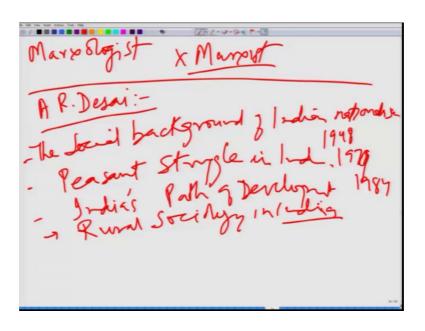
## Development of Sociology in India Prof. Ashish Saxena Department of Sociology Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur

## Lecture - 10

So friends, we have talked about D P Mukherjees contribution in terms of a Marxian perspective, rather he was been seen as a Marxillogist. And how he is understanding can be seen as an important aspect with regard to the Indian society.

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Now in the similar framework whom we can see as relevant for analyzing the Indian society, that is the contribution of Professor A R Desai.

A R Desai as we know is Akshay Ramanlal Desai, and he was basically born in Nadiad in Gujarat, and he has a good understanding about the Indian society in the Marxian framework. He went to the University of Bombay for his graduation and got his law degree and PhD under the supervision of Professor GS Ghurye, who was basically a practitioner of endology.

Later on A R Desai had made a profession in the Bombay University and he became the head of the department. A R Desai is basically seen as the practitioner of the dialectical historical model in the sociological studies. And he was been influenced by the works of

Karl Marx, Engels and Trotsky, whom he has observed closely and he had tried to see the modern Marxist approach for the empirical investigations.

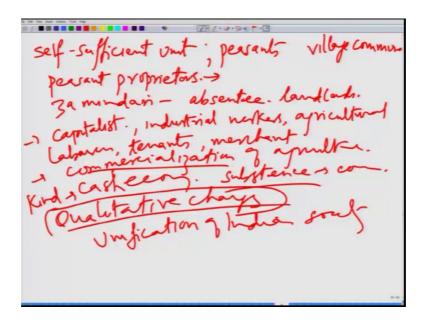
And if you try to see he was basically bit critical about non utilization of the Marxian method in the Indian society. And he rejects that the interpretation of the traditions related to the religion, rituals and the festivals cannot be understood. If we are not or they cannot give the scientific explanation of the changes and we have to adopt the Marxian method for analyzing the changes in the Indian society.

Especially, when is trying to speak about the issue of nationalism, ideology in that sense says that in terms of the social configurations. How the social configuration has led to the emergence of nationalism; that is an important aspect that he is trying to work that he tried to worked upon. And there he has used the historical metal is as a principle of understanding the changes.

He considers that the emerging contradictions in the Indian process of social transformation is mainly because of the nexus between the capitalist bourgeois and the rural Pati Bourgeois and also the role of the state apparatus. And all of them results in to the emergence of certain contradictions. And here again the involvement of the economic phenomenon is going to be important as such. And I think these things are reflected in most of the contributions of A R Desai to name a few his significant contribution.

I think one pioneer contribution of A R Desai is the social background of Indian nationalism, social background of Indian nationalism. That was one of the pioneering work that came in 1948. Another significant work which of course, he tries to work upon is the issue of peasant struggle in India, peasant struggle in India that was basically in 2 volumes in that sense as such which came in 1979. Then also we have his significance contribution in terms of India's path of development, India's path of development that was in 1984.

So, these are certain important contributions which he has made he had also worked upon the slump situation, and he tries to understand upon the different aspect of the Indian society. One of his, another edited work which of course, remarks about his contribution is rural sociology in India. And this work was basically seen as one of a pioneering work in the field of rural sociology, and there also he tries to applies the Marxian analysis for interpreting the rural Indian society.



Now, when we try to see his contribution; in terms of the social background of Indian nationalism, he was trying to speak about the nature of changes which has been brought about in the village structure, in the urban structure, and also how it has led to the emergence of the nationalistic feeling. So, when he tries to speak about the village structure, he was trying to see or trace the historicity of the village structure.

And what he said that; the pre British period the villages how were like what they were basically seen as the self-sufficient unit. They were basically seen as the self-sufficient unit, which are basically having the population composed of the peasants, mainly the peasants the basic population in that sense for the peasants. And the peasant families they enjoyed the traditional hereditary rights to process and cultivate their own land holding from generation to generation.

