is working with the same enthusiasm in BSP.

The responsibility developed by Kanshi Ram in the cader reflects through their work and dedication to it. In an interview with Kunwar Shyam Singh Tez composed a song, '*Saathiya agar tu kaum ke kaam ayega, kafan ke badle mein tujhe neele jhande mein lapeta jaega'* (Friends, if you will be of use to the community, instead of the shroud, you will be wrapped in a blue flag).[130] These songs incite the collective identity through the emotional feeling and help to engage with the movement. In the words of Jasper Collins' cited of Durkheim, "collective locomotion, and music have exceptional abilities to make people melt into a group in sensations of happiness. The cognitive messages contained in the lyrics, full of catchy, memorable ideological phrases, have often been evaluated as if music's influence on social movements were exclusively about the cognitive messages contained in the lyrics."[131]

The lyrics of the songs in the movement have the subjectivity to encounter the contending ideologies and develop the emotional grooming in the identified audience. Kanshi Ram was aware of the depth of lyrics in the context of movement. In that context, the Awakening squad was the most prominent organ in the BAMCEF that constructed the legitimacy of the socio-cultural practices for emancipation. The political imagination is not only about gaining the majority in the election, it's about preparing the society to take an attempt to enter the major discourse of liberation from the location. In Indian politics, it was a new face of democracy when the oppressed searched for their political agency with counter-public practices. Badri Narayan writes that 'The 'Dalit public' indicated here is absent from the coffee shops frequented by society's top intellectuals. Instead, they have their tea shops in the Chamar Patti, where different castes congregate and form a 'talking sphere.' They don't interact with print in the Habermasian sense, even though some of them can read and write. They all speak with one another and spread their texts of political ideas, opinions, and perspectives on political sides and positions through their

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[130] Interview with Kunwar Shyam Singh Tez from Saharanpur dated 10/8/20. He was the one prominent office-bearer of the awakening squad. Every time the program started with his song.

[131] James, S. Jasper, *Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research*, *The Annual Review of Sociology,* 2011, Vol. 37, pp. 285-303. See also, Eyerman R & Jamison A. 1998. *Music and Social Movements*. New York: Cambridge University Press. See Randall. Collins, "Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention", 2001, pp. 27-44. See J.Goodwin, JM Jasper, F. Polletta, (eds). *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, pp. 27–44.

interactions.'[132] Every community chamar, dhobi, nai, pasi, bind, rajbhar, Kashyap, raigar, Valmiki, and the other backward communities have got representation independently in the public domain. Uda Devi Pasi, Jhalkari Bai Kori, Matadin Bhangi, Mahaviri Jatt, and the other icons introduced by Kanshi Ram, in their respective communities.

On that basis, these communities engaged with the history which was distorted or hidden by the upper strata from the popular domain. In the process of understanding the social depth of the different Dalit communities, Kanshi Ram builds trust with the glorification of cultural resources such as folklore, proverbs, folk songs, etc.[133] In the contextualization of their representation as heroes and saints, they feel belongingness with pain and sorrow. With that representation, they unify under one umbrella for the same cause. That connectivity produced the 'interaction ritual chain' of exclusion, discrimination, and domination from a different institution. Kanshi Ram popularized the idea of Bahujan to construct the collective identity in the exploited communities.[134]

In 1987, Kanshi Ram addressed the rally with Devi Lal in Haryana election, said that '*jaat se leke bhaat tak aur chamar se lekar kumhar tak hum shudra hai, bahujan samaj ke log hai'* (from jaat to bhaat and chamar to kumhar, we are shudra, people of bahujan samaj).[135] The practice of *Jaatitodo Samaj jodo'* was the primary agenda of breaking the secular hierarchy and liberating themselves from the ritual hierarchy contested by the 'top of the twice born'. It's a reflection of hope to consolidate the communities from different castes under the umbrella of Bahujan. This view carved out the modernity discourse

Coinage the Tickets and Making of Political agency

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[132] Badri Narayan, *The Making of the Dalit Public in North India: Uttar Pradesh 1950-Present,* OUP: New Delhi, 2016, p. 18.

[133] Vivek Kumar, "Caste, Contemporaneity, and Assertion", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 2016, Vol. II, No. 50, pp. 84-86.

[134] Nicolas Jaoul, "Political and "Non-political" Means in the Dalit Movement" in Sudha Pai, (ed.) *Political Process in Uttar Pradesh: Identity, Economic Reforms, and Governance*. New Delhi: Pearson Education, 2007, pp. 191-220.

[135] Interview with Dr. M. S. Sadar from Haryana dated 27/3/21. He was from the OBC community.

On the political and social level, Kanshi Ram understood the co-opting practices developed by Congress, which were the hurdles to unifying the Dalit communities. Kanshi Ram was the one leader who had a following and respect across India and the multifarious lower castes. He was not in the University for the production of knowledge and its legitimacy to the public. Therefore, the production of literature outside the university system does not entangle with compulsions. It's a pertinent question that the relationship between intellectuals and the public makes the communicative action in society. As a meticulous organizer and politician, Kanshi Ram learns from the ground the weakness and strengths of the oppressed communities. He was deeply influenced by Ambedkar's call for political power, which was presented in Madras on 24 September 1944 to the Dalits.[136] Ambedkar Declared: "Understand our ultimate goal. Our Ultimate Goal is to become the rulers of this country. Write this goal on your house's walls so you will never forget it. Our struggle is not for the few jobs and concessions but we have a larger goal to achieve. That goal is to become the rulers of the land".[137]

Ambedkar was certain that reform under the constitutional democracy should be used to bring about change rather than armed rebellion. When advocating for Dalit communities, Kanshi Ram uses this strategy. He was not a part of any radical Dalit movements that were at the moment of developing. In that perspective, Kanshi Ram rejects reactionary politics to lead the movement with existing circumstances. Dr. Ambedkar mentions that the social and political problems with the removal of blurred faces persist in society. He critically examines the social evil and its epistemic violence in a society like widow remarriage, dowry, and untouchability, which is not a social problem, it is essentially categorized by Dr. Ambedkar as a political one. He argued that:[138]

> It is wrong to say that the problem of the Untouchables is a social problem. For, it is quite unlike the problems of dowry, widow remarriage, and age of consent, which are illustrations of what are properly called social problems. Essentially, it is a problem of quite a different nature in as much as it is a problem of securing minority liberty and equality of opportunity at the hands of a hostile majority that believes in the denial of liberty and equal opportunity of the minority and conspires

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[136]   Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere", op.cit., 2021.

[137]   Barbara Crosette, "Call to the Downtrodden: Break Down the Door", *The New York Times*, 18 April 1990, Section A, p. 4.

[138]   B.R. Ambedkar, *What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchable*, Bombay: Thacker, 1991 (1946), p. 190.

to enforce its policy on the minority. Viewed in this light, the problem of the untouchables is fundamentally political.

Here, Ambedkar's classification of the political and social problems of the minority with a social realm is similar to Arendt's classification of the political and public realm. How does the appearance of space within the public realm be political in the society with the location itself? The *dwija* castes use that matter (Untouchability) as a private one like Gandhi (Varna System) and a political one on the other side.[139] The nature of these evils, Ambedkar urged Dalits to concentrate on gaining political power. He contended that "Nobody can remove your grievances as well as you can and you cannot remove them unless you get political power in your hands."[140] The same appearance of thought persists in Kanshi Ram's views about the political oppression of the *dwija* castes.

Kanshi Ram created an ideological claim among the society of the downtrodden in order to attain political power. His field research was motivated by his role as an organic intellectual and leader. Leaders from the oppressed communities were on the ladder for the dominant parties and never used their political agency to raise the issue of exploited communities, where they belong. To counter it, Kanhi Ram reminds the audience about the repercussions of the Poona pact and on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Poona Pact[141] (1932) (which was celebrated by Congress), announced the denunciation of that pact in September 1982. To quote Dr. Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram writes:[142]

> "The Poona Pact has completely disfranchised the Scheduled Castes in as much as candidates whom they rejected in the primary elections which is a true index of their will have been returned in the final election by the votes of caste Hindus. The Poona Pact is thus fraught with mischief. It was accepted because of the coercive fast of Mr. Gandhi and because of the assurance given at the time that the Hindus will not interfere in the election of the Scheduled Castes".

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[139]   Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere", op.cit., 2021.

[140]   Quoted in A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1948, p. 251.

[141]   On September 24th, 1932 Poona Pact was signed between Gandhi and Babasaheb Ambedkar in Yerwada Jail of Poona. The fast undertaken by Gandhi was the foul, filthy, and worst form of cohesion by Caste Hindus.

[142]   Editorial, "Poona Pact Denounced", *The Oppressed Indian*, September 1982, Vol.4, No.6, p. 4.

It was a political move to realize the oppressed about the repercussions of the Poona pact and critique it. Here, the role of the Public Intellectual comes out to interact with the history of the political act and popularize it with his audiences.[143] It depends on his way of articulation, propagation of the tyranny of the oppression between the oppressed, or forwards the counter legacy against the particular act driven by the oppressor. Every act of Kanshi Ram reflects the political imagination or constructs the counter-public on a historical note. In the words of Kanshi Ram on denunciation of the Poona Pact, he writes:[144]

> "The 50th anniversary of 'Poona Pact' falling on 24 September 1982 was to be celebrated in the form of the Golden Jubilee by beneficiaries of the Poona Pact. It was, therefore, by the D-S4 that the occasion is very rightly celebrated by the beneficiaries but what should be done by the victims of the Poona Pact? ... Therefore D-S4…. planned a country-wide program of denunciation. The month-long denunciation program started from Poona on 24th September and will end at Jalandhar on 24th October 1982."

The important aspect of denouncing the Poona Pact was to introduce the stooges whose leadership emerged with that pact. Kanshi Ram called them Gandhian Ambedkarite, who were the beneficiaries of the Poona Pact. The beneficiaries from Scheduled Castes were the near and dear of the Congress, and involved to celebrate the 50th Jubille of Poona Pact., "RPI general secretary, Dalit Panthers appointed party officials, and a few veteran party men' from the (Mahar)

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[143]   See, Edward Shills, "The Intellectuals and the Powers: Some Perspectives for Comparative Analysis", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 1958, Vol. 1, pp. 5-22.

[144]   Editorial, "Banned Denunciation: A Big Success", *The Oppressed Indian*, October 1982, Vol. 4. No. 7, p. 4.

community, including leaders like R.R. Bhole[145] who worked with Ambedkar but was going to 'commemorate' '50 years of the Poona Pact' instead of (leading) political demonstrations."[146]

In that context, Kanshi Ram criticized Ram Vilas Paswan, B.P. Maurya, and Babu Jagjivan Ram, who were popular in Dalit communities, and called them stooges.[147] He has even invited them to the BAMCEF convention to understand the non-political roots and reality of Dalit communities.[148] Although Bahujan Samaj was in crisis due to the lack of independent leadership, Kanshi Ram was a person who created social and political assets by inventing different methods in Bahujan Samaj. He strongly believed that caste could generate assets for Bahujans if you know how to handle it because the 'top of the twice born' occupied all the realms by using their caste only. When Ambedkar couldn't be elected in 1952 (defeated by N.S. Kajrolkar in Bombay) and 1954 (defeated by Borkar in Bhandara) all of the Amdekarites realized that when it was not

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[145] Raja Ram Bhole was born on 11 February 1913, at Bollaram near Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh. He belonged to the Mahar Caste. He graduated with an LLB Degree. In his earlier days of activism, he met Dr. Ambedkar and listened to his speech at Solapur. He was very much influenced by Ambedkarite philosophy and the idea of emancipation. In the journey of getting higher education in engineering, he got the scholarship of Nizam Government with the help of Ambedkar, but due to the long illness he could not complete it. As an activist, he started to work for the community cause and organised a conference of Dalit Youths at Pune in 1935, under the presidentship of Dr. Ambedkar. He started his political career to contest as a candidate of the Independent Labour Party for Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1937, from Pune (West) and won. He has also contested as SCF candidate in the first general election which happened in 1952, in Kolhapur Satara double member Constituency but was defeated. After that he joined the judiciary as a District Judge in 1955. He had the honor of becoming the first high court judge of Bombay from the Scheduled Caste Community. He was also an appointed member of the Backward Class Commission constituted under the chairmanship of B.P. Mandal, on 20 December 1978. In 1980, again he contested in the Lok Sabha election, on a Congress ticket from Bombay and got elected. See, Sanjay Paswan & Pramanshi Jaideva (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Dalits in India: Leaders (vol. 4)*, Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2004, p. 287.

[146] Jayabrata. Sarkar, *Politics as Social Text in India: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh Sarkar*, op. cit., p. 36. See also Ashok Kumar Jha, *Dalitisation of Dalits*, Delhi: Adhyayan Publishers, 2004, p. 107.

[147] Ambeth Rajan, *My Bahujan Samaj Party*, New Delhi: An ABCDE Publication, 1994, p. 39. See also, Kanshi Ram interview in The Telegraph, 03/12/1989, Surya India, 16.04.89, Surya India, April 1992.

[148] M. Rajivlochan, "Paying Back to Society: The Bamcef- An idea and its Network", in N. Jayaram (ed.), *Interrogating Idea, Institutions, and Processes: In the Memory of Satish Saberwal*, Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2014, p. 244. 'The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes, and Minorities Employees Welfare Association was founded in 1971. Sensitive to the need for systematic organization, the new association was a legally recognised organization formed with the goal of preventing workplace harassment for its members. When Babu Jagjivan Ram, the then-Defense Minister, was asked to speak at one of its yearly conferences in Pune, the organization had over 2,000 members.'

possible for Ambedkar how they could win and they left the movement without finding any solutions.[149]

He developed the notion of responsibility for community people to gain political power. Hindu castes are utilizing chamcha to reinforce the current social order, according to Ambedkar, who claimed that joint electorates are "rotten boroughs" from their perspective since they allow Hindus to designate untouchables as their tools.[150] Kanshi Ram asserted these tools could kill the Ambedkarites Movement which democratized the existing undemocratic social order. That's why he formulated some ways to put an end to the chamcha age and argued that political power can put an end to the chamcha age though it is not a permanent solution. So, he established BSP to put an end to chamcha and to bring emancipation toBahujans.[151] It is very important to critically examine the Chamchas among Bahujan Samaj due to not having a critical definition of Dalit Leadership. Vivek Kumar argued that a Dalits Leader means a person who has taken birth in the Dalit community and participates in their struggles.[152] But they are many people who were born in the Dalit community, articulate Ambedkatite language, be with them in their struggles and the masses without any social vision which actually can't help for community development. What can we call these people? Shall we call them Ambedkarites or not? At this juncture, there is a need to look at Dalit Leadership very critically. This is the era of the "Invisible Chamcha Era", they don't seem to be chamchas but they lead chamcha social and political movements to strengthen caste Hindu politics. Invisible Chamcha means a person who was born in a Dalit community, is within community struggle, and leads socio and political movements for she/he self-interest.

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[149]   Editorial, "Ambedkar Mela on Wheels", *The Oppressed Indian*, April 1980, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 4-5. (Narayn Sadoba Kajrolkar was a flourishing food-processing businessman, from SC's community and was involved in the anti-british struggle. He was a personal assistant of Dr. Ambedkar. But in the 1952 General election, Congress pitched him as a candidate against Dr. Ambedkar. Communist and Hindu Mahasabha were also supporting Kajrolkar and Sociallist (under Ashok Mehta) was supporting Ambedkar. CPI leader M.S. Dange campaigned against Ambedkar. In this election, Ambedkar was defeated by Kajrolkar. He was the representative of SC'S in the Backward Classes Commission. In 1970, he received the Padma Bhushan award. See, *Tht Indian and Pakistan Year Book and Who's Who -1949,* vol. 35, Bombay: The Times of India, 1949, p. 747).

[150]   Kanshi Ram, *The Chamcha Age (An era of the Stooges)*, New Delhi: Samyak Prakashan Publication, 1982, p. 113.

[151]   Vivek Kumar, *Dalit Leadership in India*, New Delhi: Kalpaz Publications, 2002, p. 181.

[152]   Ibid., p. 181.

But Kanshi Ram propounded grassroots methods to lead the socio and political movement. Ambedkar argued that Dalits are not only economically exploited, culturally segregated, and socially discriminated against but they remain untouchables in the political realm and we have to capture political power to emancipate Dalits from elite domination. To sustain themselves in politics, political parties need plenty of resources to win elections which the Indian upper-caste political parties have. But Kanshi Ram had adopted different methods to produce resources from limited resources in society. He propounded the brotherhood victimization theory to bring all victims together from Bahujan Samaj to fight against the hierarchical social order.[153] He traced history very critically to find out the failures of Dalit politics and he realized that minority communities can't survive in politics. That is the reason Kanshi Ram convinced SCs, STs, OBCs, and Minorities about their victimization by Manuvad. He argued that social transformation and economic emancipation could only be possible when all Bahujan victims come together.[154]

Kanshi Ram's political understanding not only lies in political power but also in building social movements to propagate Bahujan ideology among oppressed and exploited communities. He strongly believed that political power with the Bahujan Movement could bring social transformation and economic emancipation to Bahujan Samaj. He wants to replace Manuvad social order with equality, liberty, fraternity, and justice in society and these principles of vision appear in the BSP ruling regime. They have launched different policies and programs to empower Bahujan communities in Uttar Pradesh.[155]

To exercise political agency with limited political action, Kanshi Ram starts from Haryana with the landmark words '*Hum Ticket Banana Sikhenge*' (We will learn to coin the ticket) and interact with the people who were victims of the systems and also were active at the ground level against the oppression. Caste based violence and discrimination in feudal society were at high stage and people from dalit communities were doing the *begari* (forced free laborer) in the field of feudal landlords in Haryana. In rural areas 21% dalits are living in Haryana, which are now assertive with their rights and identity due to caste-based animosity and are unwilling to follow the

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[153]   Interview with T.R. Khunte from Chattisgarh, dated on 21/12/20.

[154]   Vivek Kumar, *India's Roaring Revolution- Dalit Assertation and new Horizons*, op. cit., 2006, p. 61.

[155]   S.S. Gautam and Anil Kumar, *Writings & Speeches of Kanshi Ram*, op. cit., p. 146.

hierarchy based rules or behavior, segregation of living, and forced labor. [156] Caste-based atrocities are the consequences of clashes between dalits and dominant castes due to land grabbing, forced free labor and inter-caste marriages.[157] People from dominant castes practice atrocities against Dalits 'to teach them a lesson' or 'to show the community its place'.[158] A land grabbing incident happened in the village of Shahzadpur of Haryana (Shahzadpur Kaand) to erect the weighing scale (of Saraswati Sugar mill) in the village site of residential land of dalits on 19 December 1990.[159] It was the result of a nexus between the businessmen D.D. Puri and state machinery. Violence was injected on dalit and burnt their houses. The activists of BSP and victims raised their voice against this act and that protest converted into mass mobilization in Haryana.[160] Aman Kumar Nagra (BSP President of Haryana) and other activists were arrested by police, when they were protesting and striking against this state-sponsored violence. They started to protest in front of the District Court at Jagadhri and continued for 6.5 months.[161] During this time, protests and processions with the slogan '*Jo Jameen Sarkari Hai, Wo Zameen Hamari Hai*' (The land which is left, it's ours) were organized at different places in Haryana. After releasing the BSP leaders and activists, the indefinite strike was lifted on 10 July 1991.[162] It was the result of continued mass mobilization and BSP got wider public prominence with the idea of social transformation and economic emancipation. After that struggle, for the first time in Haryana, BSP's candidate Surjeet Kumar Dhimaan won the seat from Narayangarh Constituency in 1991.[163]

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[156]   Prem Chowdhry, *Political Economy of Production and Reproduction: Caste, Custom, and Community in North India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 383-85. See also, Reena Kukreja, "Caste and Cross-region Marriage in Haryana, India: Experience of Dalit cross -region brides in Jat households", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 2018, pp. 492-531.

[157]   Ibid.

[158]   Anil Teltumbde, *The Persistence of Caste: The Khairlanji Murders & India's Hidden Apartheid*, London: Zed Books, 2010, p. 73. See also, Pratiksha Baxi, *Public Secrets of Law*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014, p. 287.

[159]   Pamphlet released by the BSP unit of Haryana on 19/07/91.

[160]   Report, Bhaujan Sangathak, 1991.

[161]   Recorded interview with Chaudhary Sahiram, Village Kishanpura Majra, (District Yamuna Nagar, Haryana), Dated on 03/03/21. In an earlier phase he was associated with Congress in 1977(in his words Jagjivan Ram ki Party se jude rahe kyoki samaj se the "we were associated with Jagjivan Ram's party because of community solidarity"). In 1981, he joined D-S4 and participated in the Cycle March. Kanshi Ram visited his house in 1986 and discussed "Raaj Kaise lana hai". (See fig. in Appendix- ii)

[162]   Pamphlet released by the BSP unit of Haryana on 19/07/91

[163]   Ibid.

It was the result of 'Power will be the product of Struggle' as Kanshi Ram contextualized the movement. Before that, D-S4 prepared the fertile land of Haryana for movement and Kanshi Ram as an organizer mobilized the people from different castes. It was the high time when people from marginalized sections were searching for the option to fight against the oppression and understanding the power phenomenon. Dayal Singh Kashyap and other conscious people were thinking of contesting the election on Congress tickets. Kanshi Ram and his team members called them and talked about independent leadership in Bahujan samaj.[164] In his scientific approach, he started to think politically about 'D-S4 for limited political action' in an experimental way and 'learned to coin the tickets' with a pragmatist approach. D-S4's leaders and activists were ready to enter into the upcoming constituent assembly election in 1982. Kanshi Ram wrote:[165]

> "Knowing fully well that D-S4 is an organization for agitation, it has been decided to use it for limited political action. Thus, D-S4 will be required to carry this additional load, besides its main task of launching struggles for the Dalit Shoshit Samaj. The limited political action of D-S4 will be for the purpose of building a political organization of the Dalit-Shoshit Samaj… This massive majority of the Dalit -Shoshit Samaj is considered a huge vote bank. In Spite of all the voting power in their hands, these people keep begging for tickets from the small minority, which happen to manage various political parties in India".

With that enthusiasm, D-S4 pitched the 46 candidates in the Haryana Constituent Assembly election in 1982. It was the first time for Kanshi Ram to observe the under-current in the oppressed communities at the political level. He gave representation from dalit and backward communities in tickets distribution. In the list of 46 candidates, from SCs communities- Chamar, Balmiki, Dhanak, Khatik, Raighar, etc, and from OBCs community- Dhimar, Khati, Kumhar, Sunar, Nai, and Dhobi, etc. were the main communities to represent the oppressed section in the election.[166] On the other hand, the Congress and Janata Dal alliance with Bhartiya Janata Party during the election in Haryana gave only 1% represenataion of these OBC people.[167]

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[164]   Recorded interview with Dayal Singh Kashyap (President of Youth Wing, District President (1987-88), Mandal President, 1989, in Haryana) dated 27/2/21.
[165]   Editorial, "D-S4 for Limited Political Action", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. IV, No. 3, June 1982, p. 6.
[166]   Ibid. p. 7.
[167]   Ibid. p. 8.

Kanshi Ram gave the voice to the unheard people of the oppressed communities to represent themselves with independent leadership. As a public intellectual, one should have clarity about the political crisis and crisis in the community itself to address the issues between the public. Because a public intellectual conveys his ideas with a language of understanding people have and expose the reality with critical inquiry of existing circumstances in a particular time period. Kanshi Ram firstly exposes the historicity of 'rise and fall of Ambedkarism in Haryana and Punjab' and publishes in magazines, journals and also delivers through the speeches in a scientific way. He mentioned the role of the Scheduled Caste Federation and Republican Party of India in the propagation of Ambedkarite ideology and how they failed to sustain it for a long time. Kanshi Ram developed the language which was common but had the specificity of critical inquiry about political hegemony.
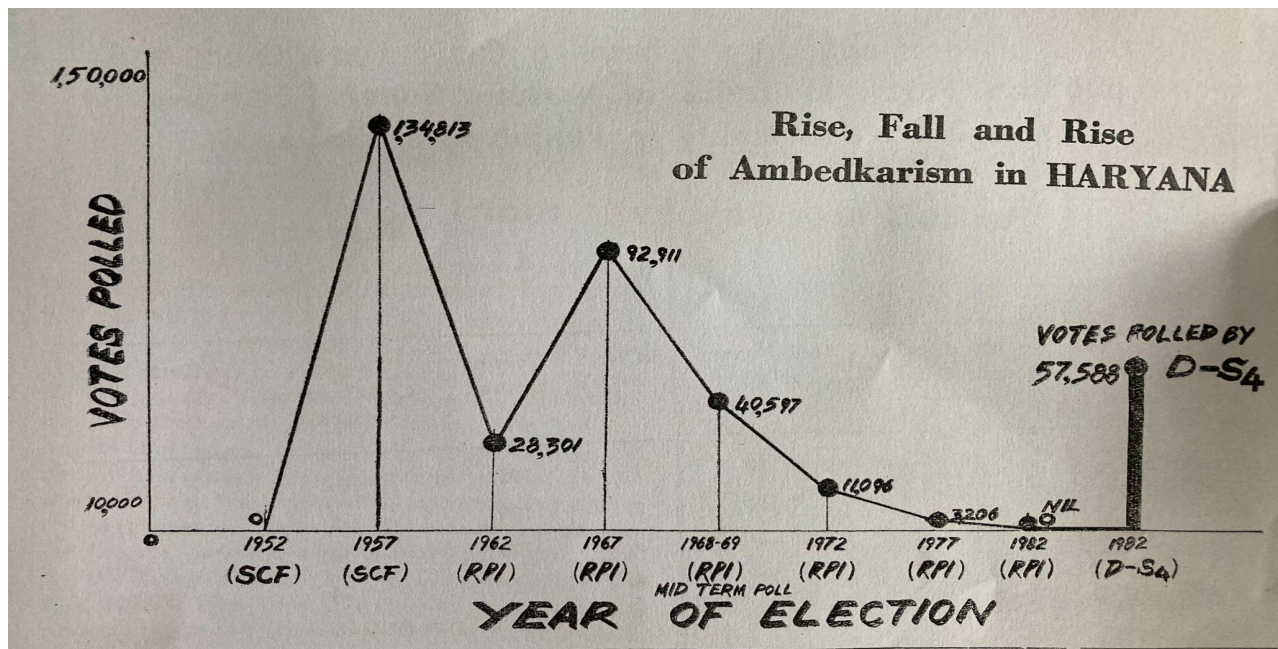
Fig. 4(7) Rise, Fall, and Rise of Ambedkarism in Haryana[168]

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[168] Editorial, "D-S4 for Limited Political Action", *The Oppressed Indian*, Vol. IV, No. 3, June 1982, p. 14.
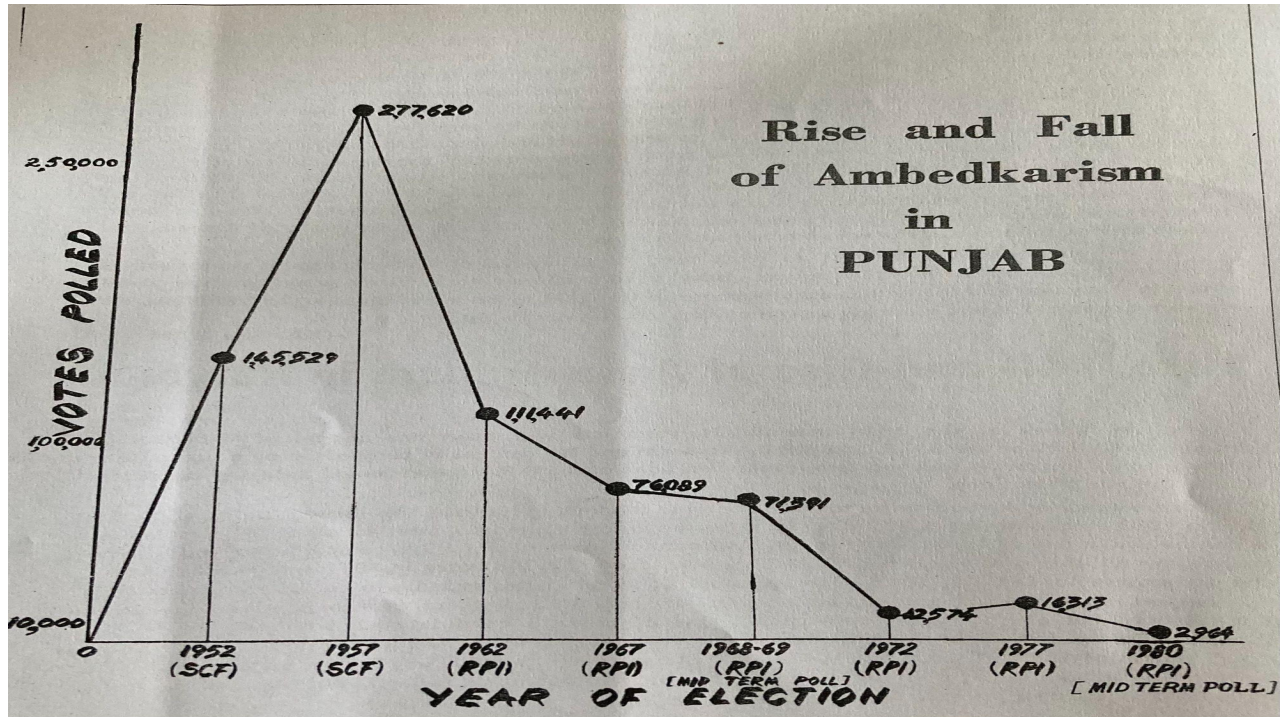
Fig. 4 (8) Rise and Fall of Ambedkarism in Punjab[169]

These above figures contextualize the political journey of the Ambedkarite movement and how people perceive the different political parties or their ideological clarity. It was the high time for SCF to mobilize the people all over India and represent the leadership from the backward communities. In Haryana constituent assembly election 1952 and 1957, SCF secured 1,34,813 polls which were good in the numbers and people from oppressed communities were involved to create the independent leaderships. But after the death of Ambedkar and due to lack of organized leadership SCF lost the battle in the political field. After that RPI contested the election in Haryana in 1962 and secured minimum votes (28301), but in the 1967 assembly election RPI secured a good number (92,911) and two MLAs won from Narwana and Mullana of Haryana.[170] It was the highest number of votes for RPI in Haryana, after that the graph reduced and reached at Zero votes in 1982. Till now, RPI (Athawale) has been struggling to gain support from the masses and contested elections with the coalition of BJP in the 2019 assembly election in Haryana and Bengal also.[171] In 1982, it was Kanshi Ram who dented the RPI through the activities of BAMCEF and

[169]   Ibid. p.15.
[170]   Ibid.
[171]   Report, "Haryana Assembly Elections: RPI to contest 10 seats, supports BJP in 80", *The Hindu*, 13 September 2019. (Accessed on 25 August 2022)

D-S4 activism against oppression. Kanshi Ram, with a scientific approach, tries to reach the masses with the idea of 'limited political action'. In 1982, it was the first time that D-S4 contested the election to check the level of consciousness in oppressed communities. D-S4 contested on 46 seats and secured 57,588 (1.19%) votes which was higher than the votes secured by other three national parties (C.P.I.-36.639, C.P.I. (M)-18,616, Congress (S)-458).

Table1: Party Secured Votes in Haryana- 1982 Assembly Election

Sr. No.	Name of Party	No. of Seats won	No. of Votes secured	Percentage
1	Congress (I)	36	18,36,264	37.82
2	Lok Dal	31	11,71,555	24.13
3	Bharatiya Janata Party	6	3,75,882	7.75
4	Janata Party	1	1,42,983	2.95
5	**D-S4**	0	57,588	1.19
6	C.P.I.	0	36639	0.75
7	C.P.I. (Marxist)	0	18,616	0.38
8	Cong. (Socialist)	0	458	0.01

Source: The Oppressed Indian, June 1982.

Table 2: D-S4 Candidates Election Results (Haryana Assembly Election-1982)

Sr. No.	Name of Constituency	Name of the Candidate	Caste	No. of Valid Votes Polled	Votes polled by DS-4 Candidate
1	Kalka	Mr. Sarwan Dass	Christian	56,890	848
2	Narayangarh	Mr. Aman Kumar	Chamar	52,238	3,550
3	Sadhaura (SC)	Mr. Faquir Chand Kangra	Balmiki	52,344	1,003
4	Chhachhrauli	Mr. Sumer Chand	Chamar	52,889	566
5	Yamuna Nagar	Mr. Vimal Kumar	Sunar	55,707	1,191
6	Jagadhari	Mr. Munshi Ram	Chamar	49,998	943
7	Mullana (SC)	Mr. Dharam Pal	Chamar	55,974	443
8	Ambala Cantt	mr. Ram Lal	Dhobi	40,043	331
9	Ambala City	Mr. Munshi Ram	Dhiman (khati)	46,115	3,176
10	Naggal	Mr. Dina Nath Tanwar	Kashyap (Dhiwar)	52,830	7,587

11	Indri	Mr. Sat Pal	Gadaria	52,368	3,057
12	Nilokheri	Mr. Ram Kishan	Kumhar	50,857	3,466
13	Karnal	Mr. Bhartu Ram	Chamar	43,457	418
14	Jundla (SC)	Mr. Sarda Ram	Balmiki	42,919	533
15	Gharaunda	Mr. Risala Ram	Kashyap (Dhiwar)	52,932	2,915
16	Assandh (SC)	Mr. Gaje Singh	Balmiki	43,164	282
17	Naultha	Mr. Zile Singh	Kashyap (Dhiwar)	52,796	444
18	Shahabad	Mr. Vir Singh	Kashyap (Dhiwar)	54,054	3,904
19	Thaneshwar	Mr. Rameshwar Dass	Sunar	52,951	1,188
20	Pehawa	Mr. Surjit Singh	Kashyap (Dhiwar)	56,656	4,225
21	Guhla (SC)	Mr. Jogi Ram a/s Jogi Dass	Balmiki	54,293	3,218
22	Rohtak	Mr. Om Prakash	Chamar	62,660	237
23	Meham	Mr. Raghubir Singh	Balmiki	57,779	193
24	kalanaur (SC)	Mr. Suraj Bhan s/o Sundu	Chamar	42,601	176
25	Bahadurgarh	Mr. Man Mohan	Khati	58,571	310
26	Baroda (SC)	Mr. Lakhmi	Chamar	55,683	520
27	Kailana	Mr. Moji Ram	Dhiman (khati)	56,724	1,431
28	Sonipat	Mr. Ram Kumar	Chhimba (Darji)	54,296	373
29	Rai	Mr. Sopat Rai Bodh	Boudh	54,685	453
30	Rohat	Mr. Dalel Singh	Chamar	51,548	679
31	Faridabad	Mr. Ramji Lal	Jatav (Chamar)	70,728	805
32	Mewla Maharajpur	Mr. Tej Singh	Jatav (Chamar)	62,524	1,218
33	Taoru	Mr. Laik Ram	Jatav (Chamar)	57,477	661
34	Pataudi (SC)	Mr. Duli Chand	Khatik	53,247	141
35	Mundhal Khurdh	Mr. Gaja Nand	Sunar	56,228	332
36	Bawani Khera (SC)	Mr. Dharam Pal	Raighar	54,384	60
37	Narnaund	Mr. Mani Ram	Dhanak (Khati)	55,328	602
38	Bhattu Kalan	Mr. Shiv Bax Jhangra	Khati	53,448	1,072

39	Hissar	Mr. Chhabil Das	Chamar	Repolling Due	
40	Tohana	Mr. Sham Lal	Balmiki	58,918	85
41	Ratia (SC)	Mr. Ram Chandra Dahiya	Chamar	46,182	660
42	Fatehabad	Mr. Mani Ram Chhapola	Kumhar	60,200	1,413
43	Adampur	Dr. Chhaju Ram	Kumbhar	62,040	513
44	Darba Kalan	Mr. Khyali Ram	Nai	62,122	1,120
45	Ellenabad	Mr. Hari Ram	Dhanak (Khati)	61,869	657
46	Mahendragarh	Mr. Jai Narayan	Chamar	67,573	589
			Total	48,55,788	57,588
			Percentage secured by D-S4's Candidates		1.19

Source: The Oppressed Indian, June 1982

As a leader of the masses, Kanshi Ram has taken his first attempt to intensify the meaning of representative democracy. Every marginalized community got the represenataion and where OBC community people got one percent represenataion by Congress (I) and Lok Dal, D-S4 distributed the 20 tickets to the OBC community out of 46. On the eve of Haryana Assembly election on 2 May 1982 at Rohtak, Kanshi Ram said that:[172]

> For a pretty long time, Backward Classes leaders have been giving one slogan. That is "Pichde varg ka naara hai, Nabhe bhag hamara hai' (90 percents part of the

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[172] Special Report, "Election Campaign Launched: D-S4 State Conference at Rohtak", The Oppressed Indian, 1982, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 17. The slogan "Sau mein se Nabbe Shoshit hai, Nabbe Bhag hamara hai" (90 out of 100 are Oppressed, 90 parts are ours) was coined by Jagdev Prasad (known as Lenin of Bihar). Due to the lack of represenataion of Backward communities in the Bihar Government and no response against drought, he separated himself from SANSOPA (Samyukta Socialist Party) on 25 August 1967 and founded Shoshit Dal. On the founding day, he said, "Pehli pidi ke log maare jayenge, doosri pidi ke log jail jayenge, teesri pidi ke log raaj karenge" (First generation people will kill, Second generation people will go to the prison, and third generation people will rule). It was the time when backward communities people raised their voice against the status-quo maintained by the ruling class.

country is ours). But it is a pity to see that these leaders who talk of 90 percent of the country, reach a compromise with the ruling classes at the level of getting railway tickets for themselves. For years, we had been pondering over this painful happening, and we have now reached the conclusion that unless these 85% oppressed and exploited communities organize themselves under one powerful banner, these things will continue to happen.

Those communities who never cast their votes and contested the election for the first time were the reflection of changing dynamics in the democracy. It was Kanshi Ram's strategy as a public intellectual to prepare the community for political participation and give a message to the political elite that democracy is not merely to maintain the status quo but a form of emancipation. Kanshi Ram wrote 'Dalit Shoshit Samaj prepare themselves and stop to play with the hands of higher and ruling caste parties. This is a long struggle for emancipation and should create independent leadership in oppressed communities.'[173] For that he always used to say "power is always a product of the struggle".[174] Unlike, public intellectuals are not merely to expose the truth or engage with the public but you have to generate the leadership among the masses at different levels in the context of ideas. It is about creators not only critics as defined by Daniel Drezner in the context of 'thought leaders' in the current scenario.[175] But Kanshi Ram generated the resources between the masses and spread the ideas through a public process not a market-based industry of ideas. He himself claimed that my resources are my people, and my media is my people. In the Haryana Assembly election, D-S4's election campaign was very attractive with the presence of the awakening squad from Nagpur, Varanasi, Jabalpur, and Punjab, painting squad from Nagpur, and street plays presented by Jabalpur and Nagpur units on atrocities. The most popular song was:[176]

"Aey Dalito utho maahoul Khada Karna hai

(Dalit people wake up to create ambience)

Faisla Karlo tumhe Jeena Hai ya Marna hai"

(And decide you want to live or die)

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173   Pamphlet written by Kanshi Ram, 'Dalit-Shoshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti: ONE POINT PROGRAMME' *The Oppressed Indian*, June 1982, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 7.
174   Ibid, p. 17.
175   For further explanation see Danil W. Drezner, *The Ideas Industry*, US: Oxford University Press, 2017.
176   The Oppressed Indian, 1982, Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 18.

Intellectual and Public life of Knowledge

The role of the intellectual in society varies distinctively. Edward said that:[177]

> A notion that all intellectuals represent something to their audiences, and in doing so represent themselves to themselves. Whether you are an academic, or a bohemian essayist, or a consultant to the Defense Department, you do what you do according to an idea or representation you have of yourself as doing that thing: do you think of yourself as providing "objective" advice for pay, or do you believe that what you teach your students has truth value, or do you think of yourself as a personality advocating an eccentric but consistent perspective?

Here, Edward Said contextualizes the subjectivity of an intellectual and his role in delivering or producing knowledge. Further he wrote 'each of us belongs to a society and is a part of a nation with its own culture, history, and language. How much do intellectuals serve these realities, and how much do they oppose them? The same is true of intellectuals' interactions with organizations (university, religion, professional guild) and with superpowers, who in this day and age have unusually co-opted the intelligentsia'.[178]

Here one must note that intellectuals emerge in different contexts and times, but representation in a hierarchical society is important due to the location itself. In that context, Kanshiram counters the domination through organizational building like DS-4, and BAMCEF, and promulgates the power notion within the oppressed communities. He introduced the 'Cadre camps' as a medium of knowledge production and promulgation of ideology. It's a pertinent question that the criticism of the social system is not an easy task to pervade the mind and body of the victim of that social system. For that, Kanshi Ram and his cadre, people use the metaphor (ballpoint pen) to identify the domination of the upper caste in the social system. The higher castes, who make up only 15% of the population and are the nation's rulers, are symbolized by the cap of the pen, while the bottom depicts the other 85% of the populace. This group of people continues to be governed despite their enormous population.[179]

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[177] Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures*, New York: Vintage Books, 1996, p. xv.

[178] Ibid., pp. xv-xvi.

[179] See the explanation of this hierarchical structure in *The Oppressed Indian*, Feb-March 1986, Vol. viii, No.2.

Fig. 4.9 Public Intellectual practices and their implementation with the understanding of the Indian hierarchical social system[180]

The moral and political vocabulary create the function and political significance to understand the phenomenon in society. That language also creates the notion of responsibility to involve in the dismantling process of oppression. To understand the crisis, an intellectual goes beyond the imagination of the ordinary person. Can an ordinary person be an intellectual or does it depend upon the function in society? But it's a question that intellectual and production of knowledge engage with the location itself. The crisis in society exists already but to question or not to question or expose the truth traces the contextuality of the intellectual. To understand the intellectual field, in a power framework where writing is itself the production of domination with the legacy of privilege and cultural capital.[181] So how are intellectual fields and external factors truly isolated from each other? Baert says that the spread of intellectual doctrine undoubtedly depends on two things: charismatic personality or qualities and the structural relationship of the intellectuals.[182] In the pragmatist discourse, every ordinary person is an intellectual due to his/her

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[180]   Ibid.

[181]   David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997, p. 390.

[182]   Patrick. Baert, *The Existentialist Moment: The Rise of Sartre as a Public Intellectual,* op. cit., p. 13.

connectivity to the masses. It is not necessary or compulsory that his/her come from an academic institution.[183]

As Randall Collins in his approach to public intellectuals, he focused on networking (Interaction ritual chains) in society.[184]Kanshi Ram presented the most marginalized masses a fresh vision of politics by carrying on the heritage of pragmatic anti-caste politics that was deeply founded in the everyday experiences of the oppressed groups that he aimed to mobilize. Despite having a serious lack of finances, Kanshi Ram refused to embrace victimization politics and instead came up with a strategy through the creation of BAMCEF to gather funding for assertive politics. There were more than two lakh members of BAMCEF, including 500 Ph.D. scholars, 3000 physicians, 15000 scientists, and 70000 support employees.[185]

Therefore, the networking developed by Kanshi Ram at the level of ideas inculcates the idea of the public intellectual. He contended that "As victims of the brahminical culture, for centuries, the Shudras and Ati-Shudras, now known as Backward Classes (SC, ST, and OBC) were passing through the Dark Age. Around 1848, Jotirao Phule initiated a revolt against the Brahminical culture".[186] Without structural support, he develops awareness in the Bahujan community against the oppression of the Brahmanical social order. As an organic intellectual and leader, he tries to inject the epitome of assertion with the targeted audience. In Kanshi Ram's point of view, caste is a reality of Indian society, and these manuwadi will not dismantle it if they will not dismantle it, I will use the caste for the liberation of the Bahujan community.[187] He differentiates Indian society into two folds; one is Manuwadi (believers of Manu Dharma Shastra) with the 15 percent population and the second is the Bahujan Community with the 85 percent

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[183]   John Dewey, *The Public, and its Problems: An Essay in Political Inquiry*. Chicago: Gateway Books 1946.

[184]   Randall Collins, *The Sociology of Philosophies: A Global Theory of Intellectual Change,* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 19-20.

[185]   Narendra Kumar, "Manyavar Kanshi Ram and A Sense of Responsibility", *Doing Sociology,* 2021.(Accessed on 10 February 2022). See also Christophe Jaffrelot, *The Bahujan Samaj Party in North India*, op. cit., pp. 35-52.

[186]   Ibid., pp. 35-52.

[187]   Badri. Narayan, "Ambedkar, and Kanshi Ram: Similar, yet different," *The Mint,* 2009. *https://www.livemint.com/Opinion/hXyHXD1PKogjgSs6hI3VxH/Ambedkar-and-Kanshi-Ram-similar-yet-different.html*

population of the country. They are the victims of the Brahmanical social order (Manu Dharma Shastra) and excluded communities from every aspect of the social, political, and economical arena. Kanshi Ram writes, "We are the victims of the social system that caused inequality among the people in all the spheres of life- social,economic, education- everywhere. All political parties which are a product of this system will try to sustain it. Our message has made a deep appeal to the masses because we are talking of smashing this system".[188]

By creating a new political language for oppressed politics, Kanshiram put Babasaheb Ambedkar's ideals into practice, providing knowledge on a political alternative that could compete for political power while being outmatched in the post-Independent Indian democracy. Kanshiram Sahab tried to bring together the oppressed masses in an effort to undermine the Savarna castes' political control because he was aware of the significance of political power for the underprivileged people. It is possible to see in Kanshi Ram's rally that he has instilled the trait of a public intellectual: knowing the audience.[189]

Representation: Discourse against Myth of Reservation

Reservations have a long history in India. One of the earliest examples is from 26 July 1902 when Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj instituted such a policy in his princely state of Kolhapur to ensure appropriate representation for non-Brahmin castes in services.[190] Similar policies reserving a portion of government employees were afterward established in Mysore (1921), Madras (1921), Bombay (1931), Travancore, and Cochin (1935).[191] Indian society is still uninformed about the significance of reservations in the formation of the nation, even after 75 years of independence. Even some news outlets in the media lack knowledge on reservations, which they characterize as a 10-year plan with 10-year gaps between reviews. In light of this, the discussion around the reservation is causing a cognitive blackout in the general population. Prior to Kanshi Ram,

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[188]   Weekend Newstime, 26-4-87. See, Ambeth Rajan, *My Bahujan Samaj Party*, New Delhi: An ABCDE Publication, 1994, p. 32.
[189]   Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere", op.cit., 2021.
[190]   P.B. Salunkhe & M.G. Mali (eds.), Chhatrapati Shahu: The Pillar of Social Democracy, Gargoti-Kolhapur: Government of Maharashtra. Education Department, 1994.
[191]   Awanish Kumar, "Reservations: A Project of Nation-building", *Economic and Political Weekly*, November 2021, Vol. 56, pp. 10-12.

Ambedkar spoke about reservations as a representation—a crucial building block in the process of creating a nation.[192]

He popularized the debate on reservation in public with 5 conferences and 500 symposiums under the title of '*Aarakshan-Hissedari ka Sawaal*' (Reservation- A Matter of Participation).[193] The notion of representation has been mentioned in the pamphlet (fig.3) and draws the line to understanding the role of representative government, where the backward communities get their share to run the government. For him, representative government precedes the idea of social democracy against political democracy. In *Evidence before the Southborough Committee* (1919),[194] Ambedkar asserts the voice with the 'representation of self' to articulate that depression must represent depression. He was aware of the demography of caste Hindus' domination intellectually (Caste in India, 1916) and they will never represent the interest of the depressed classes.[195] With his intellectual capacity he admitted that depressed classes have different interests from the caste Hindus, and therefore, they represent themselves. To further explain the concept of representation in democracy, Ambedkar poses several issues concerning the society's unequal character, namely, how does representative democracy work well in a fundamentally unequal society? Second, how can the Hindu Majority's compliance and execution be ensured? And how does the rule of law work in a democracy if the legislators are socially conditioned?[196]

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[192]   Ambedkar, B.R. Evidence before the Southborough Committee, in (eds.) by Moon, Vasant. *Baba Saheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches (BAWS): Volume 2,* Mumbai: Government of Maharashtra, 1994. See also, Narendra Kumar, Narendra Kumar, "Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere", op.cit., 2021.

[193]   Kanshi Ram, *Sahi Jamhooriyat lane ke liye kada Sangharsh karna hoga*, Bahujan Sangathak, Vol. 7, No. 6, 1987.

[194]   Ambedkar, B.R. Evidence before the Southborough Committee, in (eds.) by Moon, Vasant. *Baba Saheb Ambedkar Writings and Speeches,* op.cit., p. 248

[195]   Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, "Castes in India: Their Mechanism, Genesis, and Development", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVI, 1917, pp. 81-95.

[196]   Ibid. p. 261. See also,
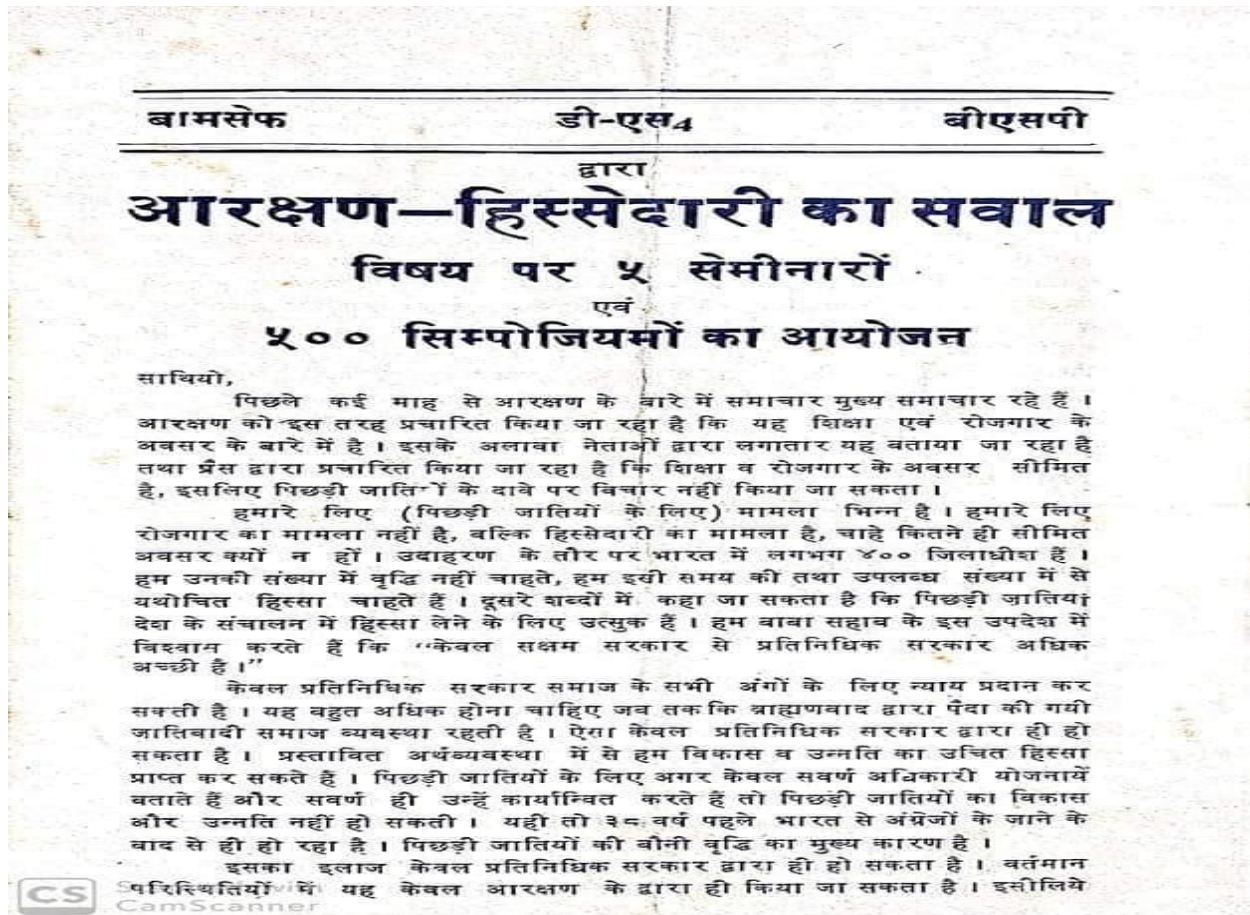
Fig. 4.10: Pamphlet on 'Reservation- A Question of Representation'

These questions lay the ground to understand the role of democracy to obstruct the practice of untouchability through the exchange of ideas in society between different groups. For Ambedkar, it's not about providing a share in the distribution of power or the decision-making process, due to the socially dominant groups spontaneously speaking on the behalf of the minority, despite ruling over for a century. To encounter these practices, Ambedkar found the idea of democracy where minorities represent themselves with their cause.[197] From the same perspective, Kanshiram talks about *pratinidhik sarkar* (representative government), where he quotes Ambedkar that "Representative government is good against the majority government".[198] In other words, his imagination about the representative government reflects in his view that *hume majboot nahi majboor sarkar chahye* (we want a compulsive government, not a stable one). Therefore,

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[197]   Ibid.