So, the village communes were going to have an important role and even the individual ownership of the property was missing. And the village was based on the agriculture carried out with the primitive plow and the bullock power. And the handicraft was also seen as another means of the primitive equipment's. The village councils as I said earlier also the village communes, they were the defective owners of the village land. And the village land selling was not permissible without the permission of the village communes.

So, in that way we try to find out that the village were basically seen as the self-sufficient units, which have their own political structure, economic structure and we have some

nothing to do with the outside world. And within the village structure the role of the village panchayat was going to be of economic and political importance, because they are going to be the directive forces of change or bringing about the certain amount of stability to the existing order.

Now when we try to see the transformation which took place in the Indian society; in during the British period here also I think as I said earlier in D P Mukahrjees understanding that; the Britishers were responsible for bringing about the economic transformation. And A R Desai also was the believer of the fact that the British advent has led to the structural transformation in the Indian society. Especially, the changes which have been brought about with regard to the mode of production has led to the emergence of the new order, and that has resulted into the new structural arrangements.

Now, what are the changes the transformation which took place just after the pre British period. We try to find out that the new economic reforms have been introduced by the British government. And that has basically led to the complete change in the old economic system, and we try to say of fine that the old land relations and the artesians had transformed completely. The village communes which appeared to be the sole unit for or the decision making bodies for that transaction.

Now, we had the present proprietors. So, the peasant proprietors they acted as the individual ownership of land, and along with that we also had the advent of the Zamindars, which was basically seen as the absentee landlords, who are basically having nothing to do with the so called cultivation, but we try to see that the Zamindars were acting as an intermediary between the government and the masses.

The class of artisans which has depth disappeared in the modern industry, the new classes were the capitalist, which were typically the capitalist, you have the industrial workers, you have the industrial workers, you have the agricultural laborers and along with that you have the tenants and the merchants. Now these are certain new categories of class which has emerged with the process of chain with the advent of the Britishers.

Similarly, we try to see that the new land revenue system which has came into picture. And this new land revenue system it has basically land to led to the commercialization of agriculture, commercialization of agriculture was because of the new land revenue policy. Because what Britishers have done is that they have asked for the revenue in cash and not in kind.

So, virtually there was a shift from the kind economy to the cash economy. And we have the advent of the commercialization. And so, subsistence economy was replaced by the commercial economy. So, virtually we have seen that how there is a shift in the nature of production change in the aspect especially from subsistence to the so called commercializations. We try to find out that the new class structure in the rural India we had the absentee landlords. That is the Zamindars as I discussed. You have the tenants, you have the present proprietors, you have the agricultural laborers, you have the moneylenders and also you have the merchant class.

And in the urban setting if you try to see; in the urban slightly also we tried to find out that you have the capitalist industrial working class, you have the petty traders, you have the professional class like doctors, the lawyers, the engineers another peoples in that sense the working class. So, the new composition of the class emerged both in the rural India and the urban India, and apart from these changes in the rural social structure and the urban social structure.

Another thing which has been worked upon by a Britishers was that the British government has introduced the railways, the postal system, they have the centralized uniform law, they have the English education, they have the modern industries and all these things have led to the qualitative changes in the Indian social order.

So, all these policies which the Britishers have implemented, which they have devised they had brought about the qualitative changes in the Indian social order. And we tried to find out that the British government, which has done such exploitative mechanism in India, but unintentionally what they have done that they have led to the unification of the Indian society. Because the new modes like the transports, communication, the railways, the postal service, the uniform laws all of them had put the Indian society in terms of the linkage in terms of the connectivity in that sensation; so the people, the communities who have been seen in terms of segregations, now they had certain amount of unifications. The role of the railways and the press is significant in this direction which has brought the scattered and disintegrated Indians into the mainstream. The implications of the various social movements the collective representations, the national sentiments

and also the consciousness towards the formation of the unionism all these things have happened because of the unification of the Indian with regard to this particular issue. And this freedom movements to some extent is responsible for the awakening of the Indian nationalism.

Thus one can say that the India's nationalism is an output of the materialistic conditions which were built by the British colonialism. So, virtually the ideology the nationalistic feeling is coming out from the metalistic conditions of existence. And thus, Desai applies the Marxist approach to the study of nationalism in India that to in the British rule. He spells out the historical dialectical materialism and applies it to the study of various types of movement.

Especially in the rural India, in the urban setup, within the cast and the classes structure the social mobility the new education system; and especially the role of the press which also he highlighted has led to the unifications of the Indian society. And in his contribution Desai he is also referring to the increased consciousness which has emerged with regard to the question for the self-awareness a social self-awareness about the specific issues.

Similarly, if you try to see his, another contribution that is India's path of development. He take upon the traditional communist parties and the marks scholars who had spoke about the alliance with the progressive Borgias and the sebi federalism. And he tries to have the 2 stage theory of revolution, which has to be seen as a parliamentary road to the socialism in India.

Similarly, if you try to see his present struggle in India and especially the green struggle in India after independence the 2 volumes. Desai has excelledly talked about the present struggle in India during the colonial rule after independence. And Desai suggest that the newly emerged propriety class as well as a green poor and the green prolotrates. They are fighting for their own share with regard to the development process.

So, it has led to certain amount of consciousness among the workers, among the various categories of the people and how they are coming together to bring about the claim for having the more and more fruits from the process of development. So, we try to find out that when Desai is trying to speak about the theories of modernization. In terms of the capitalistic path of development towards a desirable value premised.

We find out that the ideological values are being rooted with the capitalistic path which has clearly linears towards the Marxian understanding about the process of change; that how capitalism has brought about the changes in the new form of society.

And if you try to see in a better way, we try to find out that the class character is going to be very important phenomenon in the analysis of Desai. We have the role of the economic in that sense economic interpretation of the history. How the ideology is going to be directed by that is so called economic forces of change and the economic order. They are going to be an important issues and Desai has rightly highlighted the various aspects of the Marxist approach, which can be applied to the understanding of the Indian society. And he has gone to an extent that; he is talking about the relevance of the Marxist approach in the Indian society in one of his important works, and that he has addressed in one of the presidential address of the Indian sociological society.

Now, one thing which has to be find out or which has to be seen is this; changes which is speaking about he is basically talking about not the quantitative changes which are been there in the Indian society; rather he is trying to speak about the qualitative changes which are being brought about in the Indian society. Especially with regard to the nationalism the reflections on the economic interpretations, and all of them are seemed to be more qualitative in nature rather than quantitative in nature.

So, we try to find out that the changes, the new orders which have been spoken about by A R Desai it signifies or it tries to highlight what are the important ways in which we can have the interpretation of the Indian society. Now I think when we try to speak about the variations which have taken place, especially the structural transformation which has taken place either in the rural India.

As we rightly said that Desais work is trying to see the changing order of the rural India, the changing order of the urban India, the role of the media, the role of the movements; especially he is trying to speak about the trade unionism which has emerged, he is talking about the women that has emerged. All these things are basically the reflections of the changes which are coming from the economic processes of change. And all these things are basically seen as the changes which are owing to the economic transformations economic processes of change. And ultimately we try to see that these qualitative changes are responsible for bringing about the change in the Indian social order.

Now, here one important point that one has to really see; especially I think as I said that there are many other people who try to speak about the Marxian understanding for analyzing the Indian society, like there are different principles of a mask which has been used in one way or the other. Especially we tried to see the contribution of the various scholars in the field of rural India like we have Ram Krishna Mukherjee, whose trying to speak about the dynamics of change with regard do the rule of social structure, trying to speak about the class 1, class 2 and class 3 categories and which are again on the economic lines.

Similarly, the people like Utsa Patnaik trying to speak about the understanding of the class, in terms of the exploitation or we have people like Rudra Datra, who is trying to speak about the other aspect of change, other aspect of the class structure which are being visible through the typical economic framework. So, most of the people in that sense who say were in whatever way they have used the Marxian perspective, they to try to rely a more upon the class analysis. They are trying to focus upon the mode of production and the means of production as the source of change, and how that has been reflected in the qualitative change in the existing structure.

But here we have to see that which D P Mukherjee had done to a great extent that; can we have the understanding of the society based on, what I can say having our own taste that the typicality of the Indian culture or the Indian society, how much we can see to that aspect also. And there I think we try to find out that definitely we can have the understanding of the class at the global model, but can we think about our own way of looking to the class; that of course, has to be beyond the Marxian understanding and that somewhere we have to see.