[198]   Kanshi Ram, A pamphlet released by BAMCEF, D-S4, BSP on Reservation: A Matter of Representation. See Appendix II.

representation for Kanshi Ram is based on Ambedkar's idea of self-representation in the governing institutions. In the discourse of represenataion, Kanshi Ram popularized the debate of the Mandal Commission report in the public domain, as a responsibility of public intellectual. He mobilized the people to know about the discourse of reservation, to intensify the idea of Bahujan with political clout. On the larger level, the movement was organized and Kanshi Ram was the one architect, who developed the conscience for representation in popular domains. In the aegis of BSP, a movement *Jail Bharo Andolan* was organized to implement the recommendations of Mandal Commission Report, on 1 August to till 14 August 1984, at Vote Club in front of Parliament. During that movement, it was decided that 3749 people from the bahujan community would be arrested, because the Mandal Commission in its recommendation included the same numbers of caste from backward communities.

Fig. 4.11, Pamphlet released by BSP to implement Mandal Commission Report during Jail Bharo Andolan

And this demonstration was continued in different places of the country.[199] But the fact that most of the members arrested were SCs community people.[200] It was the movement to expose the hidden nexus of brahmin and bania with the slogan that *pichde varg ke log kab tak brahmin-banio ki sarkar ke bhulave mein aate rahenge* (How long will the people of the backward classes keep coming under the guise of the government of Brahmin and Bania?). It was the popular attempt to challenge the upper caste hegemony through the idea of represenataion. The popular slogan was raised by the BSP, *Mandal Commission Lagu Karo, Warna Kursi Khali Karo* (Implement the recommendation of Mandal Commission, either vacant the chair) to create the compulsion with mass support. In the aegis of BSP, BAMCEF, and D-S4, 5 seminars and 500 symposiums were organized in th every corner of the country to develop the general will for represenataion (see fig no. 4.3).[201] Although, that movement was about to maintain the legacy of the ideas of Dr. Ambedkar on represenataion in the constitution and it reflected in article 340 in the context of social transformation and economic emancipation for Backward classes. The historical fact is that Dr. Ambedkar tried hard to implement this article during his cabinet ministerial tenure but with unsuccessful attempts, he resigned from the cabinet minister of Jawaharlal Nehru Government.[202] Here, the important instance is how does the legacy of social transformation carried out by Kanshi Ram with the construction of public and develop the strategies of engagement on popular level. The role of public intellectual starts to expose the hidden nexus in the public with the language of common masses, by which they can interrelate the past and existing situation in the present context. This movement got public prominence at a higher stage and protests were organized by the upper strata against the Mandal Commission report, in colleges, Universities, and other institutions.

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[199]   See the Pamphlets released by BSP.
[200]   Interview with Prakash Singh Pakhi, Chaudhary Sahiram, and M.S. Sadar.
[201]   See Pamphlet released by BSP.
[202]   Vivek Kumar, "Mnayavar Kanshi Ram ke Jail Bharo Andolan ki 37th Varhsgaanth" *Dalit Dastak*, 2021.

All over the country, protest demonstrations were started against the mandal commission report. Indian politics was taking a breath with the discourse of agda banam pichda and moral (constitutional) versus merit. Most of the criticisms against the implementation of the mandal commission report were on the basis of merit like 'I was born Intelligent but reservation ruined me'[203], 'Abandon Caste- Respect Merit'.[204] But it can make sense that the notion of hierarchy or civilizational violence was never considered a problem by upper strata. They never considered the role of cultural capital and social capital, they gained from generation to generation. It was the first time to reveal the nature of Indian society and the conscience of the literate masses in the universities and colleges. This nature can be understood through the conversation between Kanshi Ram and M.S. Sadar (activist and president of Backward class in BSP) during the rally was organized in Haryana with Devilal. M.S. Sadar talked to Kanshi Ram and said that "you said once to Devilal to appeal to his people to stop the protests. Kanshi Ram asked M.S. Sadar, what do you know about the mandal commission report? please tell me any two or three important points? M. S. Sadar was silent on that and then Kanhi Ram said if you don't know the major clause of the report, what about the common man. These protests will clear the picture of the mandal commission report and people will discuss 'why it is important'.[205] This was the imagination of Kanshi Ram and his reading of the common masses at ground level. The backward community leaders Sharad Yadav, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan, S.D. Chaurasia, and the other prominent leaders created the power clout to implement the mandal commission report.

Kanshi Ram was eager to share his political experience and message with the next generation of Bahujan students during his 1993 visit to Jawaharlal Nehru University, where Bahujan Student Front (BSF) had organised a public meeting on "Atrocity against Dalit and role of the politicians." His point of view was that it was crucial to communicate the interconnectedness between the student movement and national politics in light of the mandal era. He refuted the false history the higher caste had created. He was dressed differently, with a white suit and a white Contessa vehicle.[206] In the academic world, he has created an ideological network that includes professors like Prof. Gail Omvedt, Prof. Vivek Kumar, and Prof. M.P. Rana, who has collaborated

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[203] https://www.indiatvnews.com
[204] https://www.google.com/imgres?imgurl=https%3A%2F%2Fenglish.madhyamam.com
[205] Interview with Dr. M.S. Sadar from Haryana. He started his political journey from D-S4.
[206] Interview with Prof. M.P. Rana in School of International studies. He was the one who invited Manyavar Kanshi Ram to JNU.

with Kanshi Ram. It functions as an "interaction ritual chain" based on the idea-networking techniques proposed by Randall Collins in his public intellectual method. Kanshiram and Prof. Gail Omvedt spoke together on the BAMCEF stage about emancipating oppressed peoples.[207] In one of them, Kanshiram, who has long been involved in the Bhaujan activities, shared a stage with Prof. Vivek Kumar. In well-known fields, he has introduced Kanshi Ram and his ideology.

Fig. 4.12 Gail Omvedt delivering a speech at the First National Convention of BAMCEF (1971) in Nagpur.

Responsibility on its own

The clearer understanding of Kanshi Ram's philosophy has been distorted in many ways. In academia, the perception has been made by the political pundits through their particularistic approaches like one community domination, a northern regional party, a Dalit party, and opportunist Kanshi Ram.[208] The vantage point is that 'process' is very important to understand the journey of any political party or social change in society. Without understanding that process or journey, it's difficult to present reality and perception is not real, it's about reality. Therefore, the process of becoming Kanshi Ram to Manyavar or Saheb represents a phenomenal change in

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[207]   Interview with Milind Wasnik from Maharashtra.

[208]   Sudha. Pai, *Dalit Assertion and the Unfinished Democratic Revolution: The Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh.* 2002. Christophe Jaffrelot, "The Bahujan Samaj Party in North India: No Longer Just a Dalit Party?" *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and The Middle East,* 1998, Vol. 18, pp. 35-51.

society. His understanding of social change and strategies depended entirely on the readiness of the non-political ground. Thus, he had focused on gaining power rather than addressing the issues with reactionary moves.

In his viewpoint, everything can fall into a place once power is attained.[209] In this manner, Kanshi Ram's philosophy can be better understood with Bourdieu's idea of knowledge in the construction of 'cultural capital'. He majorly emphasizes "how cultural capital and its related habitus forms work specifically, that is how the accumulation of titles and positions leads to prestige and how prestige helps to create social and cultural hierarchies."[210] In Kanshi Ram's view, the knowledge domain and discourse should be powerful to accumulate the leading position because one can acquire prestige through his/her position within the society. Knowledge and prestige are great sources of social and cultural hierarchies, that's why in Kanshi Ram's view, power is the most important instrument for any deprived society.

Knowledge is an instrument of power.[211] Knowledge is important for communication, to construct one's political and social identity, and helpful for political mobilization of the masses. But the fundamental question is 'whose knowledge is important? To understand the failures of mobilization we need to understand the knowledge of factions within an organization that leads to the factions in an organization. The role of any political organization is to provide a sense of responsibility to its members towards a defined goal. Being a part of any organization, one must have a common identity and common historical understanding. For any political organization, is it true to have a common understanding of its historical past? The phenomenal inquiry of structural oppression with the language of the masses established the consciousness of existence among the oppressed section or how they were being exploited by the upper caste.

Therefore, the function of an intellectual is not only to criticize and expose the truth, it is also a phenomenon of distribution of power. An individual (intellect) develops connectivity with the audience through the distribution of power. Democratic society can't exist in totality.

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[209] Interview with Chaudhary Sahi Ram from Kishanpur Mazra, Haryana, Dated on 03/03/21.

[210] Christian Fleck and Andreas Hess, *Knowledge for Whom? Public Sociology in the Making*, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2014, p. 33. See also, Pierre Bourdieu, *Homo Academicus*, Paris: Minuit, 1984.

[211] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: the birth of a prison*, London: Penguin, 1991.

Therefore, the role of intellectuals is an important category to manage the public and political community in society. Everyone has a distinct perspective in society but how does an intellectual develop the conscience to collaborate. Intellectuals are the core of the social movement or revolution or counter-revolution. A public intellectual is not the only one who questions or criticizes how an individual changes the methodology to understand society within the public sphere. It's a pertinent question that intellectual knowledge persists in public life. Kanshi Ram and his understanding of community conscience persist today with methodological collectivism. Why does not Kanshi Ram's understanding of political and non-political aspects dominate academia?

Kanshi Ram introduced the idea of 'unification of thought, speech, and action'[212] to inculcate everyday practices in the movement. In academia, most of the scholars missed 'non-political' aspects in an epistemological way. Kanchan Chandra in her book Why missed that (non-political) aspect to define the success of BSP's electoral success in UP. She contended that it was due to the greater representation of the Scheduled Caste elites, especially from the Chamar Caste (who constitute the majority among SCs), an electoral alliance with the other political parties. She made that argument with the help of electoral failures of BSP in Punjab, due to the over-representation of Chamars elites (who constitute the minority among SCs), and in Karnataka, it was due to the SC elite's representation at the highest degree in mainstream political parties.[213]At first sight, the concept of the elite is not clear, which types of elites she is talking about (cultural elites, political elites, governing elites, and non-governing elites) and the other, if these reasons are valid, then why the other Dalit castes were supporting to the BSP. Here she missed the non-political aspects which were established by Kanshi Ram with the formation of BAMCEF. Those practices and strategies like Ambedkar Mela on Wheels, and Media Representation which creates the public sphere in the society introduce the assertion with positive phenomenal change.

One Note- One Vote : A Responsible Public

It is very important to differentiate between intellectuals inside and outside academia. An intellectual can study society very systematically and scientifically but they can't go beyond theory

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[212]   Kanshi Ram mentioned it in the cadre camp (as told by T R Khunte in an interview dated 29/12/20).

[213]   Kanchan Chandra, *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p. 178.

to attain social and political goals with practicality. For instance, Indian Marxists led the socio and political movement but they failed to sustain it because of the negligence of caste which is a reality in Indian society and their theories which were based on class wouldn't allow them to counter the subjectivity in the hierarchical structure.[214] Kanshi Ram wrote, "Communist Parties are also a Brahmanical force. They are perhaps worse than the others because they profess to work for change and yet work only for the status-quo. All communist parties are dominated by Brahmins and Thakurs. When I Decide to go into West Bengal, they will be in the Bay of Bengal".[215] At this point, we can look at Kanshi Ram as an organic intellectual and a leader who was able to understand society with scientific rigor and propounded different methods to attain his socio and political goals in a practical way. By using Kanshi Ram's technical methods he concluded that the RPI and Dalit Panthers failed because opportunism, greed, selfishness, and caste domination in the party could destroy our politics. Radicalism in Mass mobilization and ideological contradictions would weaken our social movement.[216] How Buddha adopted a middle path to transform Brahmanical society. Likewise, Kanshi Ram also showed a path to Bahujan politics that is a missionary and movement-oriented organization built only to sustain oppressed and exploited community politics. This can only bring social transformation and economic emancipation shortly.

BAMCEF and DS4 were Kanshi Ram's grassroots mobilization methodology to create assets for Bahujan Samaj. Thus, he mobilized all the government employees from SCs, STs, OBCs, and Minority communities to 'pay back' to society because they are beneficiaries of reservations that were given by Ambedkar and they have a moral responsibility to empower their own community. Kanshi Ram channelized mass, money, and mind to strengthen the nonpolitical roots of Bahujan Samaj through BAMCEF; it played a very important role in bringing social, political, and cultural consciousness among oppressed and exploited communities.[217]

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[214]   See, C. Rajeshwar Rao & Avtar Singh Malhotra, *The Nature of Bahujan Samaj Party*, Delhi: Communist Party Publication, 1988.

[215]   Kanshi Ram interview in The Telegraph, 28-4-87.

[216]   S.S. Gautam and Anil Kumar, *Tribute to Bahujan Nayak Manyvar Kanshi Ram*, op. cit., 2012, p. 12.

[217]   Kanshi Ram, An *Introduction To BAMCEF*, New Delhi: Gautam Book Centre, 1981, p. 1.

He mobilised common masses, student wings, Mahila wings, and bicycles to bring political consciousness to the Dalit community.[218] His understanding of grassroots politics and reality makes him an organic leader in Indian politics. A by-election was held on the Allahabad seat in 1988, it was a historical election in Indian politics. Kanshi Ram was contesting from that seat against V.P. Singh from the Janata Party and Sunil Shastri (Son of Lal Bahadur Shastri) from the Congress Party. Kanshi Ram was very conscious that he would not win, but that was a good time to launch the BSP in the political clout. He never contested on the reserved seats and it was the ideological message to the country that political reservation creates the dependent leaderships and majority of the people are in the minority on the basis of power sharing and representation. For him, contesting an election on unreserved seats was a chemical formula to know about the reaction between the masses and the dominant political clout. Although politics for him was never the base of change, it was the institutional mechanism that he wanted to develop in every unit of politics, culture and society. Subsequently, the by-election on Allahabad seat was a new wave of democracy to energize the majority of people to know about the strength and power. In that election, the panting squad (most of the people from Maharashtra) painted the thousands of elephants on the wall as a symbol of BSP.[219] It was a historical election in Indian politics because in the past every emerging leader faced the plotting of a dominant party candidate, but this time Kanshi Ram created the challenge in front of the renowned leaders of that time.

Fig. 4.13 Kanshi Ram and his supporters campaigned 'vote with note' in the Allahabad by-election

[218]   Sambaiah Gundimeda, *Dalit Politics in Contemporary India*, op. cit., p. 91.

[219]   Interview with Prakash Singh Pakhi from Haryana, dated on 01/03/21.

His public outreach campaign was extremely methodical and engaging. His military-inspired campaign featured a variety of squads, including beggar squads who walked from one Dalit mohalla to another carrying sealed collecting boxes and placards that said, "The campaign to collect the notes with votes" (One note with one vote).[220] Kanshi Ram argued that it's symbolic, "Once a poor sweeper pays me even two rupees, he will have the self-respect to throw chappals at Congressmen who come to buy his vote." The total collection was approx 70000 through that campaign and he argued that I would get the same number of votes. It was unbelievable that after the declaration of the result he got 71586 votes in the by-election.[221] In opposition to the BSP, Sunil Shastri from Cong (I) got 90000, and V.P. Singh from Jan Morcha got 2,03,000 respectively. In this election, Cong (I) had been misusing 3M-Money, Media, and Mafia to win that by-election. The other hand, V.P. Singh from Jan Morcha was backed by 23 parties and organizations including CPI, CPM, and 5 opposition Chief Ministers from Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, and Haryana.[222] But, here one must note that the reading of public voice and belief indicate the historic move towards the journey of structural transformation and perceiving Kanshi Ram as a leader. This election developed the pedagogy of resistance with the ballot and how to put your positive agenda in front of the public. In an interview Kanshi Ram admitted that "we did not expect to win in the Allahabad byelection. We are interested in defeating the Congress (I)". He further said that "in any case I am not interested in winning a seat. I am interested in winning a state". After that, municipal and gram panchayats elections were held in early 1989 in Uttar Pradesh, and BSP captured 188 municipalities against 54 by BJP, 45 by the Congress, 14 by Janata Dal, and 3 by Communists. BSP also captured 24000 Gram Panchayats as against 24700 by the Congress.[223] It was the start of mobilization for revolution and, reflected in the 1989 Lok Sabha polls and 1990 assembly polls, candidates had fielded by the BSP. BSP won 3 Member of Parliaments and 16 Member of Legislative Assembly seats in Uttar Pradesh, and Punjab. Kanshi Ram remembered those words when they launched the party BSP, leaders from the

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[220] Shekhar Gupta, "Witnessing the rise of Kanshi Ram, the man who first created Dalit politics", *The Print*, 7 January 2018.

[221] Interview with A.R. Akela from Aligarh, 28/03/21. See also, Pamphlet released by Dilip Mendhe and Compiled by Ambeth Rajan on "New Hope for the Bahujan Samaj (SC, ST, OBC, & Minorities): Kanshi Ram" , 1992, p. 7.

[222] Ibid.

[223] Ibid, p. 7.

opposition said 'BSP to terah mein na tin mein'(BSP is neither in three nor in thirteen)and today we are in terah mein bhi and tin m bhi hai (Today, we are in thirteen as well as in three also).[224]

Kanshi Ram was very radical against the leftists because of their airy slogans and hidden face of manuvad in their practices. He explicitly denounced their politics calling them 'green snake in green grass' with dominance of the upper caste in their party. He mentioned in an interview, "Parties like the Congress and Communists talked about abolishing poverty, but worked towards keeping people poor. If the people are not kept poor, these people will not remain in their seats".[225] Kanshi Ram being aware of the fact that Leftists hated Ambedkar's thought and his politics, (Although the past reminds us about the relation of Ambedkar's political journey and leftist hatredness against him), he decided to expose their hollowness ideologically by questioning their intent on representation . It was the result of his political language that most of the activists from marginalized sections left the communist organizations and joined hands with him.[226] In West Bengal, Kanshi Ram popularized the debate of Namo-Shudra and realized the strength of independent leadership. He always mentioned the names of Gurchand Thakur and Harichand Thakur[227](Matua community), who exposed the Bengali Bhadralok Dominance and upper caste hegemony. In the cadre camp and rallies he always cited them and narrated their vision of emancipation through 'Je jate raja nahi, te jate taaza nahi, je jate dal nahi, te jate bal nahi'(if you don't have your own organization, you can't create power clout). Today, they are the regional icons in dalit politics in Bengal.[228]

Kanshi Ram in his political philosophy always engaged with the local icons and their ideas. To trace out the unknown facts, he used his methodology of Caste history, Caste geography, Caste philosophy, and Caste psychology. It helped him to know about the political nature of the community. The Movement having a strong hold there helped BSP win the local body election. The acceptance of Kanshi Ram's movement increased assertive politics in West Bengal during that time, shaking communist fort . In 1988, Communists launched a booklet 'The nature of the Bahujan Samaj Party', in which they claim Kanshi Ram as an opportunist, how the caste or

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[224]   Interview with P. S. Pakhi from Haryana, dated 01/03/21.
[225]   Kanshi Ram interview with Nikhil Lakshman in *The Illustrated Weekly*, 8-14 March 1987.
[226]   Interview with Saroop Sialvi from Punjab, P.S. Pakhi from Haryana.
[227]   Interview with T.R. Khunte.
[228]   Praskanva Sinharay, "Harichand-Guruchand Thakur: the emerging icons of Dalit politics in West Bengal", *Religion*, 2022.

identity based politics preach caste war and Kanshi Ram's anti communist slander.[229] Although, Congress (I) and Communist movement was accepting BSP as a big threat for them, "The BSP poses a threat not only to the Congress (I)but also to the communist movement. Kanshi Ram propagates that the communist are a big stumbling block in his way. Though, some Congress (I) leaders like Yogendra Makwana, are saying that it is a temporary phenomenon not to be worried about that".[230] Communist party leader C. Rajeshwar writes that, "Whether the BSP can come to power or not, it has certainly become a force to reckon with in some of the states in the north, appealing to considerable sections of the downtrodden people. Since the muslims are disillusioned with the Congress because of its failure to save them from aggressive Hindu communalism during riots, it may be possible that sections of them may make common cause with the BSP".[231]

But Kanshi Ram never engaged with muslim on the basis of security or communal fear. In his speech, he once said that "we will provide the rights to muslims, not security". He always talked about the oppressed unity, "*Jalim se mukable ke liye mazlumo ko sanghatith hona hi hoga*" (Oppressed should unite to confront the oppressor).[232] His line of thinking was clear to hit the oppressive structure and raise the voice for representation. In Madhya Pradesh, he announced that BSP will give the first Chief Minister from Adivasi community.[233] The political imagination of Kanshi Ram reflects the idea of representation at institutional level. Because political democracy can not survive without social democracy, as conceptualized by Ambedkar. Kanshi Ram scientifically proved it through his field knowledge and engagement with the public.

But communist criticized Kanshi Ram to propagate the divisive forces, asserting that, "He himself incites militant casteism, a sort of lower caste extremism with the slogan "return two stones for one cast at you". His propaganda is specially directed against the united class organization of the working people and their class unity and also against secular and left parties while he is soft to the communal and regional parties. How will the 85 percent be united and

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[229]   C. Rajeshwar Rao, Avtar Singh Malhotra, *The Nature of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)*, New Delhi: New Age Printing Press, 1988, pp. 6-7.

[230]   *The Illustrated Weekly*, 8-14 March 1987.

[231]   C. Rajeshwar Rao, Avtar Singh Malhotra, *The Nature of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP)*, op.cit., p. 9.

[232]   Report, "Jalim se mukable ke liye Mazlumo ko sangathith hona hi hoag", *Bahujan Sangathak*, Vol. 14, No. 33, 19 August 1984, p. 1. (Speech delivered by Kanshi Ram in Meerut).

[233]   Reporting, "Madhya Pradesh Ko Pehla Adivasi Mukhyamantri BSP Degi", *Bahujan Sangathak*, 1997. (Kanshi Ram delivered a speech in Gwalior on the occasion of Kabir Jyanati).

rallied under Kanshi Ram's umbrella? And how will his party achieve its aims"?[234] These arguments itself are propaganda against Kanshi Ram and BSP's representative politics. If it was divisive, why were divisive forces RSS, BJP, and VHP, tense about the BSP's emergence? Once, Sanghsanchalak Balasaheb Deoras, said about BSP, "one of the real problems for RSS in North India".[235] It's a reflection of Kanshi Ram's politics that created the challenges in front of Hindu Fundamentalist. If it was divisive why communists activists joined Kanshi Ram's movement in Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal itself. An activist, Prakash Singh Pakhi who was long associated with communist movement in Punjab and Haryana. It was the result of his family socialization, but after listening to Kanshi Ram and his philosophy, he quit the communist movement and joined D-S4. In his words, "communist only talk about class and the difference between poor and rich, never talk about caste and untouchability". Communists never accepted the independent leadership in the oppressed communities. Because they always work as a safety valve for Congress to consolidate the marginal communities. Their views about BSP as a divisive force is a lacuna to understand the politics of transformation at social level. Kanshi Ram was the one who taught the oppressed communities about power phenomenon and how to get it.

He represents the ideas of emancipation at the grassroots level. The main target was to build up the trust between the oppressed communities and engage them with the ideas of Bahujan icons. For that, he developed networking in society through BAMCEF, and DS-4, and then entered into the political domain with an understanding of the non-political aspects of society. In the creation of the public sphere, he introduced Jagriti Dasta, Ambedkar Mela on wheels, Ambedkar Calendar, Magazine, and booklets with constructive criticism. His speeches were not emotional or shouting to the competitors, it was the philosophy about social transformation and economic emancipation.[236] As a public intellectual, he understands the grassroots reality and the representation of intellectual activities and functions in society. Kanshi Ram dismantled Congress's clientelistic politics and shaped the consciousness of assertion and independent politics. With the procedural inquiry of social transformation, Kanshi Ram developed the language of assertion through a democratic response to undemocratic and hegemonic liberalism. In the caste-ridden society, Kanshi Ram and his caderised followers articulate the slogans with

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[234] Avtar Singh Malhotra, "The Bahujan Samaj Party Campaigns and What Kanshi Ram Fights for", op.cit, pp.15-16.
[235] Cited in The Illustrated Weekly, 1988.
[236] Interview with Activists.

democratic representation like *Vote Hamara, Raaj Tumhara, Nahi-Chalega Nahi-Chalega* (We [lower castes] have the votes, you [upper castes] have the power, this will not last, this will not last) and *Jiski-Jitni Sankhya Bhari Uski-Utni Bhagidari* (Power should be distributed to each caste by its strength in the population).[237]

To counter the co-opting practices of Congress which were developed through the Poona Pact, Kanshi Ram demarcated leadership in the context of dependent and independent. In the debate of public intellectuals, process and context are very important to represent the structural location and counter the civilizational violence against the oppressed communities. Kanshi Ram, as an organic intellectual and leader, was aware of the community's imagination and constructed reality in society. On this basis, he created the public sphere to capitalize on the non-political aspects in the favor of the oppressed. The role of knowledge construction and its public life promulgate the ideology with the community conscience in the society. As such, Kanshi Ram introduces the Bahujan icons and their ideas with the language of assertion. However, knowledge production and its public life are entangled with an intellectual location in society.

Kanshi Ram maintained the public life of knowledge through the networking approach at the grassroots level. To develop the meaning of democracy, he argued that *jaise log hote hai unhe waise hi neta mil jati hai, kyoki democracy mein log leader ko chunte hai na ki leader logo ko* (People get leaders as they are because people choose the leader in democracy, not the leader choose the people).[238] That understanding creates the real meaning of democracy and the contextuality of the leadership. Indian politics in its particularistic nature co-opt the process of the Dalit community to maintain the social order within the society. Distorted history and the past are also the nature of co-opting the process of community culture. For Kanshi Ram, it was the first stage to introduce the emancipatory discourse among the oppressed communities. In that perspective, Kanshi Ram engaged with the public life of knowledge and its impact on time and context. He generates the leaders from the margin of the margins and capitalizes on the voice of assertion to gain power. Therefore, Public intellectuals have introduced language and function in society to build up the conscience of the people.

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[237]   Ibid. p. 8.
[238]   Kanshiram (ed). *Bahujan Nayak : Samta, Swatantrata, Bandhutva evam nyay ka manviya moolyo ka sajag prahar*i, Geetanjali Press: Nagpur, 1999.

Conclusion

"Freedom from foreign rule is a crucial turning point in the history of any nation. There is a completely different situation in this. The nation acquires the right to decide its destiny. Freedom should be remembered in such a way that it gave him the right to live with self-respect or status in society. The common person should have the capacity to feel that freedom brought him respect and freedom freed him from the shackles of another person or class of persons." Kanshi Ram wrote these words in his small book "*Swatantra Bharat mein Bahujan Samaj Ashrit Kyo*?" on the occasion of the golden jubilee of Independence.[1] The idea of freedom and space of an individual in the nation-making process reflects through his freedom of mind or thinking about his existence in public life. Before it was social, the Indian public sphere was political. In India, colonial rule established the public sphere, which included a few privileged indigenous to gain widespread support. Nationalists and the educated elite have built their own public sphere and engaged in anti-colonial politics. Through the development of national interests, they bolstered the shared identity. They employed various communication strategies, including public performances and large protests, in this process. They also used multilingual appeals to various caste and religious identities, as well as sounds like drums, horns, and sounds, as well as objects and pictures, to align audiences with a political purpose.

Therefore, Habermasian understanding of the public sphere missed the emotional connectivity of the margins and their micro institutions to interact with limited space. Because due to the wretched consciousness that developed from lack of cultural capital, an individual can not connect themselves with the public space. Therefore, the question of freedom to access the public has a question about the structure of the society. If you read the poem 'main chamaro ki gali tak le chalunga aapko' written by Adam Gondvi, etch the public life of Dalit to face humiliation, discrimination, inhumane life, and exclusion. Therefore, Kanshi Ram raises the question of freedom and its relation with self-respect or domination of a particular community after independence.

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[1]   This booklet was launched by Kanshi Ram on 15 September 1997, a rally was organized in Delhi. Delhi was the epicenter of the end of Five jeep rally which were started from the five corners (Kanyakumari- 15/08/1997, Kohima- 23/08/1997, Kargil-23/08/1997, Puri- 25/08/1997, Porbandar-27/08/1997) of the country, reached on 15.09.97. In every jeep rally, 50 jeeps were participated to deliver the message in the context of the golden jubilee of independence and the situation of Bahujan society in the country. Kanshi Ram, *Swatantra Bharat mein Bahujan Samaj Ashrit Kyo?* (Booklet), BSP: New Delhi, 15 September 1997. (See Appendix-ii)

Religion's impact in the public sphere has grown even in post-independence India. Indians' collective identity and uniqueness are highly recognized via their culture, which is a dominant culture. A post-independence Indian society, on the other hand, is democratizing in a Hindu fashion. The Indian public sphere was limited, and it was only through the constitution that it could develop a secular and democratic character. Several scholarships have addressed the topic of why the Indian public sphere is Hinduized. The true issue arose after independence when uncertainty reigned in the political domain and excluded people demanded political rights as well. The underprivileged populations have long been excluded from India's public arena. Women and Dalits, for example, were left out of the process of decision-making because they expressed their free will, opinions, and interests. Under the guise of the nationalist battle for independence, the plurality of viewpoints was exploited, yet some people have had the distinct privilege of expressing viewpoints.

It is not a "taken for granted" phenomena that the public sphere is being built. Context determines the public sphere's characteristics and structure.[2] Ku states that some scholars have proposed new ways to understand the public sphere, considering it as having social and cultural logic.[3] However, the public sphere is constructed out of the social and cultural elements per se, the public sphere of Western Europe is different from India or the rest of the world. The public sphere theory is surrounded by various debates in different contexts thus, it is critical to comprehend it. Habermas's concept of the public sphere is bound by two major criteria i.e., openness and rational critical debate.[4] For that matter, scholars have given much attention to the public sphere institutions such as coffeehouses, cafes, clubs, salons, etc. as a sight of free critical discussion.

Habermas' essential principles about the public sphere have gotten a lot of attention, both in terms of criticism and acceptance, worldwide. The public sphere, in the Habermasian sense, the public sphere is a strengthening pillar of democracy since it promotes equality and

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[2]   Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes*, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016.

[3]   S. Agnes Ku, "Revisiting the Notion of "Public" in Habermas's Theory—Toward a Theory of Politics of Public Credibility," Sociological Theory, Vo. 18, No. 2, 2000, pp. 216-240.

[4]   Jurgen Habermas, The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere, Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.

secularity.[5] Isn't it true that his ideas are limited by their context? How can we view these concepts in a multicultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religious society? Rather than normative democracy, the ideal purpose of the public sphere is to ensure democratic legitimacy. However, how does the public realm work? Habermas has outlined the ideal public sphere built on equality, transparency, and rational critical dialogue. As a result, the subject must be pondered as to why abnormalities persist in any community.

The basic premises of Habermas's notion of the public sphere have gained attention worldwide in terms of its critique and acceptance. In the Habermasian sense, the public sphere is considered a strengthening pillar of democracy as it encourages equality and secularity. Don't his concepts have contextual limitations? How can we see these concepts in multicultural, multi-lingual, and multi-religious societies? The ideal role of the public sphere is to secure democratic legitimacy rather than normative democracy. But how does the public sphere function? Habermas has presented the ideal form of the public sphere based on equality, openness, and rational critical debate. Therefore, the question must ponder upon why do the anomalies still exist in any society?

The democratic public sphere must have been built through shared space through institutions and common consent, but this has not happened. Similarly, according to Habermas, the democratic public sphere is what makes up civil society, and civil society is what makes up all of society's fundamental components (individuals). If 'Habermas's idea of the public sphere is an arena where the topic of conversation is for the 'common good,' then why is the discussion of private interests thrown out?' says Fraser.[6] Why is domestic violence a personal issue? Why can't caste abuses and humiliation be discussed in public? Why is it that the concept of the "common good" is selective and biased? Is it due to a lack of public debate and opinion in the public sphere?

Nancy Fraser opposes the concept of redefining the public realm, preferring to define an alternative or counter-public sphere. She directly opposed Habermas' notion of a single, global public sphere. She proposes creating a parallel discursive space for circulating and formulating counter-discourse in a stratified society. She explained why: first, societal inequities are not

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[5]   Richa Tiwari, "Habermas's Views on the Significances of the Public Sphere in a Democracy: Its Possible Relevance in Understanding the Public Sphere in India", The Indian Journal of Political Science, Vol. 67, No. 3, 2006, pp. 639-650.

[6]   Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy", *Social Text*, Vol. 25/26, 1990, p. 71.

eradicated, but simply bracketed, as a result of interpersonal interaction. Second, the one, comprehensive, and encompassing public sphere eliminates values of pluralism, which tends to benefit dominant groups while disadvantages weaker groups. Similarly, she thinks that a plurality of public venues would make sense in an egalitarian multicultural society since public spheres are not just theaters for the expression of ideas but also spaces for creating social identities. Lifting statutory prohibitions, according to Fraser, will not guarantee inclusion in practice. Fraser, though, advocates the feasibility of socioeconomic equality and cultural variety with participatory democracy in both societies, albeit for different reasons. She believes an egalitarian and multicultural society may make sense in multiple public spaces.

The concept of the plural/universal/bourgeois public sphere has a normative core. The public sphere is ideological as well. The "public" and "public opinion" are the primary products of the public realm. When one learns about a reasoned argument in the public realm, the idealized communicative rationality poses a question. In the Habermasian understanding, public opinion is when this reasoned argument results in a consensus or agreement. Through the expansion of the public sphere, a type of public discourse arises that purports to represent the broad public opinion rather than just transforming existing structures of power or state for their own private purposes.

However, the unapproachable and unseeable communities could imagine the public life and idea of freedom without thinking, judging, and approaching society. Ambedkar raised that reference point, and till now, that discourse is absent in academia and public discourse. Public space' about freedom to enter into the discourse of life and its relation with society. Public and private are not hidden about something but a power framework to exercise the agency in the structure. Throughout colonial and post-colonial India, a small group of people has always constituted the public sphere. A small group of educated elites persuaded a broken civil society to rally around a common goal. Religion is solely employed as a rallying technique for the nationalist cause during the independence fight. As a national identity, the majoritarian religious identity is used. As a result, political engagement grows in the hopes of achieving liberty, self-respect, equality, and, above all, religious feelings.

The relation of history and public sphere contextualize the structure of the society and its impact on individual life. Phule lays bare slavery's reality and the epistemological questions it raises about how to survive. He discusses the oppressed involvement in public life and how this contributes to their subjugation in society. In order for ideologies and moral convictions to endure, the dialogue that is now in place is crucial. The subjective experiences are essential for questioning the objective reality of society. Individual perceptions, history, and debate (both written and oral) can only result in the formation of a counter-public realm. There are a number of prerequisites for the development of alternative discourse. History, knowledge, physical reality, and identities are all formed through cultural texts, media content, institutions, and organizations. It was a challenge to have alternative discourse accepted in the main public sphere since it was developed as a different forum for challenging the existing worldview. Vulnerable groups are increasingly fabricated and portrayed as wicked in the general public discourse. Since the public sphere is understood to be the horizon for the organizing social experience, there will inevitably be a number of competing counter-publics, each of which will be characterized by a particular form of exclusion and dominant communications in terms of class, race, gender, and caste in the context of India.

Discourses are never objective since they are constantly linked to ideas. Discourses are tangible and concrete, yet they have definite abstract values and are not ideologically free. Within the social framework, several ideological discourses exist with varying substance and goal, but only a handful are acknowledged. As a result, it's worth pondering why some discourses in any culture carry more weight than others. 'The stance of the discourse does not exist in and of itself,' Macdonell asserts. 'It may be defined by the institutions to which it is related, as well as by juxtaposing multiple and contradictory discourses.'

The Dalit question has its genesis in the colonial era to express their voice against oppression, social order rejection, and raising their voice for representation to live with dignity. Dalit has been ostracised from every aspect of human life as a result of civilizational violence. The upper strata's political elites were battling their status quo by strategically disregarding persecution and embracing Gandhi's proposed Hinduism as an united category. The colonial era was known as a colony for Britishers, but it was much more than that for India's aristocratic classes. India has a history of civilizational aggression towards the poor that should be erased

from the public discourse. Depressed classes fought for their rights and representation against the humiliation and dominance of the upper classes.

At that stage, the caste question was invisibilized by the intellectual elites to maintain their status quo in society. Why were they silent on depressed classes' representation and their recognition in the nation-building process? Why is history writing itself a form of prejudice for the intellectual class and their patrons? The lacuna of the construction of social knowledge interrogates the ideal form of independence and the structural problems which are affecting today. Liberal historiography has the central theme about the monolithic concept of one ideological neutral truth that is no more acceptable. History writing, occurred in the past, and political space entangled with multiple forms of reality and explained the causality between the truth and objectivity of knowledge as an ideological component. It's a fact that interpretation and analysis of history derives the approach for the citizen to understand the existing ideological baggage with a particular truth, which is dominant in the society because the other side is trying to evolve with their structural location and reject the 'idea of unification' in differentiation.

The works of Dr. Ambedkar represent the objectivity of a historian. For him, history is more than just a collection of facts; it is an interpretation of the past within the context of the present. He was particularly interested with the methodological approach to history writing and how history writing could be de-linked from ideological motivation. Why is Dr. Ambedkar attempting a rewrite of history? The methodological approach, which interrogates history as a fabricated effort, is linked with rewriting history. With ideological motive, his projection of objectivity governs the function of power in knowledge development. Dr. Ambedkar argued on how religious writings legitimized expertise over knowledge by assuming the Brahmins' ideas of life, purity, sanctity, and performativity.

Brahmin scholars see the past as wonderful, based on Sanskritic customs and scriptures to sustain power and supremacy. The Hindu social order and scriptures both defend the notion of societal progress in their thinking. Brahmins' self-satisfied approach, according to Ambedkar, never succeeds in advancing social progress in society. The concept of criticism is absent from Brahmin's conception of knowledge. Obtaining extra knowledge, according to Ambedkar, was a necessary precondition to any development in social growth. Inquiry necessitates doubt, and inquiry tends to lead to knowledge. To produce new information, much work and sacrifice are

necessary. Because he is self-satisfied, the Brahmin cannot labor or make any sacrifices to gain new information.

To break this discourse, Phule's critical enquiry about the structure emerged with the rebuff and reform. For Jyotiba Phule and Savitri Bai Phule, the use of force was a protest against the humiliation and marginalization of the poor. The concept of force is a type of energy that exists in both a positive and negative context, depending on the societal system. It's a reassuring foundation for individuals who have nothing but the ability to accomplish anything. However, the creation of a counter-public in which people may relate to themselves through that 'power' is critical. The counter- advantage of the public's point is about current conditions, not self-selected circumstances that make you happy to produce history. The counter phenomenon can be better understood if you consider the surrounding factors.

Practices set up the past as a prominent phenomenon in their worldview during the revolutionary crisis. Past practice was never challenged with a socially powerful dispute. The notion of revolution connects with current conditions and creates a counter-publicity through the image of 'power' like Mahad Satyagrah, Ambedkar's burning of Manusmriti, and Jyotiba Phule and Savitri Bai Phule's school opening. Existing conditions should be used to combat oppression through the formation of language, symbols, and signs. In the democratic domain, the identification of their audience led to the acknowledgment of counter-public speech.

The character of biographies changes the political narrative and the development of the counter-public. 'I came to know about Phule through the writings of Gail, who is from America,' Kanshi Ram once stated. These terms denote the bahujan icons "cognitive blackout" in academics. These blackouts halt the creation of counter-narratives and a sense of connection to their works. Why is it vital for a person to map out the duality between nationalist rhetoric and wider concerns in the counter-public sphere? This section aims to take individual action in order to lead the movement and form the organization. And, rather than just listing and describing every notion of his, I'll try to explain the pattern of his thought and position it within the framework of the counter-public.

It's crucial to remember that the concept of a counter-public on a cultural and political level dates back to Phuley's 'Sui-Generis' campaign in the late nineteenth century. How Phuley's studies of the American Revolution and the fight for European emancipation influenced his idea of democracy in Indian society. He contrasted slaves' plight to that of an untouchable, backward,

and female member of Indian culture. The term 'moment of confrontation' is significant when tracing the activity of public intellectuals in political space. Phuley pioneered the tradition of argumentative tradition during the development of the counter-public. His concept of writing themselves precedes the examination into the prevailing public space.

Somewhere, Phule derives the notion of counter-public with cultural resistance against Brahmanism. He was clear in his ideas about the dominant public sphere, which traces out the existing private notion with the public. As sociologist Ossowski contended about the dichotomous conception of social structure of the society, where dominant classes maintain their privilege at the expense of the other. He was well aware of the dominating public realm around Brahmanical traditions and their validity in privately developing a shattered consensus against oppression. Another counter-narrative given out by Phule was conversion as a result of Brahmanism's repressive character. He was in the core of the Gandhian and Hindutva organizations, which criticized his conversion notion. As an example, he defended Pandita Ramabai, a Chitpavan Brahman scholar who converted to Christianity. Both orthodox and progressive brahmans were harsh critics of her. She rapidly became dissatisfied with the contemporary Anglican church's colonial and racist posture.

The ruling nationalists attempted to create literature that obscured caste's actuality in the public arena. Understanding the hidden components of the public realm that are mirrored in ritual acts veiled by the prevailing narrative. Any religious ritual performed by a Brahman priest for a person from another caste reveals the purity connections that underpin Hindu religious hierarchy. Only Brahman priests can mediate between the human world and the world of the high gods, hence controlling the flow of divine energy into the world. Phule seeks to educate his audience of the moral problems of existing rituals in society, and encourages them to undertake their own rights to restore the purity of their faith if they so choose. Phule is aware of his audience's desire to achieve emancipation through the establishment of a discourse against brahmanical practices. Phule promotes the option of necessity against deprivation in terms of the forced choice of existence in society to establish the counter discourse. He warned the audience of inhumane customs and a certain community's supremacy. As a result, he advocated that the lower caste should execute their own rites. They should not rely on Brahman priests for their needs. The brahmans invented the notion of otherworldliness, which Phule has rejected.

Phule established the rhetoric against the appropriation of peasants and away from their agency to being a human after harsh criticism of the leadership in the Sabhas. He continued his critique of these organizations by criticizing reformist groups such as Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj. In the two issues of the periodical *The Essence of Truth*, which received widespread recognition, he makes arguments regarding religious doctrine, social composition, and religious reform groups in institutional form. Phule defended Pandita Ramabai Saraswati in the same pamphlet against opponents of her Christian conversion in 1883. Samaji never question the core basis of caste hierarchy, nor do they dispute Mahars' participation in Samaj leadership. Phule creates these booklets to start a conversation among the general public, and he understands how to get them to interact with his thoughts. As stated in the first book's introduction, shudra and ati-shudra were able to read and write, and as a result, it was beneficial to come out with the brahmanic construction of disease in society. With these features, the second one's introduction declared that he had registered the biggest and fastest sales—1050 copies of the 2000 printed pamphlet in a month. As a result, he felt confident enough to publish the second. These writings popularize the idea of Phule on leadership and role of education in the emancipation process. That propounds the practices of public intellectuals and ideas to reach out into the big audiences. At that time the circulation of pamphlets on a larger level reflected the depth of ideas and public interaction with these.

After the knowledge, construction and shape of the public with the ideas of Phule and Ambedkar, now the debate stretches to Kanshi Ram as a public intellectual and construction of the counter-public with the idea of field. Kanshi Ram changed the dynamics of politics with his filedwork analysis and critical enquiry of the dalit leadership. Kanshi Ram is an extraordinary voice of the public to contemplate the idea of social transformation and economic emancipation into the oppressed communities. In his earlier days he was not aware about Phule and Ambedkar ideas. And it was Congress which never wanted Ambedkar's ideas popularized in the northern region. Congress's clientelistic politics and practices of development of fraction in the dalit communities helped to co-opt the dalit leaders. The power base in the SCs communities has a history of strongholds in Congress. Their political elites formed a nexus to co-opt local leadership and implement measures to keep these portions necessary. That party successfully instills a sense of class division and struggle among non-brahmins. As have and haven't, such methods permeated the Marxist proliferation of conflict. 'Due to massive political alienation of middle caste peasants

in the late 1960s, Congress retained its supremacy in North India,' Gail Omvedt said. It occurred due to the congress political leaders' perfecting their long-term plan. The sole beneficiaries of agricultural growth are the 'kulaks' and the 'rich and medium peasants,' as well as the main exploiters of agricultural laborers and Dalits, as indicated.

Due to the existence of Gandhian political culture and its historical social character, Congress' political techniques are fairly conservative. The joint Congress's division between conservative notables and upper-caste conservatives and intellectuals among party leaders reflects ideological compatibility and hostility to social change programmes. Indira Gandhi and the Congress hide their Brahminical alliance in Gujarat with M.S. Solanki under the umbrella coalition of unidentified moniker KHAM- Kshatriya, Harijans, Adivasis, and Muslims. Congress planned that alliance to unite the top and lower castes against the politically active middle castes.

It is vital to go back in time to comprehend the historical backdrop of populism and Indira Gandhi's populist act. Peasant populism arose in the 1960s, an ideology that promoted rural-urban distinction by erasing the class barrier. From the late 1960s through the early 1980s, Indira Gandhi led the Indian National Congress, taking the populist spirit forward in a new form. After the contentious Nation Emergency was declared in the mid-1970s, she used the slogan "Garibi Hatao" (Remove Poverty, Rescue the Country) to get support from the left. She has started a specific pro-poor initiative known as the 20-point plan. Under the phrase "Indira is India and India is Indira " she has become the nation's socialist voice. To counter the aura of Indira Gandhi as Authoriitarian-Populist, JP Narayan emerged as a leader from the masses and was fighting for the second term of independence for the country. After the emergency, he was the one who was first arrested firstly by police. In his letter, define the concept of democracy as well as citizens' freedom to consider their rights. He was in excruciating pain and couldn't see the death of democracy right in front of him. He used the term "totalitarianism" to describe Indira Gandhi's rule and actions. Indira Gandhi's rule had traumatized intellectuals and made them wary. The implementation of press control limited public information as well as public discussion of police brutality. The government's undemocratic and dictatorial policies were no longer published in any well-known media or periodicals. Although they had all denounced the Emergency's execution, Western publications were instructed to follow the censorship rules.

However, it should be noted that a significant percentage of the population was outside of the public sphere. The political elite and upper-class intellectuals were the only ones who had access. People on the fringes were fighting for fundamental needs, and their leaders were co-opted by Congress owing to their broken awareness. Congress effectively kept the internal rivalry within Scheduled Castes based on haves and have-nots. Kanshi Ram meticulously read the book "What Congress and Gandhi Have done to the Untouchables" and "Annihilation of Caste" written by Ambedkar, to understand the Congress as a hurdle in the independent dalit leaderships and emancipation. The journey from government employee to leader of masses has different phases to understand Kanshi Ram and his visionary politics. Firstly on political level he joined RPI and learnt about the lapses on leadership level. He critically engaged with RPI politics and criticized their leadership vision to conclude that '*jaise log hote hai unhe waise hi neta mil jate hai*'. Kanshi Ram penned "The Era of Stooges" (Chamcha Yug) on the occasion of the Poona Pact's 50th anniversary to critically engage with these behaviors. Against the anti-Congress political movement, the politics of assertion or autonomous leadership arose in 1980. It was time for Kanshiram to revive the Ambedkarite movement's prior political effort, this time from a Bahujan standpoint. The leadership formed in backward and exploited areas to confront the language of co-opted politics. Kanshiram was well aware of the criticism leveled at the dalit movement and its leaders. He attacks RPI's leadership for being dominated by a single community, such as Mahar.

Understanding the political and public realms requires a thorough understanding of the political process. It's a distinct setting regarding how an individual becomes involved in the process. The desire for representation in Indian politics is a mission to deconstruct the hierarchical framework. That journey began during the colonial era, when subjugated people demanded representation in the face of upper caste oppression. On the other hand, dwija caste co-option was seen as a counterpart to sustain the dominant social order in the public realm. Based on an ideological foundation, the Adi Hindu Movement raised its voice assertively based on an ideological foundation. After that, the SCF and RPI were the main political parties to mobilize the Dalits to gain power.

Kanshi Ram exposed the deficiency in the movement and criticized the beneficiary class, not involved in the pay back to society. He started to work to mobilize the employees to develop

the sense of responsibility for society. At that time people were not aware of Ambedkar's ideas and his vision for society. It is known as the collective action for the community to reach the goal of social utility. He differentiates between the educated elite from the rest of the masses in society. But to socialize them in the context of politics and responsibility to engage with the idea of social development that develops the collective identity. Kanshiram took a scientific approach to this and used his scientific skills to construct a missionary leadership laboratory. He was the one who pioneered the use of missionary leadership in Indian politics to engage the downtrodden masses and elite. As a result, missionary leadership and communitarian activity develop as the public of this counter-public.

The concept of 'self-help' is used to mobilize the people in order to deconstruct upper caste leadership's political co-option methods. It is well known that the history of the dalit movement carves out the idea of'self-help', beginning with Raidas, Kabir, Chokhamela, Gadge's rejection of the existence of god, and ending with Phule, Ambedkar, and Periyar drawing the line of independent leadership to counter the hegemony of the upper caste with the idea of'self-representation.' They create the public to convey the concept of liberation and represent themselves in governmental institutions. Although communitarian action began with self-help, it became intertwined with shared experience, shared conviction, and shared participation.

He defines the non-political roots of the society to succeed politically and popularize the discourse of society in politics. Following in the footsteps of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, who believed that politics is the master key to all social progress, Kanshiram suggested that it is common knowledge that to attain political success, an agitational battle is required. As a result, to achieve that accomplishment, they must prepare themselves for agitational and political action, as Ambedkar suggests. Kanshiram does this by introducing the concept of non-political origins to deepen the concept of social growth. He claimed that only societies with strong "non-political roots" thrive in their agitational fight and politics. Unfortunately, the oppressed and exploited communities' leaders may be unaware of this harsh reality. As a result, they have made little attempt to reinforce the non-political origins of their organization.

To bridge the gap between the oppressed elite and the rest of the masses, Kanshi Ram started fieldwork and directly interacted with the public to realize the structural dominance and

their capacity to counter it. His dedication and on-the-ground expertise have changed the dynamics of dalit politics and helped to build leadership among the modest, impoverished, and tiny workers of many areas. With Bahujan discourse, he built political agency in underprivileged populations. In other words, he sparked debate over raaj ka chaska (Taste of Power) and the worth of votes by issuing a clarion cry. Vote Hamara, Raaj Tumhara, Nahi Chalega Nahi Chalega, d(Our Vote, Your rule, will not work will not work). Kanshi Ram is an extraordinary instance in Indian history of a public intellectual who arose with public knowledge in a hierarchical society where the oppressed groups had a high illiteracy rate. The engagement with a broader audience must improve.

Therefore, from critical inquiry to being a public intellectual, Kanshi Ram proposes the idea of struggle for self-respect and equality with D-S4. His movement entered into a new phase of struggle and dismantled the oppression of Dalits. It was his political imagination to enter into the discourse of politics and test the political understanding of dalits. He defined in a term of 'limited political action' to engage with the discourse of the power of vote. Many protests were organized in states like Haryana, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, etc., against the caste atrocities, injustices, land grabbing, or state domination. D-S4 grew as a force to gain political and social prominence. In political history, D-S4 was a mix of political activity and social involvement to discover the oppressed populations' hidden strengths. He aspires to create leadership in all of the institutions he works with. For Kanshiram, the most important duty of society was leadership. Because leadership both maintains and produces counter-force in society.

Kanshiram's concept of leadership was not confined to the political level but also included responsibility for the community and its liberation needs. As a result, the concept of communitarian action was central to agitation and politics. Because the issue of ground acceptability and public contact encompassed the entire process or voyage of political and social activity. It's not only about being charismatic; it's about connecting with the audience and exposing the reality of dominance and developing a sense of responsibility for the past and their part in confronting it. As a result, Kanshi Ram is a unique personality who devises various strategies for mobilizing individuals in the field.

The populist move was the Bareily March, by which he got public prominence at the national level. Media, magazines, and newspapers covered that story to highlight the move as a political act. The whole public, particularly women, identify with Kanshi Ram throughout this struggle. Under the guise of Bareilly Morcha, the movement extended throughout Uttar Pradesh, including the major cities, and culminated in Lucknow. It was a performative manner of interacting with specific audiences and a political action to foster exploited populations on a social level. This protest mobilizes the people at a larger level to criticize the structural violence in society. In order to understand the behaviors of the oppressed group without assuming they are ignorant of oppression and exploitation, Kanshi Ram created an awareness of their power via historical narratives and how the oppressors exploit them through their supremacy in the political sphere. It is a standard that, as a public intellectual, not only considers the present circumstance but also weaves in the past's narrative. In doing so, the intellectual's role in tearing down the past is crucial.[7]

Political experts have shaped the view in academics through particularistic and reductionistic approach such as one-community dominance, a northern regional party, a Dalit party, and opportunist Kanshi Ram. The vantage point is that understanding the journey of any political party or social change in society requires an understanding of 'process.' It's impossible to explain the reality without comprehending that process or journey, because perception is not real; it's about real. As a result, the transition from Kanshi Ram to Manyavar or Saheb symbolizes a massive shift in society. His concept of social transformation and solutions completely depended on the non-political ground's preparedness. The paradigm shift in Indian politics was not only limited to developing leadership in the oppressed but transformation at the level of cultural capital and social capital. He generates the means at micro level to interact with the public and develop the sense of past with narration of the majority like bahujan. He never contested on a reserve seat to realise the strength of the oppressed communities in the context of value of vote and change the political dynamics through the power of the vote.

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[7]   Narendra Kumar, "*Kanshi Ram and the idea of Counter-public sphere*" Countercurrents.org, 2021. (Accessed on 02/04/2022)

The role of the public intellectual is not only limited to the exposition of truth or intellectual writing but to constructing the vocabulary of interaction between the certified audiences. He also developed the means of communitarian action to socialize the communities to raise their voice for representation. The framework to engage with the masses is a field, where intellectuals verify the audience's identity to deliver the message of their political imagination. On that basis, the role of the public intellectual is not restricted to individual capacity but to develop the interaction ritual phenomenon to counter the oppression at micro level. For the interactional ritual chain, Kanshi Ram developed the 24 organ of BAMCEF at multiple levels. It can be understood that he socializes the community at every corner of public life, where they can interact or understand the responsibility for society and develop the collective identity. Because the collective identity formation is a process of interaction ritual chain or the practices of struggle against the oppression and discrimination.

People from the oppressed communities assert their voice for representation after formation of collective identity. To make them conscious about the functioning of democracy, Kanshi Ram focused on the represenataion of different communities at political level. People who were cobbler, or working in the field contested elections and understood the power framework in society. Those communities never cast their vote due to the feudal practices of upper caste, they were reaching in the power clout. In the first election of D-S4, 46 candidates contested and all were labor or were involved in menial jobs. Kanshi Ram said that it's a platform ticket not a ticket to reach the parliament. His scientific approach to testify to every act at political and social level makes him intellectual beyond imagination. Therefore, this research fills the gap between the intellectual and public to confine the nature of the public sphere and how the role of public intellectuals is important to develop the counter-public at micro level.

Although the role of public intellectual change in the digital era to connect with the masses. Nowadays, the charisma of the leader is constructed through the party social media cell and the impression management companies. Elections are managed by the corporate companies to manage the data and observe the community influence standard at micro-macro level. Now, the category of leadership is based on promotion of 'self' and the real survivor or voice of 'the people'. On the other hand, the category of the public intellectual has lost its sense in India, due to lack of vocabulary of engagement with the common masses.

Appendix 1

BAMCEF Photos

सामाजिक 'बहुजन संगठक'
5323, हरम्यानसिंह रोड, रंगपुरा,
करोल बाग, नई दिल्ली-110005

बा म से फ

दि ऑल इण्डिया बैकवर्ड (एस०सी०, एस०टी०, ओ०बी०सी०)
एण्ड मायनारिटी कम्युनिटीज एम्प्लाईज़ फेडरेशन दिल्ली

केन्द्रीय कार्यालय :
5323, हरख्यान सिंह रोड, रंगपुरा,
करोल बाग, नई दिल्ली—110005
टेलीफोन : 560624

तृतीय राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन

अक्टूबर 14 से 18, 1981

स्थान : परेड ग्राउण्ड्स, सेक्टर 17, चण्डीगढ़

बामसेफ के सभी कार्यकर्ताओं, सदस्यों एवं हितचिन्तकों को सूचित किया जाता है कि पूर्व निर्धारित कार्यक्रम के अनुसार बामसेफ का तृतीय राष्ट्रीय अधिवेशन अक्टूबर 14 से 18, 1981 को होना निश्चित हुआ है । अतएव सभी जनों से अनुरोध है कि वे भारी संख्या में कार्यक्रम में सम्मिलित होकर दलित, पीड़ित, शोषित एवं श्रमिक जनता को शक्ति और संगठन बढ़ाने में सहयोग दें ।

कार्यक्रम

14 अक्टूबर 1981

प्रातः 6-00 बजे : ध्वज-अंगीकरण तथा आरोहण
दोपहर 2-30 से 5-00 बजे तक : प्रदर्शनों एवं बामसेफ को-आपरेशन का उद्घाटन.
सांय 5-30 से 8-00 बजे तक : अधिवेशन का उद्घाटन-माननबर कर्पूरी ठाकुर शोषित संघर्ष के अग्रगण्य नेता तथा भूतपूर्व मुख्यमंत्री बिहार, के कर कमलों द्वारा।

15 से 18, अक्टूबर 1981 प्रतिदिन

प्रातः 10-00 बजे से 4-30 तक : प्रतिनिधि सम्मेलन
सायं 5-30 बजे से 8-00 तक : खुला अधिवेशन
रात्रि 9-30 बजे से 12-30 तक : जागृति जत्था-कार्यक्रम

इसके साथ ही

भारत के सामाजिक क्रान्ति का इतिहास

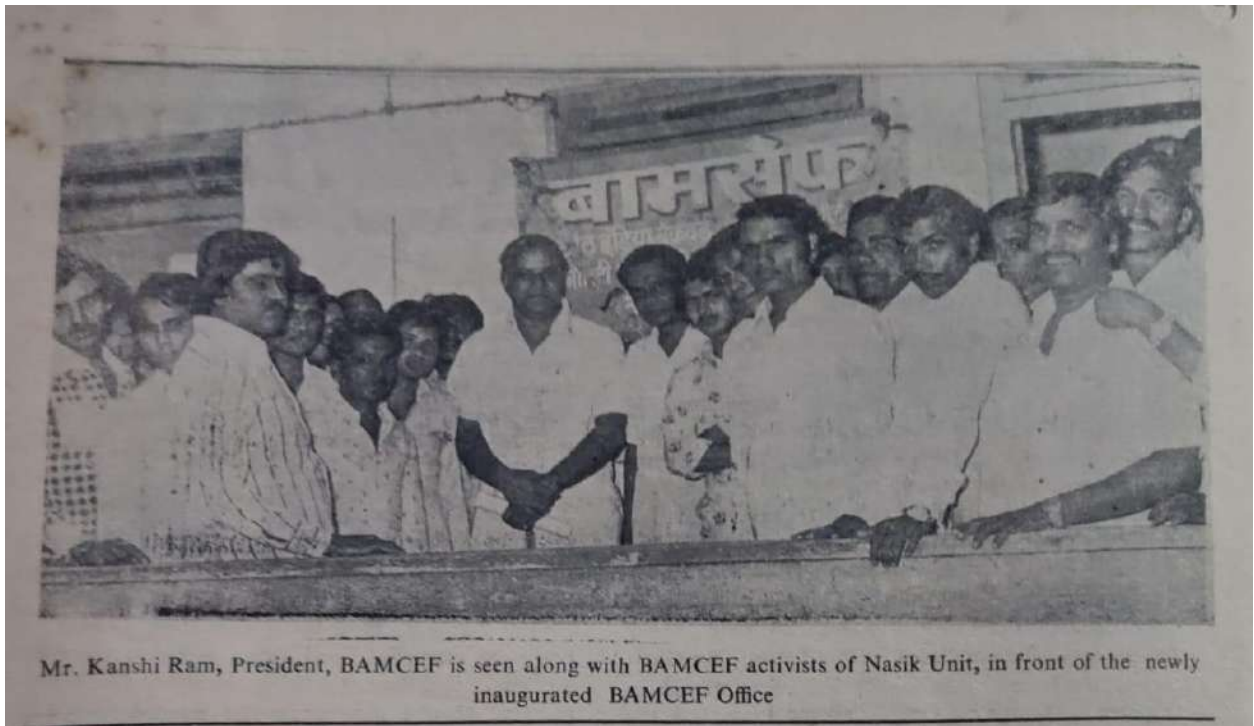विशाल प्रदर्शनी एवं बामसेफ को-आपरेशन का भव्य स्टाल

विनीत :
कांशी राम
अध्यक्ष. बामसेफ
केन्द्रीय शाखा. नई दिल्ली.

सिंह साहब के संग्रहालय से

BAMCEF 3rd National Convention in Chandigarh.

Mr. Kanshi Ram, President, BAMCEF is seen along with BAMCEF activists of Nasik Unit, in front of the newly inaugurated BAMCEF Office

BAMCEF office inaugurated in Nasik

Gail Omvedt in the BAMCEF convention in Nagpur.

BVF- Bahujan Volunteer Force Badges

Donation slip in BAMCEF convention.

Karpoori Thakur in National convention of BAMCEF in Chandigarh

महात्मा ज्योतिबा राव फुले   बाबासाहेब डा.भीमराव आम्बेडकर   छत्रपति शाहूजी महाराज   पेरियार ई.वी. रामस्वामी नायकर   नारायणा गुरु

बहुजन समाज पार्टी द्वारा

बहुजन समाज दिवस (15 मार्च)

के उपलक्ष्य में तीन दिवसीय

14, 15 व 16 मार्च 1997 को

शहडोल में विशाल आदिवासी मेला

स्थान : **गांधी स्टेडियम, शहडोल (मध्य प्रदेश)**

मुख्य अतिथि: **मान्य०कांशीराम जी** (राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष बसपा)

○ कार्यक्रम ○

14 मार्च 1997	15 मार्च 1997	16 मार्च 1997
मेला उद्घाटन	सांस्कृतिक	मेला समापन पर
प्रातः 11 बजे	कार्यक्रम	विशाल जनसभा

बहुजन समाज के लोगों से अपील है कि लाखों की सं...
...में पहुँच कर तन,मन,धन से सहयोग देते हुए कार्यक्रम...
सफल बनायें।

निवेदक : बहुजन समाज पार्टी, मध्यप्रदेश राज्य इकाई

Appendix II

Pamphlets

बहुजन समाज पार्टी
के तत्वावधान में
'स्वाभिमान आन्दोलन' के जनक
पेरियार रामास्वामी नायकर
के 117वें जन्म दिवस (17 सित० 1995) पर
15 सितम्बर 1995 की सायं से
18 सितम्बर 1995 की सायं तक

लखनऊ में 'पेरियार मेला'

साथियो,

उ०प्र० में बहुजन समाज पार्टी की सरकार बनने के बाद पार्टी ने प्रदेश में बहुजन समाज के मसीहाओं (बाबा साहब आम्बेडकर, महात्मा फुले, छत्रपति शाहू महाराज, पेरियार, नारायणा गुरू आदि) के जन्म दिन के शुभ अवसर पर उनके सम्मान में सामाजिक परिवर्तन की लहर को आगे बढ़ाने के लिये उनके नाम पर विशाल मेलों का आयोजन किया जाना शुरू किया है । जिसमें सबसे पहले छत्रपति शाहू महाराज के जन्म दिवस (26 जुलाई) पर लखनऊ में 24 जुलाई 1995 की सायं से 27 जुलाई 1995 की सायं तक विशाल '**शाहू मेले**' का आयोजन किया गया, जिसे देशभर के बहुजन समाज के लाखों लोगों ने पहुंचकर सफल बनाया एवं लाभ उठाया, तथा मेले में बहुजन समाज के सैकड़ों कलाकार, नाटककार, गीतकार, फिल्मकार, साहित्यकार आदि ने अपने-अपने कार्यक्रम प्रस्तुत कर उपस्थित लाखों लोगों को महापुरुषों के जीवन दर्शन सम्बन्धी जानकारियां दी एवं मनोरंजन भी किया ।

अब 'स्वाभिमान आन्दोलन' के जनक पेरियार ई०वी० रामास्वामी नायकर के 117वें जन्म दिवस (17 सितम्बर 1995) के शुभ अवसर पर भी उसी रूप में बी०एस०पी० के तत्वावधान में विशाल '**पेरियार मेले**' का आयोजन उ०प्र० की राजधानी लखनऊ में 15 सितम्बर 1995 की सायं से 18 सितम्बर 1995 की सायं तक किया जा रहा है । इस मौके पर पार्टी के तत्वावधान में 17 सितम्बर 1995 को प्रातः 11 बजे से लखनऊ के बेगम हजरत महल पार्क में विशाल 'आत्म-सम्मान' रैली का भी आयोजन किया गया है, इसके अलावा कई अन्य कार्यक्रमों का भी आयोजन किया जाएगा । अतः बहुजन समाज के लोगों से अपील है कि इस विशाल 'पेरियार मेले' में लाखों की संख्या में पहुंचकर मेले को सफल बनायें एवं लाभ उठायें ।

निवेदक
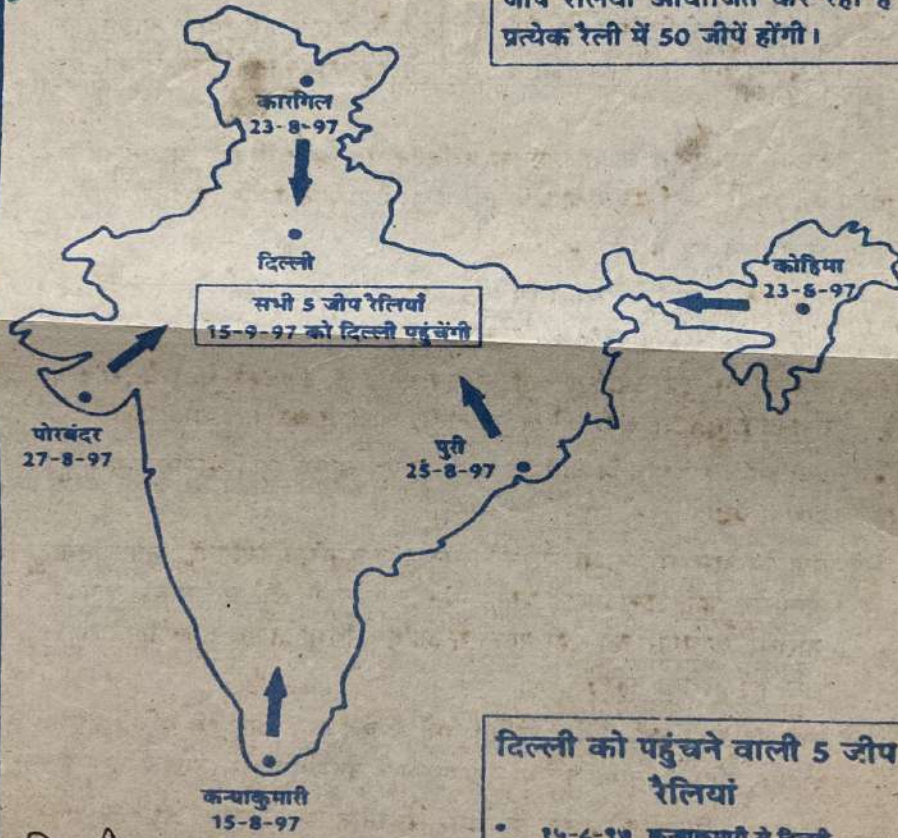**कांशीराम**
राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष, बी०एस०पी०

वैदिक मुद्रणालय, दिल्ली-६

Pamphlet on Periyar Mela

स्वतंत्र भारत में बहुजन समाज आश्रित क्यों?

स्वतंत्र भारत में बहुजन समाज आश्रित क्यों इसका प्रचार करने के लिए बहुजन समाज पार्टी भारत के 5 कोनों से 5 जीप रैलियां आयोजित कर रही हैं। प्रत्येक रैली में 50 जीपें होंगी।

कारगिल
23-8-97

दिल्ली

सभी 5 जीप रैलियां
15-9-97 को दिल्ली पहुंचेंगी

कोहिमा
23-8-97

पोरबंदर
27-8-97

पुरी
25-8-97

कन्याकुमारी
15-8-97

जिले सिंह बैंसी कर्मठ कार्यकर्ता बसपा ज़िला महम हरियाणा

दिल्ली को पहुंचने वाली 5 जीप रैलियां

- १५-८-९७ कन्याकुमारी से दिल्ली
- २३-८-९७ कोहिमा से दिल्ली
- २३-८-९७ कारगिल से दिल्ली
- २५-८-९७ पुरी से दिल्ली
- २७-८-९७ पोरबन्दर से दिल्ली

Pamphlet on "Swantantra Bharat mein Bahujan Samaj Ashrit Kyo."

आइए आज आजादी की पचासवीं वर्षगांठ मनाते समय इस बात का मूल्यांकन करें कि उन पचास वर्षों में हमने क्या सफलताएं प्राप्त की हैं और कहां-कहां असफल रहे हैं।

हमने अपने संविधान के प्रिएम्बल में यह निर्धारित किया था कि सभी नागरिकों के लिए न्याय, स्वतंत्रता, समानता एवं भ्रातृत्व स्थापित करेंगे, जिससे व्यक्ति की गरिमा एवं राष्ट्र की एकता तथा अखंडता सुनिश्चित हो।

दो स्वतंत्र पीढ़ियों ने आजादी का जोश, कांग्रेस पार्टी का अभेदीय शासन, राजनीतिक असफलताओं के विरूद्ध जन-विरोध, भ्रष्टाचार, लोकतंत्र का बंधीकरण, क्रांति, संपूर्ण क्रांति, विभिन्न राजनीतिक पार्टियों के बदलते हुए शासन आयोगों का गठन एवं स्थापना तथा योजनाओं की बदलती हुई कार्यनीतियों इत्यादि को देखा है।

हमने नाना प्रकार के राजनीतिक परिवर्तन एवं आठ विकास योजनाओं को देखा है। आजादी का पचासवां वर्ष नवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना की दहलीज भी है।

आज प्रश्न यह है कि :-

— क्या पचास वर्षों के स्व-शासन के पश्चात् आजादी एवं लोकतंत्र ने आम आदमी के घर का दरवाजा खटखटाया?

— क्या वंचित एवं उपेक्षित वर्गों के उन लोगों ने, जिनकी भीड़ के बल पर राजनीतिज्ञों ने आजादी की लड़ाई लड़ी, आजादी का फल चखा?

— क्या आर्थिक प्रगति के बावजूद, आर्थिक एवं सामाजिक विसंगतियां कम हुई अथवा बढ़ी।

— क्या विकास योजनाओं के फलस्वरूप अनुसूचित जातियों, जनजातियां, अल्पसंख्यकों, अन्य पिछड़े वर्गों, भूमिहीन किसानों, छोटे एवं सीमांत कृषकों, कारीगर, कामगारों को सही मायने में आर्थिक विमुक्ति एवं राजनीतिक शक्ति प्राप्त हुई अथवा नहीं?

— क्या यह सही नहीं है कि शोषित वर्गों में कई लोग और भी वंचित हुए हैं क्योंकि त्रुटिपूर्ण नियोजन तथा कुप्रशासन ने उनको जड़ से उखाड़ दिया है

— क्या सामाजिक लोकतंत्र के बगैर राजनैतिक लोकतंत्र अर्थहीन तथा अंतर्विरोधाभास का शिकार नहीं हो जाता?

— ऐसा क्यों है कि आजादी के पचासवें वर्ष के पश्चात भी आम जन-समूह में अधिकांश व्यक्ति आश्रित हैं?

आजादी की ४०बीं वर्षगांठ पर

छुआछूत विरोधी आन्दोलन शुरू

साथियो,

आजादी के ४० साल बाद भी हर स्तर और हर क्षेत्रों में व्याप्त छुआछूत से अनुसूचित जाति, जन जाति एवं धार्मिक अल्प संख्यक बुरी तरह प्रभावित हैं । ब्राह्मणवादी सरकार ने इस कोढ़ को कम करने के विपरीत बढ़ाया है । छुआछूत समाप्त करने के संविधान में प्राविधानों के बावजूद सरकार ने भी समय-समय पर छुआछूत विरोधी अनेक कानून बनाकर छुआछूत-भेदभाव समाप्त करने का ढ़िढ़ोरा खूब पीटा परन्तु कानूनों को जानबूझ कर कभी लागू नहीं किया ।

वैसे तो छुआछूत देश व्यापी है परन्तु छुआछूतपूर्ण व्यवहार करने में राजस्थान सरकार सबसे अधिक दोषी है । विगत ३० जून ८७ को राजस्थान के मुख्य मंत्री हरिदेव जोशी के नेतृत्व में ''हरिजन सेवक संघ'' द्वारा नाथ द्वारा में जो नाटक खेला गया उससे दलितों के सम्मान को गहरा धक्का लगा है । नाथ द्वारा काण्ड १ जुलाई ८७ से १५ अगस्त ८७ तक समाचार पत्रों का प्रमुख आकर्षण रहा है ।

छुआछूत जैसी गम्भीर राष्ट्रीय समस्या पर राष्ट्रीय संसद में चर्चा नहीं होती । न ही कोई ब्राह्मणवादी दल इसे गम्भीरता से लेता है । परन्तु भेदभाव एवं छुआछूत पूर्ण व्यवहार से बहुजन समाज का घोर अहित हुआ है और हो रहा है ।

अत: आजादी की ४० वीं वर्षगांठ पर बहुजन समाज पार्टी नाथ द्वारा, राजस्थान तथा अन्य विभिन्न स्तरों एवं क्षेत्रों में व्याप्त छुआछूत के विरोध में आन्दोलन चलाने, जन-संसद में चर्चा करने तथा जन सम्पर्क करने का निर्णय लिया है । इसी सम्बन्ध में ३१ अगस्त ८७ से दिल्ली से नाथ द्वारा तथा नाथ द्वारा से जयपुर होते हुये दिल्ली वापस आने की छुआछूत विरोधी-यात्रा आयोजित की गई है । राष्ट्रीय संसद दिल्ली में तो चर्चा नहीं होती परन्तु बी० एस० पी० ३१ अगस्त से दिल्ली की बस्ती-बस्ती में जन संसद आयोजित कर छुआछूत के भयानक स्वरूप, दुष्परिणामों और ब्राह्मणवादियों का इससे लगाव की चर्चा शुरु की है । समुचित निर्णय हेतु मामला लोक-अदालत में पेश कर के जनता के सामने हम इसके प्रत्येक पहलुओं को उजागर करेंगे ।

अत : बहुजन समाज से पुरजोर अपील है कि छुआछूत जैसे कलंक को देश के माथे से मिटाने हेतु छेड़े गये आन्दोलन को तन, मन, धन से सहयोग कर सफल बनायें ।

नई दिल्ली
३१ अगस्त ८७

विनीत

कांशीराम

राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष
बहुजन समाज पार्टी

Pamphlet on 'Movement against the Practices of Untouchability after the 40 Years of Independence'

आजादी की ४०वीं वर्षगांठ पर छुआछूत विरोधी-यात्रा

दिनांक	प्रस्थान	रात्रि विश्राम
३१ अगस्त ८७	दिल्ली	फरीदाबाद
१ सितम्बर ८७	फरीदाबाद	मथुरा
२- ,, ,,	मथुरा	वयाना
३- ,, ,,	वयाना	गंगापुर
४- ,, ,,	गंगापुर	सवाई माधोपुर
५- ,, ,,	सवाई माधोपुर	लाखेरी
६- ,, ,,	लाखेरी	कोटा
७- ,, ,,	कोटा	देवली
८- ,, ,,	अतिरिक्त समय	
९- ,, ,,	देवली	मांडल गढ़
१०- ,, ,,	मांडल गढ़	चित्तौड़ गढ़
११- ,, ,,	चित्तौड़ गढ़	भिनार
१२- ,, ,,	भिनार	उदय पुर
१३- ,, ,,	उदय पुर	नाथ द्वारा
१४- ,, ,,	नाथ द्वारा	आमेर
१५- ,, ,,	आमेर	भीम
१६- ,, ,,	भीम	ब्यावर
१७- ,, ,,	ब्यावर	अजमेर
१८- ,, ,,	अजमेर	दुन्दू
१९- ,, ,,	अतिरिक्त समय	
२०- ,, ,,	दुंदू	जयपुर
२१- ,, ,,	जयपुर	शाहपुरा
२२- ,, ,,	शाहपुरा	अलवर
२३- ,, ,,	अलवर	खैरथल
२४- ,, ,,	खैरथल	सोहना
२५- ,, ,,	सोहना	गुडगांवा
२६- ,, ,,	गुडगांवा	दिल्ली
२७- ,, ,,	दिल्ली	बोट क्लब

BSP

BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY

डा० आम्बेडकर   मा० कांशीराम जी

बहुजन समाज पार्टी द्वारा जन सम्पर्क अभियान

आज से 37 वर्ष पूव बाबा साहब डा० आम्बेडकर ने कहा कि ''26 जनवरी 1950 को हम राजनतिक दृष्टि से समान होंगे और सामाजिक व आर्थिक जी-बन में असमान रहेंगे । हमें जितना शीघ्र हो इस विरोधाभास को दूर करना चाहिये अन्यथा वे जो इस असमानता के शिकार हैं इस प्रजातन्त्रिक ढांचे को जलाकर भस्म कर देंगे । अगर इस नये सविधान के अन्तगत भी कार्यों मे गड़-बड़ी रही तो उसका कारण यह नहीं होगा कि सविधान खराब है परन्तु हमें यह कहना पड़ेगा कि यहां का मनुष्य खराब है ।'

भारतीय नये सविधान को अपनाये हुए 37 वर्ष बीत चुके है लेकिन आज भी दलित शोषित लोग सामाजिक एवम आर्थिक असमानता के शिकार हैं ।

इस असमानता को खतम करने एवं सामाजिक ढांचा बदलने हेतु बहुजन समाज पार्टी द्वारा सम्पूर्ण भारत मे तरह-2 की कोशिशे की जा रहा है हरि-याणा राज्य मे भी मैं अपने साथियों सहित साईकल द्वारा जन-सम्पक अभियान 26 जनवरी 1987 से कालका से आरम्भ कर रहा हूं जो अम्बाला-कुरूक्षत्र करनाल के मुख्य मार्गों व देहातों से घुमते हुए 7 फरवरी को जगाधरी मे समाप्त होगा । इसी अभियान के अन्तगत अपने लोगों को जानकर बनाने हेतु कि जिन लोगों की सविधान को लागू करने की जिम्मेदारी थी वह नहीं कर पाये । अब दलित शोषित समाज की जिम्मेवारी बन जाती है कि वह अपने पैरों पर खड़े होकर, अपने संगठन तथा अपने छोटे साधनों का बड़ प-माने पर इस्तेमाल करके तथा इस अभियान की जरूरत व महत्व को समझ कर और तन-मन-धन से सहयोग देकर समानता व स्वाभिमान हेतु संघष कर

<div align="center">धन्यवाद !</div>

निवेदक : चमन कुमार नागरा
महासचिव' बहुजन समाज पार्टी हरियाणा

नोट :— 26 जनवरी 1987 से कालका से शुरू हुई साईकल रेली 7 फरवरी को वर्कशाप मैदान जगाधरी मे सुबह 11 बजे पहुंच कर विशाल जनसभा मे परिवर्तित हो जायेगी । इस मौके पर हमारे राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष बहुजन समाज पार्टी मा० कांशी राम जी एवं अन्य बहुजन समाज के नेतागण जन सभा को सम्बोधित करेंगे इस जन सभा को हजारों को संख्या मे पहुंच कर कामयाब बनाये ।

Pamphlet on cycle rally in Haryana from Ambala to Jagadhari "Jan Sampark Abhiyaan."

बी०एस०पी० का नारा है, भारत देश हमारा है ।
बी०एस०पी० क्या करेगी, समता का संघर्ष करेगी ।।
वोट हमारा राज तुम्हारा, नहीं चलेगा-नहीं चलेगा ।
बाबा आम्बेडकर तेरा मिशन अधूरा, कांशी राम जी करेंगे पूरा ।

हरियाणा चण्डीगढ़ हिमाचल प्रदे
बहुजन समाज पार्टी द्वारा
जनसम्पर्क अभियान
पंजाब

जन सम्पर्क अभियान का कार्यक्रम
26 जनवरी से 7 फरवरी तक

दिनांक	सांय मिटिंग/रात्रि विश्राम	दिनांक	सांय मिटिंग/रात्रि विश्रा०
26 जन 1987	नारायणगढ़ (अम्बाला	1 फरवरी	पाई (कुरुक्षेत्र)
27 ,, ,,	खिजराबाद (.,)	2 फरवरी	पेहवा (,,)
28 जनवरी 1987	इन्द्री (करनाल)	3 फरवरी	शाहबाद (,,)
29 ,, ,,	पानीपत (.,)	4 फरवरी	अम्बाला शहर (अम्बाला)
30 ,, ,,	नीलवा (,,)	5 फरवरी	रादोर (कुरुक्षेत्र)
31 ,, ,,	नीलोखेड़ी (,,)	6 फरवरी	जगाधरी (अम्बाला)

आखरी दिन 7 फरवरी 1987 को 11-00 बजे से दोपहर 2-00 बजे तक
नजदीक रेलवे फाटक मैदान, रेलवे वर्कशाप जगाधरी में विशाल जन सभा
होगी ।

रजनीश प्रिंटिंग प्रेस, यमुना नगर

लखनऊ-मार्च

साथियों,

बरेली मोर्चा २६ जून १९८६ से शुरू होकर अब तक क्रमशः चल रहा है। गांधी के चेलों द्वारा दलित शोषित समाज को बिगाड़ने का अड़ियल रवैया बरकरार है। हम बहुजन समाज के लोग उनके इस घिनौनी कार्यवाही का लगातार मुकावला करते आ रहे हैं और इसके तहत सर्वप्रथम जेल भरो आंदोलन का पहला दौर चला, जिसमें हजारों महिला व पुरुष बरेली की जेलों में वन्द हुये। सरकार ने इस घिनौने कृत्यमें ३१ जुलाई १९८६ को हमारी माँ वहनों पर लाठी चार्ज करके अपनी कायरता का परिचय दिया।

आंदोलन की दूसरी लड़ी बरेली रैली के रुप में ५ सितम्बर १९८६ को सम्पन्न हुई, जिसमें उत्तर प्रदेश के कोने—कोने से कार्यकर्ता साइकिल पर चलते हुए गांव-गांव सभायें करके बरेली में अभूतपूर्व प्रदर्शन किया। तीसरी लड़ी में पिछले सत्र में लखनऊ विधान सभा पर मोर्चा लगाकर धरना प्रारम्भ किया गया। जिसकी चर्चा विधान सभा में बड़े पैमाने पर हुई और इसके बाद २ अक्टूबर १९८६, गांधी जयन्ती से बरेली जिला अधिकारी के कार्यालय पर धरना चल रहा है, जिसको १०० (सौ) दिन पूरे हो चुके हैं। लेकिन बापू के नाम पर सरकार चलाने वाले लोग अपने बापू को नंगा करने में लगे पड़े हैं। अब हमारे आन्दोलन की चौथी लड़ी लखनऊ मार्च के रुप में ९ जनवरी १९८७ से पूरे उत्तरप्रदेश के सत्तावन जिलों से शुरू हो चुकी है। इस प्रोग्राम के अन्तर्गत हमारे कार्यकर्ता साथी पैदल मार्च करके जनपद के प्रत्येक गांवों में जा जाकर गांधी के चेलों की सरकार द्वारा दलित-शोषित समाज को जबरदस्ती शराब पिलाने, गरीबी हटाने के स्थान पर गरीबी बढ़ाने व इस समाज की आदत बिगाड़ने आदि में सम्वन्ध बताते हुए पूरे उत्तरप्रदेश में दलित शोषित समाज की वस्तियों से शराब की भट्टियां हटाने की मांग करते हुए लखनऊ की तरफ बढ़ेंगे।

अतः आप सभी बहुजन समाज के भाइयों से अपील की जाती है कि ब्राह्मणवादी साजिश को नंगा कर 'लखनऊ मार्च' को सफल बनाने हेतु तन, मन, धन का सहयोग प्रदान करे।

निवेदक
कांशीराम
अध्यक्ष
वहुजन समाज पार्टी

नई दिल्ली
९-१-८७

डी-एस₄ का सामाजिक आन्दोलन २४ सितम्बर १९८२ से प्रारम्भ

सामाजिक आंदोलन

२४ सितम्बर १९८२ धिक्कार दिवस

हम पाछ डेढ़ वर्ष से सामाजिक आंदोलन के बारे में सोचते, बर्चा तथा योजनायें बनाते रहे हैं. अब काफी सोच-विचार, बर्चा योजना और तैयारी के बाद निश्चय किया गया है कि डी-एस४ के माध्यम से २४ सितम्बर १९८२ को पूना से सामाजिक आन्दोलन शुरु किया जाये.

वे स्थान और तिथि इसलिए चुनी गई है क्योंकि अब से 50 वर्ष पूर्व 24 सितम्बर 1932 को गांधीजी द्वारा भूख हड़ताल के दबाव के कारण "पूना-पेक्ट" पर हस्ताक्षर किये गये थे. यह तथा अन्य बहुत से कारण है जो कि बाद में बतायें जायेंगे. यह निश्चय लिया गया है कि उस दिन 24 सितम्बर 1982 को पूना से सामाजिक आंदोलन शुरु किया जाये और उस दिन को धिक्कार दिवस के रूप में मनाया जाये.

राजनैतिक अभियान

सभालोचनात्मक विचार, समीक्षा आमंत्रित

डी-एस4 संघर्ष के लिये एक संगठन है परन्तु इसे हरियाणा सामान्य चुनाव के अवसर पर सीमित राजनैतिक अभियान के लिए प्रयोग में लाया गया. और इसी उद्देश्य के लिये आने वाले एक वर्ष में 30 जून 1983 तक 4 या 5 राज्यों में भी इसे प्रयोग में लाया जायेगा.

हमने अपने हरियाणा के अनुभव से बहुत कुछ सीखा है. हरियाणा में हमने जो विभिन्न तरह का अनुभव प्राप्त किया है. उसका हमने गहराई से विश्लेषण किया है. परन्तु भविष्य में पुन: समय और परिस्थिति की समीक्षा करेंगे. परन्तु अधिकतम लोगों के लाभ के लिये हम देश भर से अपने मित्रों सहयोगियों और शुभ चिंतकों से विचार और समीक्षायें आमंत्रित करते हैं. हमारा अप्रेड इन्डियन जून 1982 बहुजन संगठक 19 जुलाई 1982 के अंक को गहराई से अध्ययन करने के बाद अब यह बहुत ही सार्थक होना चाहिये.

बामसेफ जोनल सम्मेलनों का आयोजन

हमारे पाठकों को ज्ञात होना चाहिये कि बहुत से प्रयोग करने के बाद जोनल सम्मेलन बामसेफ गतिविधियों के लिये नियमित कार्यक्रम बन गए हैं. उस उद्देश्य के लिए भारत को 5 जोन में बांटा गया है. इस वर्ष जोनल सम्मेलनों का कार्यक्रम निम्नानुसार है.

क्र. सं.	जोन	स्थान	दिनांक
1.	उत्तरी	आगरा	28 व 29 अगस्त 1892
2.	मध्य	अहमदाबाद	4 व 5 सितम्बर 1982
3.	उत्तर-पूर्व	सिलिगुड़ी	11 व 12 सितम्बर 1982
4.	उत्तर-पश्चिम	जम्मू	18 व 19 सितम्बर 1982
5.	दक्षिण	मद्रास	25 व 26 सितम्बर 1982

— कांशीराम

Pamphlet on Social Movement by D-S4.

Pamphlet on 'Chatra, Yuvak, evam Mahila Morcha Sthapna Sammelan' by D-S4.

डी-एस₄

दलित-शोषित समाज संघर्ष समिति
द्वारा
हरियाणा राज्य चुनाव के अवसर पर
एक सूत्रीय कार्यक्रम

मान्यवर कांशीरामजी, अध्यक्ष, डी-एस4

Pamphlet on One Point Agenda of D-S4 in Haryana election.

चलो रोहतक।   रोहतक चलो।

शिक्षित बनो।   संगठित रहो।   संघर्ष करो।

'भारत रत्न' बाबा साहब डा. भीमराव अम्बेडकर के

103वें जन्मोत्सव के उपलक्ष में

सामाजिक परिवर्तन व आर्थिक मुक्ति आन्दोलन की लड़ी में

'जाति तोड़ो — समाज जोड़ो'
की

विशाल जनसभा

स्थान : डा॰ अम्बेडकर चौक नजदीक पुलिस लाइन
दिल्ली रोड, रोहतक

समय: 14 अप्रैल वीरवार 11 बजे से सायं 5 बजे तक

मुख्य अतिथि : मान्यवर अमन कुमार नागरा
प्रदेशाध्यक्ष बी. एस. पी. हरियाणा

प्रिय बन्धुओं,

बाबा साहब डा. अम्बेडकर ने जीवन भर कड़ा संघर्ष करके भारतीय नारी को पुरूष के बराबर अधिकार, दलित-शोषित समाज व पिछड़े वर्गों को संवैधानिक अधिकार देकर प्रत्येक सामाजिक क्षेत्र में आगे बढ़ने का मौका दिया ताकि प्रत्येक व्यक्ति की सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्तर पर एक ही कीमत हो जैसे कि राजनीतिक तौर पर एक आदमी को एक वोट का अधिकार, बाबा साहब ने संविधान लिखकर किया। लेकिन जाति व्यवस्था एक रोड़ा बनी हुई है, इसलिए मान्यवर साहब कांशीराम जी ने छः हजार जातियों को तोड़कर एक मानव समाज अर्थात बहुजन समाज बनाने के लिए जाति-तोड़ो समाज जोड़ो प्रोग्राम शुरू किया ताकि बाबा साहब का सपना साकार हो सके तथा देश में बहुजनों का राज लाया जा सके।

अतः बाबा साहब के कारवां को मंजिल की ओर बढ़ाने के लिए भारी संख्या में पहुंच कर प्रोग्राम को सफल बनायें।

निवेदक :
मास्टर कर्ण सिंह
(जिला प्रधान बहुजन समाज पार्टी, रोहतक)

Pamphlet on a large gathering in the program of 'Jati todo Samaj Jodo.'

बामसेफ डी-एस-4 बीएसपी

द्वारा

आरक्षण–हिस्सेदारी का सवाल

विषय पर ५ सेमीनारों

एवं

५०० सिम्पोजियमों का आयोजन

Pamphlet on 'Reservation: Question of Representation'

Pamphlet on Bareilly Morcha

Appendix III

Cover Page of Magazine and book
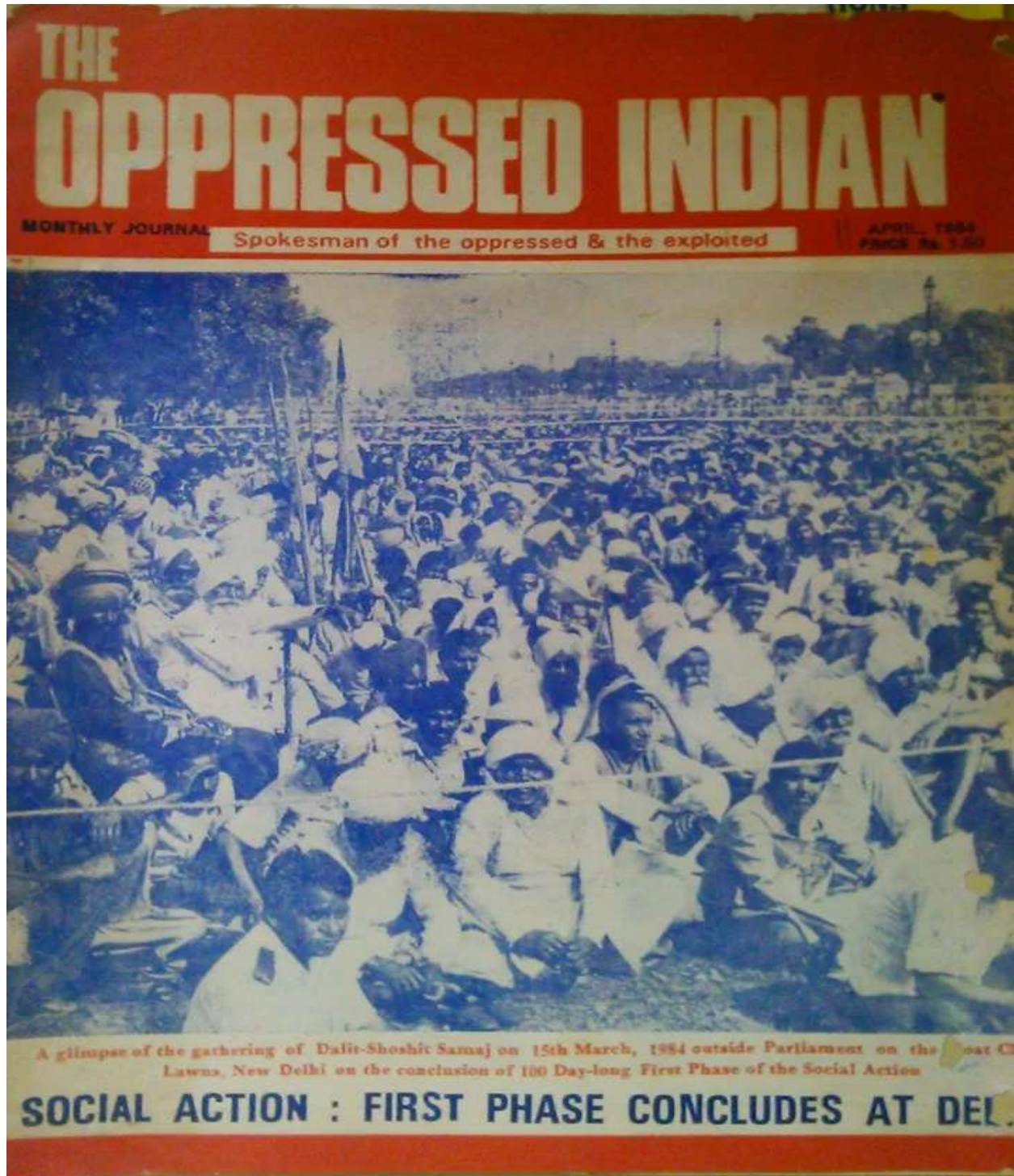
Special coverage by The Oppressed Indian on completing 100 days of Social Action.

Front page of The oppressed Indian on D-S4 Ladies in forefront.

34 Years of Independence
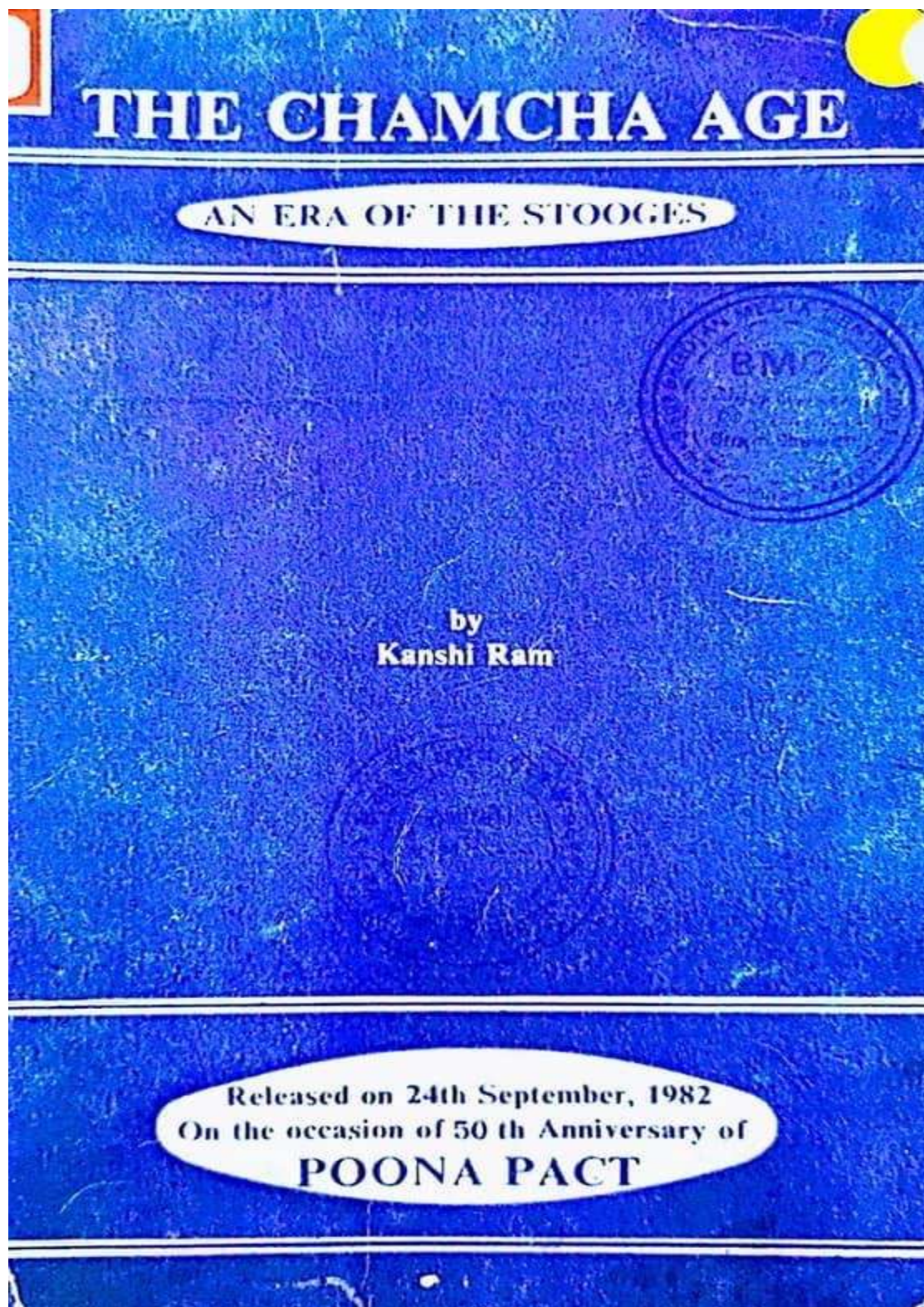
34th Year of Independence
Is An Year of Phoolan Devi

Special coverage on the 34th Year of Independence.

Cover Page of the book "The Chamcha Age: An Era of the Stooges".

बहुजन समाज पार्टी

के तत्वावधान में

बहुजन समाज दिवस

के तहत

मद्रास में विशाल सम्मेलन

मुख्य अतिथि : मान्य॰ कांशीराम जी (राष्ट्रीय बम्यव, बसपा)

स्थान : मेरिना बिच, मद्रास (तमिलनाडु)

दिनांक : १५ मार्च १९९५ (बुधवार)

समय : प्रातः ११-०० बजे से

बहुजन समाज के लोगों से अपील है कि लाखों की संख्या में पहुंचकर सम्मेलन को सफल बनायें.
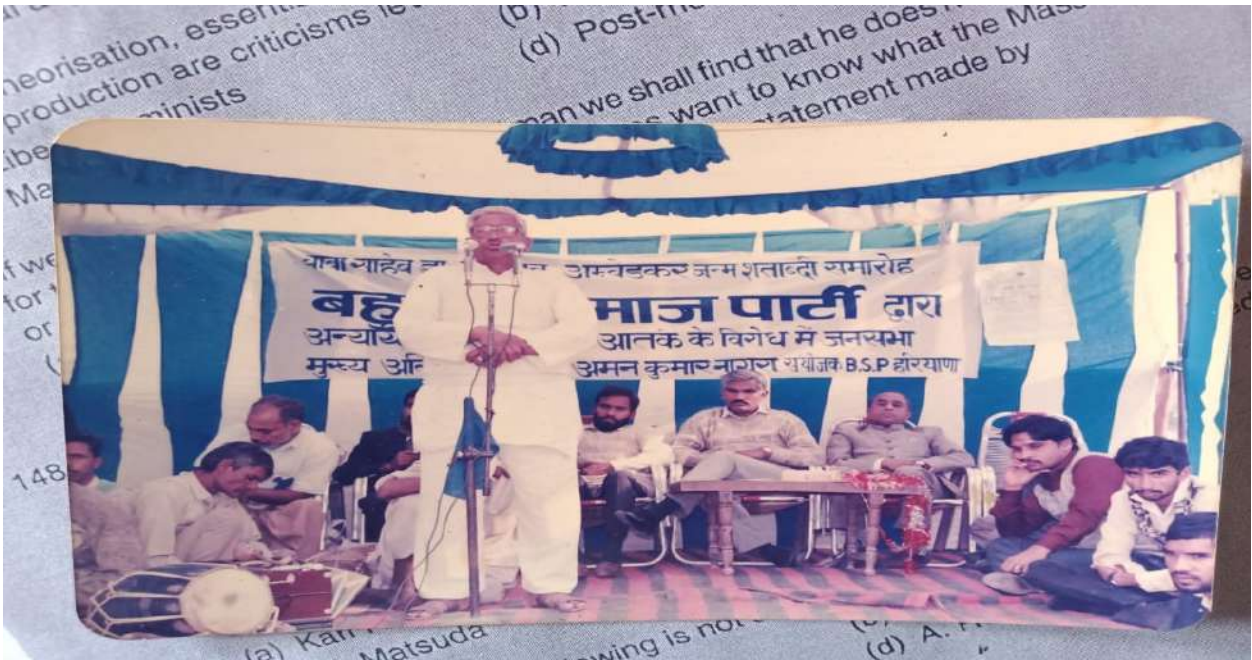
विवेदक :
वेदनाधन
प्रदेशाध्यक्ष, बसपा तमिलनाडु राज्य

Appendix IV

Images of Kanshi Ram, Activists, and Rally

First district conference of D-S4 in Hisar (Haryana).
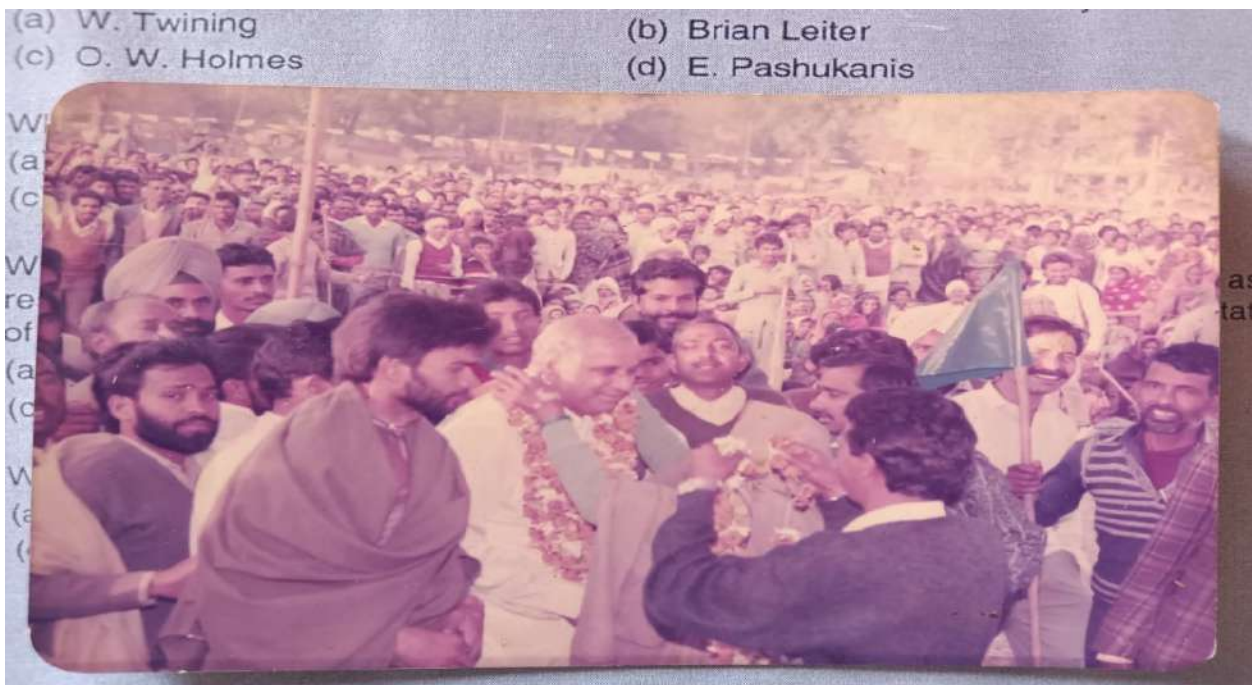

Public Meeting against the atrocities in Haryana.

Kanshi Ram having food with activists.

Activists in the Haryana Rally welcomed Kanshi Ram.

Kanshi Ram in Contessa Car

Kanshi Ram in BVF Dress with women volunteers.

१५ मार्च १९८४ को डी-एस4 द्वारा समता और स्वाभिमान के लिए आयोजित सामाजिक संघर्ष में उपस्थित विशाल दलित-शोषित समुदाय

People's participation for Equality and Dignity struggle organised by D-S4.

सिंह साहब के संग्रहालय से

कोसीकला में आयोजित डी-एस4 के समारोह में उपस्थित ग्रामीण अंचलों से आये लोग जिसमें महिलाओं ने भारी संख्या में भाग लिया.

Women participation in D-S4 function in Kosi Kalan.

Gurudev Pawar (social activist in Haryana) with Dayal Singh Kashyap and others
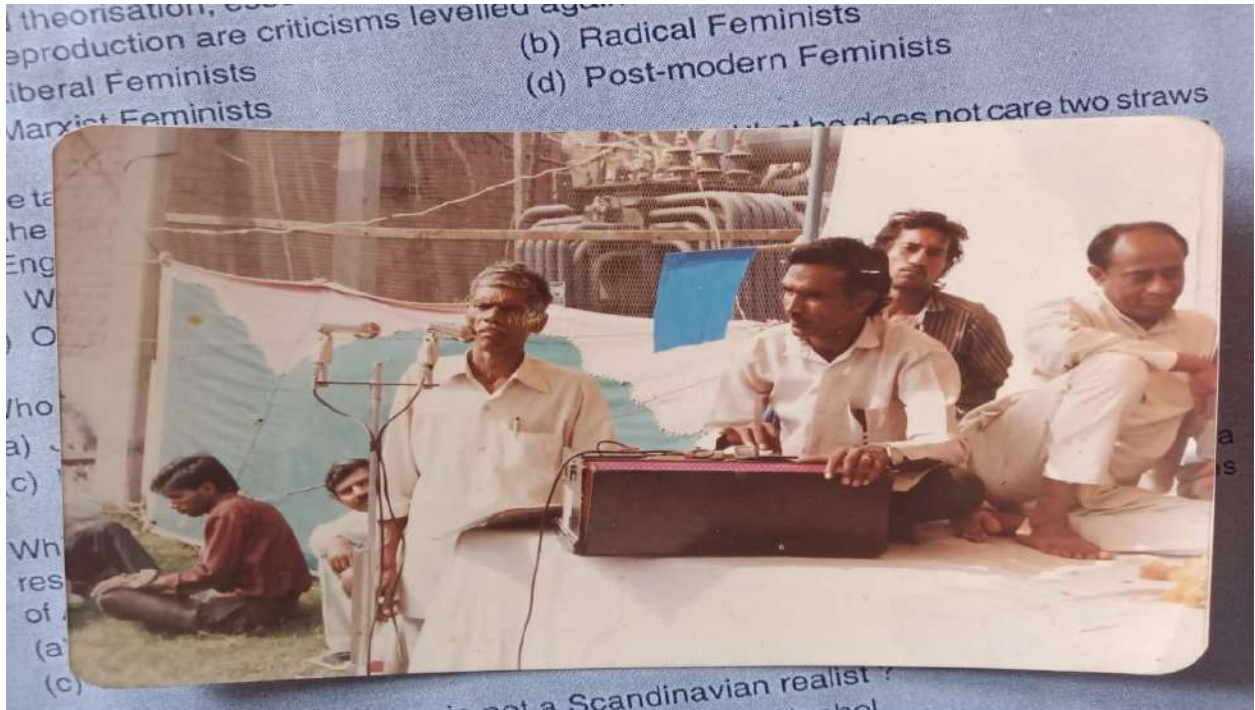

Dayal Singh Kashyap and Mukhtar Singh Sadar with other activists in Yamunanagar (Haryana)
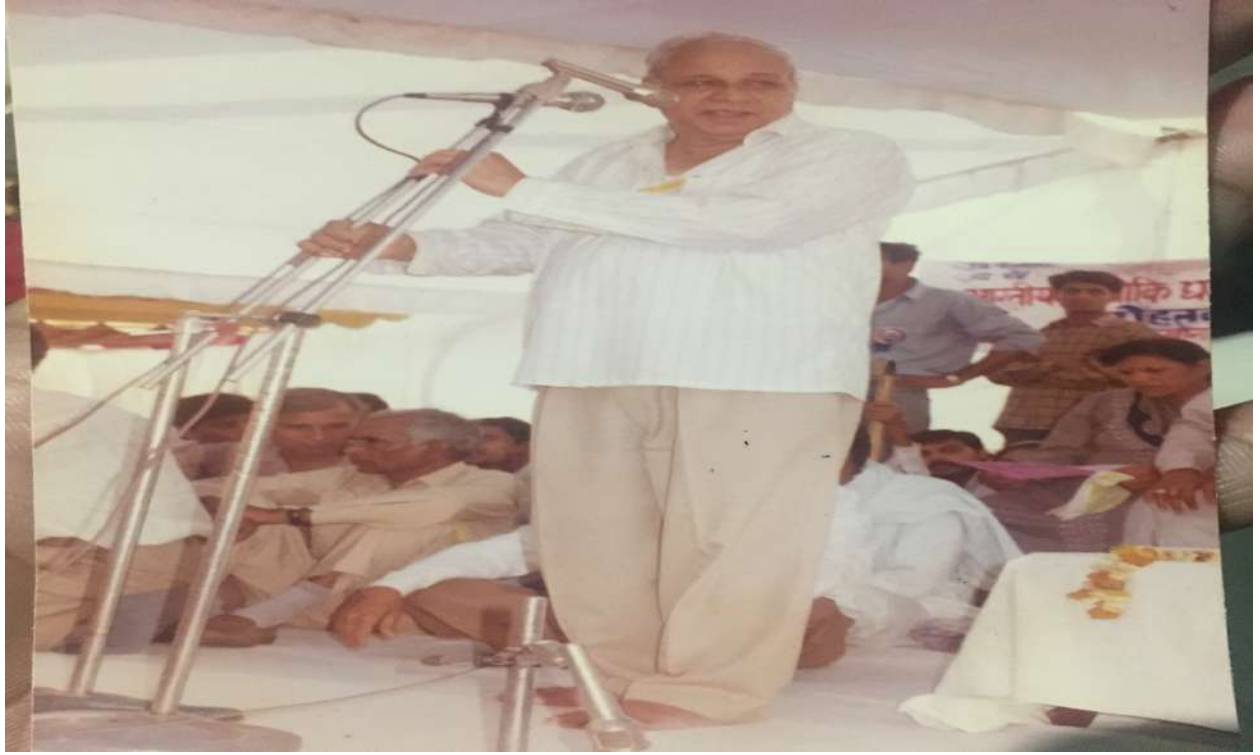
Kanshi Ram with activists

Awakening Squad Group

Kanshi Ram during the election campaign.

Kanshi Ram delivering a speech in Rohtak (Haryana)

बहुजन समाज की शक्ति और संगठन को बढ़ाकर
उनमें चेतना की ज्योति प्रज्वलित करने वाला
बहुजन समाज का मुखपत्र

बहुजन टाइम्स

के उद्घाटन अवसर पर सहयोगी प्रकाशन की ओर
हार्दिक शुभकामनाएं

हम हैं आपके सहयोगी

नई दिल्ली से
दी आप्रेस्ड इण्डियन
(अंग्रेजी मासिक पत्रिका)

बहुजन संगठक
(हिन्दी साप्ताहिक)

चण्डीगढ़ से
बहुजन संदेश
(पंजाबी साप्ताहिक)

बंगलौर से
बहुजन संदेश
(कन्नड़ साप्ताहिक)

नागपुर से
बहुजन नायक
(मराठी साप्ताहिक)

श्रमिक साहित्य
(मराठी मासिक पत्रिका)

बहुजन टाइम्स
(मराठी दैनिक पत्र)

बड़ौदा से
बहुजन एकता
(गुजराती साप्ताहिक)

Newspapers and magazines launched by Kanshi Ram

Kanshi Ram's house in Khawaspur village (His brother with an activist of BSP)

Campaigning during election

Protest against the Shehzadpur Kaand in Haryana

Postcards were circulated by BSP activists.

M.S. Sadar, Aman Kumar Nagra, Narwal, Dayal Singh Kashyap in District Conference of Women wing and Bahujan Yuva Morcha, Sonipat (Haryana).
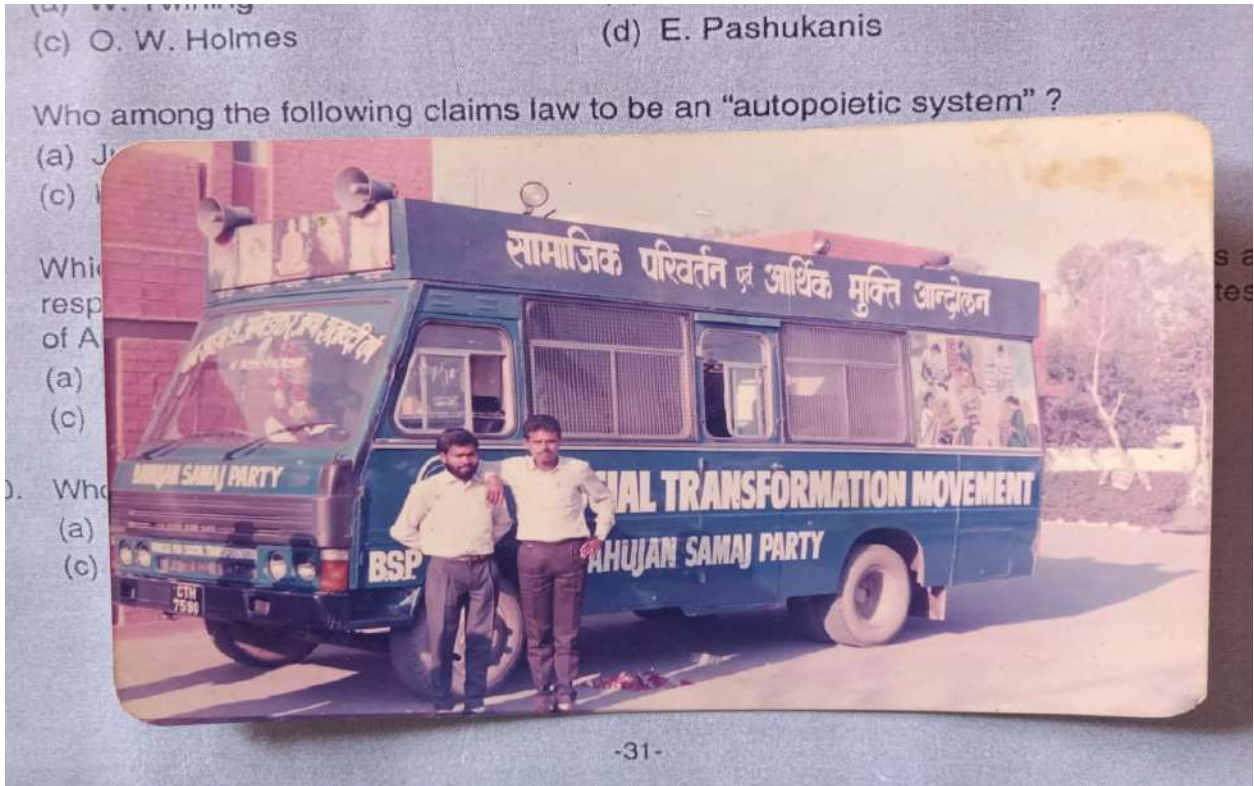
BSP's Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation Yatra.

Kanshi Ram with Lalu Prasad Yadav

News Paper Cuttings

चीपेस्ट जर्नी—एयर जर्नी, चीपेस्ट होटल—फाइव स्टार

कांशीराम की जीवनशैली भी कम दिलचस्प नहीं रही

अरविंद कुमार सिंह

नई दिल्ली : बहुजन समाज पार्टी के संस्थापक तथा दलित एकता के लिए गांव-गांव और झोपड़पट्टियों तक दस्तक देनेवाले शीर्ष दलित नेता कांशीराम ने बार दशक के संगठन के दौरान जान लिया था कि बिना साधन के उचित संगठन खड़ा नहीं हो सकता है।
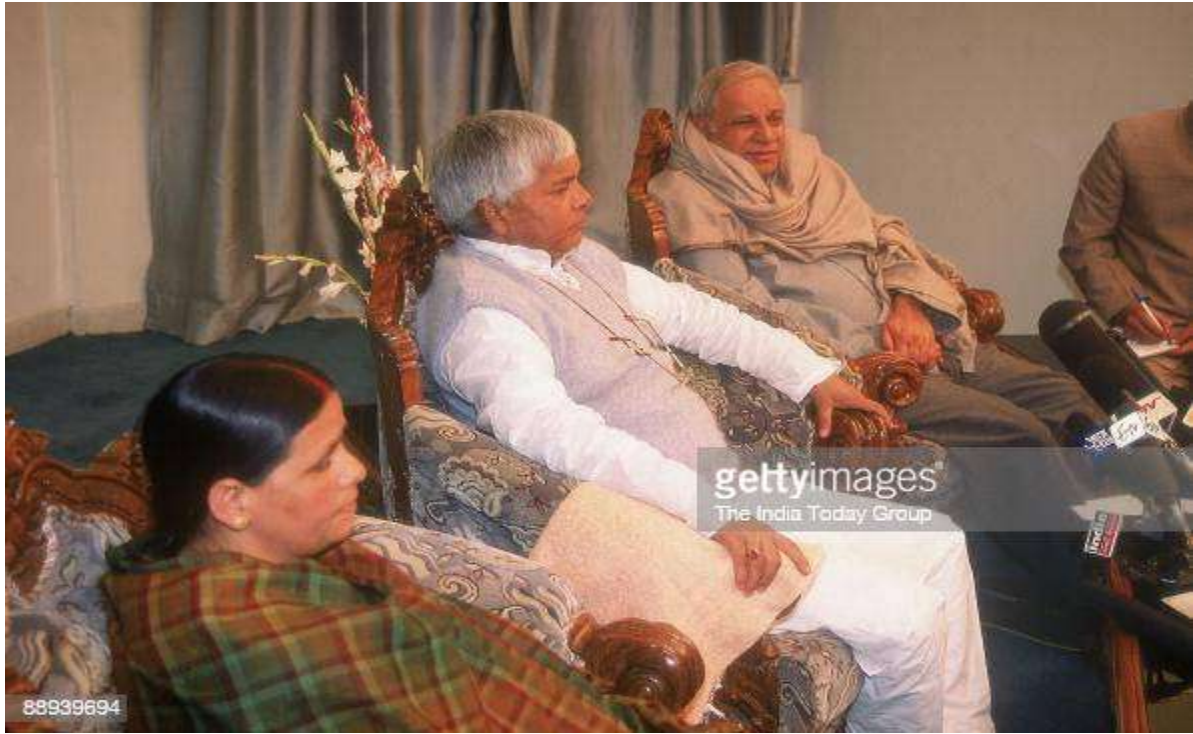
इसी नाते 1989 के बाद, उन्होंने भले ही खुद को न बदला हो पर संगठन के लिए इन साधनों का बखूबी इस्तेमाल किया। इसी दौरान वे मानने लगे थे कि सबसे सस्ती यात्रा हवाई यात्रा होती है और सबसे सस्ता होटल पांच तारा होटल। सत्ता के लिए संगठन में दिन रात एक करनेवाले कांशीराम का सस्ता के प्रति कभी भी खास मोह नहीं रहा और तमाम कार्यकर्ताओं से वे लगातार सीधे जुड़े रहे। कांशीराम के बहुत करीबी लोग भी उनको आखिर तक समझ पाने में सफल नहीं रहे, क्योंकि उनको कभी तो कांशीराम तानाशाह नजर आते तो कभी बेहद सरल। कई बार कांशीराम भारा के खिलाफ खड़े हुए, तो कई बार उन्होंने दोस्ती भी खूब निभाई।

बहुत कम लोग इस बात को जानते हैं कि कांशीराम को पांच सितारा होटलों में बैठना और हवाई यात्रा का काफी शौक था। मगर उनका यह शौक किसी तड़क भड़क और दिखावे के नाते नहीं था। अरसे तक वे इसके खिलाफ थे पर नानी पालकीवाला ने उनकी दिशा बदल दी। पालकीवाला और कांशीराम में काफी करीबी रिश्ता था।

> **गांव-गांव और झोपड़पट्टियों में भी उन्होंने दी दस्तक**

पालकीवाला के मेज पर एक चिट लगी थी जिस पर अंकित था, चीपेस्ट जर्नी एयर जर्नी, चीपेस्ट एकोमडेसन-फाइव स्टार एकोमडेसन...... इस चिट को पढ़ कर कांशीराम कई बार नाराज भी हुए और पालकीवाला उनको ढोंग लगे। एक बार कांशीराम ने उनसे पूछ ही लिया कि जिन दोनों चीजों को आप सस्ती बता रहे हैं, वे आम आदमी की हैसियत में कहां है? पालकीवाला ने इन शब्दों का अर्थ कांशीराम को बताया तो उनकी धारणा भी बदल गयी और उन्होंने गांठ बांध लिया कि अगर देशव्यापी संगठन खड़ा करना है तो ये दोनों साधन जरूरी हैं। 1993 के बाद उनकी ज्यादातर यात्राएं हवाई ही रहीं। कांशीराम की कार्यप्रणाली को काफी करीब से देखने और तमाम मुद्दों पर खुल कर बात करने का सुयोग इस संवाददाता को दो दशक के दौरान तमाम बार मिला। हर बार वे पहले से भी अधिक आत्मीय लगे।

कांशीराम के पास आय का कोई ऐसा स्रोत नहीं था जिससे पार्टी चलती। इसका तरीका यह निकाला गया कि माहौल बन जाने के बाद कांशीराम आम सभाओं में जाने के लिए आयोजकों से पैसे मांग लेते थे। इस बहाने एक एक आदमी तक संपर्क हो जाता था और संदेश भी चला जाता था। पैसे का हिसाब किताब वे कभी नहीं रखते थे और तमाम कार्यकर्ताओं की खासी मदद करते थे। उन्होंने बीच में नोएडा में इसी राशि से एक बड़ी संस्था भी खड़ी की और एक दैनिक अखबार भी निकालना चाहते थे पर अखबार निकल नहीं पाया।

> १६ मार्च १९८४ को डी-एस4 द्वारा समता और स्वाभिमान के लिए आयोजित सामाजिक संघर्ष में उपस्थित विशाल दलित-शोषित समुदाय

बहुजन समाज को प्रेरणा देने वाला समाचार जिसे वर्तमान ब्राह्मण-बनियों के प्रेस ने जान-बूझकर नहीं छापा

समता और स्वाभिमान के लिए अखण्ड देश-व्यापी संघर्ष

डी-एस4 द्वारा बोट क्लब पर विशाल रैली व जनसभा

नई दिल्ली यद्यपि यह समाचार-१ माह पुराना है, दलित-शोषित समाज के लिए आज भी एकमा नया समाचार है. १६ मार्च, १९८४ को डी-एस4 के तत्वावधान में बोट क्लब, नई दिल्ली और विशाल साईकिल रैली (लाल किले से बोट क्लब तक) तथा जनसभा का आयोजन किया गया था. इस साईकिल रैली में १०,००० से अधिक साईकिल सवार डी-एस4 के कार्यकर्ता दिल्ली की २५० किलोमीटर परिधि तथा देश के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों से बोट क्लब पर आयोजित रैली में आमे थे. २५० किलोमीटर तथा उससे भी अधिक दूर के साईकिल चलाकर बोट क्लब पर आना, अपना खाना खुद बनाना और लोट कर चले जाना, सरकार के यूनिट पर आमना, बंदूभूत और...

अपने प्रकार की प्रथम ही रैली थी, जिसमें उपस्थित लोगों ने सरकार से न तो कोई सुविधाएं मांगी और ना ही सरकार से कोई निवेदन ही किया.

परन्तु इसके बावजूद भी, रैली को विशालता और विशिष्टता को भारतीय समाचार पत्रों ने बिल्कुल ही नजर-बंदाज कर दिया, मानो उनके लिये यह कोई मायने ही नहीं रखता. दिल्ली में इसके पूर्व इतने बड़े पैमाने पर दलित-शोषित जनता को कोई रैली कभी भी नहीं हुई, विशेष रूप से ऐसी रैली, जिसे दलित-शोषित समाज ने आयोजित का. प्रथम अवसर था कि दलित-शोषित समाज संगठ स्वर के सामने अपनी शक्ति का प्रदर्शन कर रहा था.

यही मामने में दस आए तो

१६ मार्च को राजधानी को पटरानों में यह सबसे बड़ी घटना थी. एकत्रित के नोटि-नियमों को देखते हुए दिल्ली के सभी समाचार पत्रों द्वारा इस कार्यक्रम को प्रथम पृष्ठ पर विस्तृत रूप के साथ छापा जाना चाहिए था. परन्तु ऐसा नहीं हुआ. अंग्रेजी का अखबार 'इण्डियन एक्सप्रेस' के छोड़ जिसने इस समाचार को पृष्ठ ३ पर एक फोटो के साथ छापा, अन्य सभी अखबारों ने इस ओर से आंख फेर ली. यह कोई अचानक पटने वाली बात नहीं भी. इह तो आलनूड कर किया गया था.

क्या भारतीय पत्रकारिता स्वतन्त्र है?

कुछ महीनों पहले निर्गुट देशों के समाचार समितियों का सम्मेलन दिल्ली में आयोजित किया गया था जिसमें निर्गुट देशों के प्रति-...

निधि बड़ी संख्या में उपस्थित थे. सम्मेलन को सम्बोधित करते हुए भारत की प्रधान मंत्री श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने भारतीय पत्र-कारिता की बातोपना करते हुए कहा था कि यहां के समाचार पत्र और पत्रकार लाठव के शिकार है. किसी को 'सेस' चाहिए तो किसी को 'पोजीशन' और इसो-लिए वे सही प्रकार से इस देश में होने वाली घटनाओं को भारतीय जनता के सामने नहीं लाते.

ब्राह्मण-बनियों के समाचार पत्र

हमें मालूम है वे इन समाचारों को नहीं छापेंगे क्योंकि इनका छापा जाना उनके हित में नहीं. १९६१-९४ में भी जब अखिल भारतीय स्तर पर भारतीय पिष-जिनक पार्टी द्वारा भूमिगों का...

आंदोलन छेड़ा गया था और जिस में सम्पूर्ण देश में ४ साल से भी अधिक सत्याग्रही जेल गये थे. इन समाचार पत्रों ने उन खबरों को सही इंग से जनता के सामने नहीं दिया.

दलित-शोषित समाज की जिम्मेदारी

दलित-शोषित समाज के वर्तमान गतिविधियों की समझता होगा. वर्षों से जो उनका शोषण करते आये, उनसे सहयोग और न्याय तथा निष्पक्ष व्यवहार की अपेक्षा करना भूल होगी. इसके लिए उन्हें स्वयं अपने आप को तैयार करना होगा. जीवन के हर क्षेत्र में उन्हें आगे आना होगा तभी वे इन मांगक इरादों का डटकर मुकाबला कर पाएंगे. जहाँ तक पत्रकारिता की बात है, इस क्षेत्र में इस कमी को पूरा करने

के लिए चिंतित नयुवकों को आगे आकर इस व्यावहार को स्वीकार करना होगा. वर्ना सिर्फ यह कहने से काम नहीं चलेगा, कि हमारा समाचार नहीं छापते. जो अपना समाचार छपता हुआ देखना चाहते है, वे उसे भलगे लोगों तक पहुंचाने वाले रास्ते भी ढूंढ निकाले.

बहुजन टाइम्स

आज जो यह समाचार पत्र आपके हाथ में है यह उस आंदोलन को आगे बढ़ाना चाहता है, बल्कि उस आंदोलन के प्रति समर्पित है, जो समता, स्वतंत्रता और भाई-चारे पर आधारित समाज का निर्माण बनाना चाहता है जियमें न्याय का शासन होगा.

इसके साथ ही उन सभी समाचारों को प्रकाशित करेगा. जिसे ब्राह्मण-बनियों के समाचार पत्र जानबूझकर नहीं छापते.

—आर०के०

प्रथम पुण्य तिथि पर विशेष

विलक्षण राजनेता-महान संगठनकर्ता

कांशीराम

■ अरविंद कुमार सिंह

भारतीय राजनीति में बहुजन समाज पार्टी के संस्थापक स्व. कांशीराम विलक्षण राजनेताओं में हैं। उन्होंने शून्य से अपनी शुरूआत की और करोड़ों गरीब और वंचित लोगों के मसीहा बनने के साथ ही जाने कितने जमीनी नेताओं को पैदा किया। अपना जीवन उन्होंने समता मूलक समाज के लिए समर्पित कर दिया और एक वीतरागी की तरह जिंदगी बिताते हुए गांव-गांव और झोपड़पट्टियों तक दस्तक दी। उनकी अपील का असर हुआ और देश के सबसे बड़े सूबे उत्तर प्रदेश में तो अजीबोगरीब करिश्मा। कांशीराम ने सुश्री मायावती के रूप में अपने उत्तराधिकारी का चयन भी जब किया था तो बहुतों को नागवार लगा था। पर सुश्री मायावती ने उनके कामों को जिस तरह आगे बढ़ाया यूपी विधानसभा तथा दिल्ली नगर निगम के कुछ माह पूर्व के चुनाव परिणाम उसके सबसे बड़े प्रमाण हैं। अपने राजनीति गुरू स्व. कांशीराम के काम को आगे बढ़ाने के साथ सुश्री मायावती ने बसपा को बहुजन समाज से सर्व समाज की पार्टी बना कर और आधार विस्तार कर बहुत से राजनीतिक पंडितों को चौंका दिया है। 2007 में बसपा की सरकार अपने बल बूते पर पूर्ण बहुमत के साथ बनना और सुश्री मायावती ने एक कीर्तिमान बनाया है। इससे भी बड़ी बात यह है कि एक सच्चे और योग्य उत्तराधिकारी की तरह बसपा अध्यक्ष व यूपी की मुख्यमंत्री सुश्री मायावती स्व. कांशीराम की पहली पुण्य तिथि पर ही उनकी स्मृति को चिर स्थायी बनाने के लिए 3987 करोड़ रू. की भारी भरकम एक दर्जन योजनाओं का शुभारंभ कर रही हैं और विशाल रैली के द्वारा बसपा के जनाधार को भी दर्शा रही हैं। स्व. कांशीराम को याद में कई विकास परियोजनाएं शुरू की जा रही हैं।

बसपा कार्यकर्ताओं में मान्यवर या साहेब के नाम से लोकप्रिय स्व. कांशीराम ने चार दशक तक गली कूचों में जिस तरह संघर्ष किया और बीते काफी सालों से सुश्री मायावती ने भी गांव गिराव की खाक छान कर जिस तरह संगठन खड़ा किया बसपा उसी का परिणाम है। आज सभी बड़े दल बसपा से दोस्ती को लालायित है और तमाम बड़े नेता बसपा के बढ़ते जनाधार से चिंतित भी है। यूपी तथा पंजाब कांशीराम की राजनीतिक प्रयोगशाला का प्रमुख क्षेत्र रहा है। वह पंजाब में भी यूपी दोहरोना चाहते थे और राजस्थान, छत्तीसगढ़ तथा म.प्र. में भी काफी काम किया। सत्ता से वंचित तमाम जातियों को उन्होंने एक कड़ी में जोड़ा और उनके भीतर से नेतृत्व उभार कर जो कुछ परिणाम दिखाया वह किसी चमत्कार से कम नहीं है। बसपा शायद देश की अकेली पार्टी है जिसने बेहद कमजोर हैसियत के जाने कितने लोगों को संसद और विधान सभा तक पहुंचाया जो ग्राम प्रधान बनने तक का सपना नहीं देखते थे। बाबा साहब भीमराव अम्बेडकर ने जो अधूरा सपना छोड़ रखा था उसे पूरा करने का श्रेय भी स्व. कांशीराम तथा उनकी उत्तराधिकारी सुश्री मायावती को जाता है। देश के भाग्यविधाता राज्य उत्तर प्रदेश पर चार बार शासन कब्जा कर लेना कोई आसान काम नहीं है। यह उनकी सोची-समझी रणनीति और जमीनी स्तर पर पकड़ का ही नतीजा रहा है कि हर चुनाव में बहुजन समाज पार्टी का वोट पहले से ज्यादा बढ़ गया। भारत में वोट बैंक के लिहाज से बसपा ही लगातार आगे बढ़ रही है। भारत कोई बड़ा उद्योग समूह इस पार्टी को पैसा नहीं देता है। सुश्री मायावती अकेले इस पार्टी की स्टार प्रचारक हैं। इसके बावजूद बसपा का ग्राफ यूपी ही नहीं उसके बाहर भी तेजी से बढ़ा है। पर बसपा को इस मंजिल तक पहुंचाने में कांशीराम तथा उनकी उत्तराधिकारी ने दिन-रात कितनी मेहनत की है, यह बात उनके करीबी से करीबी भी नहीं जानते।

बसपा के संस्थापक कांशीराम ने पंजाब के एक गरीब रामदसिया सिख (अनुसूचित जाति) परिवार में 15 मार्च 1934 को जन्म लिया था। उनका गांव खबासपुर पंजाब के रोपड़ जिले में पड़ता है। उन्होंने खुद को समता मूलक समाज की स्थापना के काम में समर्पित कर दिया और वह परिवार तथा रिश्ते नातों के बंधन से भी मुक्त हो गए। सबसे पहले 1957 में उनको सर्वे ऑफ इंडिया में नौकरी मिली, जिसे उन्होंने प्रशिक्षण के दौरान ही छोड़ दिया। इसके बाद उनको डीआरडीओ में वैज्ञानिक की नौकरी मिली। वह भी उनको रास न आयी और उन्होने इस नौकरी को भी छोड़ दिया और सड़क पर उतरने का फैसला किया। परिवार वाले अपने वैज्ञानिक बेटे की शादी के लिए बहुत जिद कर रहे थे, मगर कांशीराम ने आजीवन शादी न करने का फैसला लिया और वंचित तबके के जागरण में जुट गए। यह भी उल्लेखनीय बात है कि उनको गरीब तबके को जगाने का सपना बाबा साहब अम्बेडकर की जन्मभूमि में ही आया। कांशीराम ने 6 दिसंबर 1978 को ऑल इंडिया बैकवर्ड एंड मायनारिटी कम्युनिटीज एम्पलाईज फेडरेशन बनाया और दलितों, पिछड़ों तथा अल्पसंख्यक सरकारी कर्मचारियों को गोलबंद कर अपनी मुहिम शुरू की। सरकारी कर्मचारियों में उनको काफी समर्थन मिला और बार बार एक कारवां उनके साथ चल पड़ा। कांशीराम ने 6 दिसम्बर 1981 को दलित शोषित समाज संघर्ष समिति की स्थापना की, शराब विरोधी आंदोलन के तहत देशभर में साइकिल यात्राएं कीं। उन्होंने 14 अप्रैल 1984 को डॉ. अम्बेडकर के जन्मदिन पर बहुजन समाज पार्टी का गठन किया। उन दिनों इस पार्टी को नोटिस नहीं लिया गया। नवजात बसपा का चुनावी प्रदर्शन भी ठीक नहीं रहा। पहले चुनाव में कांशीराम को उम्मीदवार तक नहीं मिल रहे थे फिर भी इस पार्टी ने 1984 के लोकसभा चुनाव में 10.05 लाख वोट पाकर अपनी शुरूआत की। कांशीराम हताश नहीं हुए। नवम्बर 1992 में कांशीराम अनचाहे ही इटावा से निर्वाचित होकर लोकसभा में पहुंच गए। पर इस चुनाव ने कांशीराम को आभास कराया कि अगर उनके वोट बैंक के साथ मजबूत गंठजोड़ हो जाये तो यूपी में सरकार बनायी जा सकती है। 1993 में सपा और बसपा का गठबंधन इसी का परिणाम था। पर बसपा की ताकत को सपा ने हड़प लेने का प्रयास किया और पर्दे के पीछे से काफी षडयंत्र चले तो इस सरकार का गिरा दिया गया। 1993 में गठबंधन की सरकार बनने के बाद ही कांशीराम ने यूपी को सुश्री मायावती के हवाले कर अन्य राज्यों में संगठन का काम शुरू कर दिया था। 1995 में गेस्टहाउस कांड के बाद बसपा ने समर्थन वापस ले लिया और सुश्री मायावती पहली बार मुख्यमंत्री बन गयीं। कांशीराम निजी जीवन में बेहद बेदाग, बेलाग, सहज, सरल और कार्यकर्ताओं को पूरी इज्जत देने वाले नेता के रूप में हमेशा याद किए जाते रहेंगे। बिना प्रचार और तामझाम के उनकी सभाओं में लाखों लोग आते रहे हैं। कांशीराम दलितों, पिछड़ों और शोषित समाज के करिश्माई नेता थे। लेकिन कांशीराम की सफलता में सुश्री मायावती की भी सबसे महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका रही है। सितम्बर 1977 में मायावती और कांशीराम की मुलाकात एक जनसंपर्क अभियान के दौरान दिल्ली में हुई थी। उसी दौरान कांशीराम ने सुश्री मायावती से कहा था कि वह डीएम नहीं सीएम बनने का सपना देखें। तब सुश्री मायावती आईएएस की तैयारी कर रही थीं। शिक्षिका होने के नाते वह बामसेफ से जुड़ गयीं और कांशीराम के मिशन में खुद को लगा दिया। पर जब बसपा की स्थापना हुई तो उन्होंने अप्रैल 1984 में अपनी शिक्षिका की नौकरी छोड़ दी। सुश्री मायावती 1989 में 9वीं लोकसभा में जीत कर पहुंच गयीं और 1995 में पहली बार यूपी की मुख्यमंत्री बनीं। बसपा के संस्थापक कांशीराम ने उनकी समग्र कार्यशैली और क्षमताओं का आकलन करके ही 15 दिसंबर 2001 को लखनऊ में आयोजित एक विशाल जनसभा में सुश्री मायावती को बहुजन आंदोलन का उत्तराधिकारी घोषित कर दिया। 18 सितंबर 2003 को कांशीराम के बीमार पड़ने के बाद वह बसपा की अध्यक्ष बनीं। अध्यक्ष के रूप में मायावती का कार्यकाल लंबा नहीं है पर वह तमाम उपलब्धियों भरा है।

कांशीराम बसपा का आधार बनाने उदयपुर आए थे?

[कार्यालय संवाददाता]

उदयपुर, 14 सितम्बर। उत्तर प्रदेश के उप चुनावों तथा हरियाणा विधानसभा चुनावों में अपनी भूमिका से तहलका मचा देने वाली बहुजन समाज पार्टी के अध्यक्ष कांशीराम की उदयपुर यात्रा अपने आप में एक तिलस्म बन गई है।

इस यात्रा के बारे में पहले यही भ्रम रहा कि वह हुई या नहीं और सोमवार को यह स्पष्ट हुआ कि कांशीराम उदयपुर आए थे। इर के साथ ही आश्चर्य की बात यह है कि नाथद्वारा में हुए अपनी पार्टी के पहले सार्वजनिक कार्यक्रम से कांशीराम खये कतरा गए प्रशासन तक दुविधा में रहा कि वह रविवार को नाथद्वारा जाएंगे अथवा नहीं।

इस रहस्यमयी यात्रा के पश्चात कांशीराम के निकटवर्ती सूत्रों का दावा है कि पिछड़े वर्ग का यह नेता राजस्थान में विशेषकर जनजाति क्षेत्र में अपनी पार्टी का आधार तलाशने आया था। यदि यह सच है तो इस प्रश्न का कोई जवाब नहीं मिलता कि कांशीराम व्यक्तिगत रूप से अथवा अपनी पार्टी के मंच पर दिखाई देने से क्यों कतरा गए प्रशासन तक उनकी यात्रा के बारे में अनिश्चित क्यों बना रहा?

कांशीराम चित्तौड़ से कार में शनिवार रात यहां पहुंचे और प्रशासनिक सेवा के एक निलंबित अधिकारी के यहां रात्रि प्रवास किया। यहीं पर छुआछूत विरोधी साइकल यात्रियों का दल भी ठहरा था। रविवार सुबह उनसे भारतीय जनता पार्टी नेता कैलाश मेघवाल मिले थे और करीब दो घंटे तक उनकी बातचीत हुई। इसके बाद दोपहर का भोजन लेकर वे करीब 11.30 बजे कार से ही नाथद्वारा होते हुए सीधे केलवा चले गए। वे नाथद्वारा में रूके नहीं।

मिली जानकारी के अनुसार उदयपुर में उनसे जीवन बीमा निगम, आर.एस.एम.एम. व रेलवे आदि विभागों में कार्यरत कुछ कर्मचारी भी मिले। किसी भी सूत्र से यह पता नहीं चल पाया कि उनको पार्टी के लिए यहां किसी व्यक्ति को मनोनीत किया गया या नहीं लेकिन यह अवश्य बताया गया कि उन्होंने जनजाति क्षेत्र के बारे में भी जानकारियां प्राप्त कीं।

कांशीराम की यात्रा के बारे में यद्यपि सोमवार को भी कतिपय लोग यह कहते रहे कि वे यहां आए ही नहीं लेकिन पुलिस उच्चाधिकारियों ने उनकी इस यात्रा की पुष्टि की।

सरकार बदली जानी चाहिए: कांशीराम

[कार्यालय संवाददाता]

जयपुर, 21 सितम्बर। बहुजन समाज पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष कांशीराम ने कहा कि जो सरकार अपने बनाए हुए कानून को लागू नहीं करा सकती, वह निकम्मी है, इसलिए उसे बदल देना चाहिए।

कांशीराम रविवार को यहां पार्टी की ओर से आयोजित आमसभा में बोल रहे थे। उन्होंने कहा कि सरकार ने छुआछूत के खिलाफ सख्त कानून बना रखे हैं, लेकिन व्यवहार में वे लागू नहीं होते।

बहुजन पार्टी के नेता ने कहा कि नाथद्वारा की घटना व छुआछूत के खिलाफ जन जागरण करने के लिए पार्टी की ओर से बोट क्लब पर 15 अगस्त से धरना दिया जा रहा है। इसी सिलसिले में राजस्थान में छुआछूत विरोधी साइकिल रैली निकाली जा रही है।

माणक चौक चौपड़ पर हुई सभा में पार्टी के लाठीधारी स्वयंसेवक चारों ओर से श्रोताओं को घेरे हुए थे। सभी स्वयंसेवक राजस्थान से बाहर के थे, जो साइकिल रैली में भी शामिल थे।

नाथन तहसीलदार ने अधिशासी

को रोजगार दिया जाएगा जिसमें पक्ष। बर्दाश्त नहीं किया जाएगा।

अफवाह ....

[पृष्ठ एक कालम तीन का शेष]

'पत्रिका' को शनिवार की रात सूचना दी थी कि कांशीराम उदयपुर आ गए है और सुबह 7.30 मैराडोर से नाथद्वारा रवाना होंगे। सुबह सात बजे भी फोन पर यही जानकारी दी गई कि वह नाथद्वारा के लिए रवाना हो गए हैं।

यहां शाम तक बसपा के सूत्र कांशीराम के आगमन या पहुंचने के बारे में स्पष्ट जानकारी देने से कतराते रहे। अंत में साइकिल यात्रियों के पहुंचने के बाद सभा में घोषणा की गई कि कांशीराम नाथद्वारा नहीं आए है। वे 20 सितम्बर को जयपुर आकर जनसभा को संबोधित करेंगे।

बहुजन समाज पार्टी का १५ अगस्त से साइकिल मार्च

(हमारे प्रतिनिधि द्वारा)

आगरा, ३ अगस्त। बहुजन समाज पार्टी १५ अगस्त को स्वतंत्रता दिवस के दिन हर प्रकार की खासतौर से नैतिक, सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक आजादी हासिल करने के लिये अपने पहले जनान्दोलन 'बरेली मोर्चा' के तहत १० स्थानों से 'साइकिल मार्च' शुरू करेगी। पार्टी के सत्याग्रही बरेली पहुंचकर कांग्रेस (इ) की शासन की दोहरी नीति के विरुद्ध गिरफ्तारियां देंगे।

पार्टी के राष्ट्रीय अध्यक्ष श्री कांशीराम ने 'बरेली मोर्चा' के लिये प्रभावी वातावरण बनाने के लिये आज वृन्दकटरा से शुरू की अपनी 'पदयात्रा' के दौरान आयोजित एक लघु सभा में यह घोषणा की। उन्होंने कहा 'उ.प्र. तथा' इसके सीमावर्ती राजस्थान व मध्य प्रदेश के कुछ इलाकों सहित ६४ जिलों व दिल्ली में मोर्चा लगाया जायेगा। उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि 'हर दूतावास पर मोर्चा लगाकर हमें अपने साथ होने वाली बेईंसाफी को जगजाहिर करना होगा।'

श्री कांशी राम ने कहा कि "हम अपने साथ हुई बेईंसाफी को अपने लिये एक बड़े अवसर के रूप में बदल सकते हैं और गांधी के चेलों के नकाब को उतारकर उन्हें नंगा किया जा सकता है जो एक ओर मद्य निषेध के बारे में गांधी जी के विचारों का प्रचार करते हैं, दूसरी ओर पुलिस व पी.ए.सी. जैसे बलों के सहारे गरीब जनता को जबर्दस्ती शराब पिलाते हैं।" उन्होंने यह भी कहा कि गांधी के नाम पर चलने वाली इका सरकार के मद्य निषेध विभाग के नारे लोगों की आंखों में धूल झोंकने के लिये हैं। बहुजन समाज पार्टी के नेता ने बताया मद्यपान को रोकने के मांग की और सष्ट किया कि उनका आन्दोलन शराब के खिलाफ नहीं है।

उन्होंने कहा कि जबर्दस्ती शराब पिलाकर सारे देश से पांच वर्ष में गरीबों का १०,००० करोड़ रुपया लूटा जाता है, जबकि अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति एवं पिछड़े वर्गों की पार्टी को लोकसभा की सभी ५४२ सीटों पर चुनाव लड़ने के लिये ५ लाख प्रति स्थान के हिसाब से मात्र २७ करोड़ चाहिये।

उन्होंने विश्वास प्रकट किया कि यदि इस गणित को दुर्बल वर्ग के लोग समझ लें तो कांग्रेस (इ) सरकार को सत्च्युत करना बहुत आसान हो जायेगा।

श्री कांशीराम ने कहा कि 'हमारी बस्तियों में जबर्दस्ती शराब पिलाने के लिये शराब की दुकानें और पुलिस चौकियां स्थापित की गई हैं जबकि सवर्णों की बस्तियों में अस्पताल व स्कूल खोले जाते हैं।"

कांग्रेस (इ) के स्थानीय हरिजन सैल तथा जनता, कांग्रेस (ज) व कुछ अन्य संगठनों ने श्री कांशीराम द्वारा हाल में कानपुर में एक सम्मेलन में दिये भाषण के कुछ अंशों को आपत्तिजनक बताते हुये काले झंडे दिखाकर उनका विरोध करने की घोषणा की थी किन्तु आगरा छावनी स्टेशन से लेकर उनको पदयात्रा के दौरान कोई भी व्यक्ति विरोध प्रकट करने की कोशिश करता भी नजर नहीं आया। उनकी घोषणा महज कागजी निकली।

श्री कांशी राम ने अपने पूर्व निर्धारित कार्यक्रमानुसार वृन्दकटरा, सिगही का नगला, नगला टेकचंद, नगला लट्टी सिंह, गुम्ट तखा पहलवान, टुण्डपुरा, नन्दपुर, बगीची कोटला, जसे का नगला, नगला पद्म, नैनाना जाट, सेवला, गोपालपुरा, तालरूसीराज खो आदि क्षेत्रों में पद-यात्रा कर 'बरेली मोर्चा' के पक्ष में जन-जागरण किया।

उन्होंने कांग्रेस के २० सूत्री कार्यक्रम को २० सूत्री गरीबों बढ़ाओ कार्यक्रम बताया और कहा कि इसकी कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। उन्होंने कहा कि ८५ प्रतिशत लोगों को लाचार व गरीब बनाने का काम १५ वर्ष पहले से शुरू किया जा चुका है।

श्री कांशी राम ने कल प्रधानमंत्री श्री राजीव गांधी द्वारा द. अफ्रीका में रंगभेद की आलोचना किये जाने पर टिप्पणी की कि वे अपने देश के ६५ प्रतिशत लोगों के साथ भेदभाव करने का कार्यक्रम चलाये हुये हैं और 'द. अफ्रीका के काले लोगों को उल्लू बनाने में लगे हैं। उन्होंने कहा कि गांधी द. अफ्रीका से डी.बीयर्स कम्पनी के माध्यम से ५० से ६० करोड़ रु. के हीरों का आयात करना न रोककर ब्रिटेन तथा अन्य देशों को द.अफ्रीका के साथ व्यापार बंद करने की सलाह कैसे दे सकते हैं। डी.बीयर्स कम्पनी में सरकार के ५० प्रतिशत शेयर हैं।

श्री कांशीराम ने 'बरेली मोर्चा' पर विस्तृत प्रकाश डालते हुये कहा कि राज्य सरकार ने बस्तियों तथा स्कूलों के निकट शराब की दुकानें न होने के अपने आदेश का ही उल्लंघन किया जिससे बरेली के चांदखा मौहल्ले के उनके दो स्कूल बंद हो गये।

उन्होंने कहा कि वहां लगभग १०० महिलायें ही आन्दोलन कर रही हैं। उन्हें जेल भिजवा कर दहशत फैलाई जा रही है। जेल में उनसे किसी को मिलने नहीं दिया जाता और याहरी पुरुषों की पिटाई की जाती है।

उन्होंने कहा कि इस मोर्चे का कोई विरोध नहीं कर सकता क्योंकि यह जबर्दस्ती शराब पिलाने के खिलाफ है। उन्होंने यह भी कहा

कि बरेली की कांग्रेस (इ) सहित उ.प्र. कांग्रेस (इ) के हरिजन सैल के अध्यक्ष श्री माताप्रसाद ने उनके मोर्चे का समर्थन किया है। लेकिन कहीं-कहीं हरिजन सैल के स्थानीय नेता विरोध भी कर रहे हैं।

श्री कांशी राम ने घोषणा की कि साइकिल मार्च झांसी, हरिद्वार, सहारनपुर, बनारस तथा देवरिया से १५ अगस्त को शुरू होगा किन्तु मेरठ, इलाहाबाद तथा एक अन्य स्थान से १६ अगस्त को और आगरा से १७ अगस्त से साइकिल मार्च शुरू होगा।

बाद में इस संवाददाता के कुछ प्रश्नों का जवाब देते हुये बसपा नेता ने इस बात से असहमति प्रकट की कि पिछड़े वर्गों के बीच शराब की दुकानें सोधे-सीधे इसलिये खोली जातीं हैं कि वहां उसकी बिक्री अधिक होती है। इसमें 'लूट' का प्रश्न कहां है। उन्होंने एक क्षण ठहर कर प्रतिप्रश्न किया कि 'औरत को पर्दे में क्यों रखा जाता है? इसके विपरीत स्थिति होने पर आप क्या आशा करेंगे?

उन्होंने कानपुर में डा. अम्बेडकर के प्रति आपत्तिजनक भूषण करने के बारे में कहा 'उनके बारे में मैं अपमानजनक बात क्यों कहूंगा ऐसा नहीं दिया इसीलिये तो इंकजान दुखी है। हम तो वास्तव में बाबा साहब के बताये रास्ते पर नीचे गिराये गये लोगों को संगठित कर रहे हैं।"

यहां पहुंचने पर पार्टी के मा. मानसिंह तथा पद्म सिंह वर्मा सहित अनेक स्थानीय नेताओं ने उनका स्वागत किया। कार्यकर्ता पार्टी के झंडे लिये उनके साथ नारे लगाते हुये चल रहे थे "गांधी के चेलों जबर्दस्ती शराब पिलाना बंद करो-बंद करो।"

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Interviews

Recorded Interview with Jagdish Chandra from Allahabad, Dated-17/09/20

Recorded Interview with T.R. Khunte, Noida, Dated-21/12/20.

Recorded interview with Dayal Singh Kashyap (OBC) from Haryana, 27/02/21

Recorded interview with Sobran Singh (Agra, 10/09/20).

Recorded Interview with Dalchand Nonariya (Agra, 20/12/20).

Recorded interview with Karamveer Ranga (Fatehabad-Haryana, 24/03/21).

Recorded Interviews with T.R. Khunte (Noida 29/12/20).

Recorded Interview with K.C. Pippal (UP. 23/12/20), who was associated with Kanshi Ram.

Recorded Interview with Hariram Gautam from Saharanpur, 28/07/20.

Recorded Interview with Master Raj Kishor from Village Meeva, District Meerut, 18/08/20.

Recorded interview with S.K. Patil (Maharashtra, 20/11/21) was the senior activist in the BAMCEF and did lots of work in Bengal.

Recorded interview with A.K. Maurya, Delhi, 05/01/21. (He was the incharge of Odisa constituent assembly election in 1990).

Recorded interview with Vilayati Ram Pawar, Halka Indri, Haryana, 25/02/21.

Recorded interview with Ajmer Singh Sen, Haryana, 25/02/21

Recorded interview with Ranbeer Singh Pal, Karnal, Haryana, 26/02/21.

Recorded interview with Baburam, Karnal, 26/02/21

Recorded interview with Ram Kumar Saalwan, Haryana, 28/02/21.

Recorded interview with Brijpal Singh Gautam, Haryana, 01/03/21. (He was the personal secretary of Kanshi Ram for 13 years)

Recorded interview with Prakash Singh Pakhi, Punjab. 01/03/21.

Recorded interview with Chaudhary Sahi Ram, Kishanpura Majra, Haryana, 3/3/21.

Recorded interview with Rameshwar Das, Haryana, 3/3/21.

Recorded interview with Hansraj Singh, Delhi, 18/3/21.

Recorded interview with Naresh Kumar Ranga, Haryana, 22/3/21.

Recorded interview with Jile Singh, Rohtak, Haryana, 22/3/21.

Recorded interview with Omprakash, Bainsi, Haryana, 23/3/21.

Recorded interview with Narsingh Selwal, Haryana, 26/3/21.

Recorded interview with Dr. Mukhtyar Singh Sadar, Fatehabad, Haryana, 27/3/21.

Recorded interview with Avtaar Singh Kareempuri, Punjab, 8/4/21.

Recorded interview with Pyarelal, Punjab, 8/4/21.

Recorded interview Bhagwan Singh Chauhan, Punjab, 8/4/21.

Recorded interview with P.D. Shant, Jalandhar, Punjab, 9/4/21.

Recorded interview with Kulwant Kaur Sokhian. (Kanshi Ram's sister), 10/4/21.

Recorded interview with Rajinder Singh Raja, Punjab, 10/4/21.

Recorded interview with Saroop Sialvi, Punjab, 9/4/21.

Recorded interview with MP. Rana, Allahabad, 24/3/21.

Recorded interview A.R. Akela, Aligarh, 28/3/21

Recorded interview with Mool Chand, Delhi, 26/8/20.

Recorded interview with Babu Bakhtawar Singh, Meerut, 31/8/2020. (He has circulated the newspaper "Bahujan Sangathak" in Meerut)

Recorded interview with Rajaram Verma, Noida.

Recorded interview with Shyam Singh Tez, Saharanpur, 10/8/20. (He was the national president of Jagriti Dasta)

Recorded interview with Mehar Singh, Roorkee, 30/7/20.

Recorded interview with Tilka Devi, 30/7/20.

Recorded interview with Milind Wasnik, Maharashtra, 24/6/21.

Recorded interview with Sevaram, Roorkee, 29/7/20

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