But the most important thing that we have to carry forward is the Marxian analysis. Basically is not what I can say is full of contradictions it is not full talking about the change as such; rather we try to see that, how they are going to bring about the question of the changes which are qualitative in nature, because the dialectics as we know that it is speaking about the changes which are from quantitative to qualitative in that sensation.

So, most of the works which I just shared I think they are to some extent speaking about the qualitative transformation in the rural or in the urban India in terms of analysis of the cast. And we have to see that how much is the relevance of Marx with regard to the Indian society. Especially when when A R Desai was speaking about the relevance of the Marx in the Indian set up. He was trying to argue that the issues of religion, caste, ideologies. I think they are not going to be a sufficient answer for analyzing the Indian society and there he is trying to focus upon that; why we have to have an understanding of a Indian society from the Marxian perspective.

Similarly, with regard to so called industrial class of the Indian society. I think there also he is trying to focus upon that we have to have the understanding of the Indian industrial class in terms of the Marxian framework. Although we may not be having that sharp professionalization the unionism in that sense is not going to be very sharp, but definitely it has it is own bearing for understanding and analyzing the Indian society.

And here we try to find out that what is ever contribution has been made by people like Desai and D P Mukherjee, we try to find out that their contribution definitely is going to be crucial for understanding the Indian society in the Marxian framework. And we here try to focus upon the fact that; wherever we are trying to rely upon the Marxian model, I think it is going to bring about not only the qualitative aspect of change, but it is also trying to see the society in a more objective way.

In a sense, that the ideologies are not going to be the prime factor for analyzing and interpretation of the change; rather we are relying more on the qualitative aspect of change. Especially we try to see the sort of economic determinism which is going to be an important feature for understanding the Marxian analysis.

So, in that sense we try to see that the dominant sociological approaches in India are basically following the non-Marxist model, but the Marxist approach has not to be rejected. It has to be seen in the light of bringing about the confirmation to the Indian realities. So, that we should not be value loaded and we should not be having certain amount of specific ideology to locate and understand the Indian society.

The Marxist approach help us to understand the social reality through the means of production through the techno economic division of labor involved in operating in the instrument of production, the social relations of productions and more precisely towards the property relations. I think if these things are they are trying to speak about the property relations, the social relations we are trying to speak about the instrument of

productions and the use of techno economic divisions in the Indian societies. I think they are going to be quite detrimental for influencing and affecting the Indian society.

The state is society in India which Desai is trying to pinpoint it provides a critique towards the modernization, accepted by the academic establishment. He clearly stated that the modernization on capitalistic path is a desirable value premised, and we have to have the valuable analogical vehicles to the ruling class pursuing towards the capitalistic path. And in one way or the other the class character, the class rules and the economic ideological functions of the post in independent India, state has to be seen by the Marxist scholar in the true sense. And what we have to see is the theme of the repressive role of the state which is going to be growing resistance to the capitalistic path of development and that has to be challenged.

So, I think the Marxian understanding is not simply restricted to the understanding of the Indian society in a very narrow framework. I think we have to see it in terms of the practitioners also by practitioners we mean to say that if we are trying to apply these standard principles which are more of universal level, then we can have the scientific understanding about the Indian society. And which can also be seen as more what I can say; accepted in the global framework.

Especially when we try to see the question of aggrading struggle or we are trying to see the urban struggles urban resistance which are there with the trade unionism. If we had certain amount of professionalization within them then only we can have the better understanding about the Indian society. So, in that way; what I feel that Marxian perspective can be not a solution, but definitely a suggestive way for locating and looking to the Indian social realities. And in that way the Marxian method either it is a question of the economic interpretation or the dialectical approach which has been used by D P Mukherjee, in his contribution of tradition and modernity in terms of an interplay is going to be very crucial.

Because if you are missing the past and seeing the present and the future alone, I think that may not be the right way to see the changes. We have to see the changes keeping in mind the past because, Marx himself was saying that the roots of the present and the future are seeded in the past itself. So, the present is going to be responsible for bringing about the changes in the future.

So, we cannot ignore the past, we cannot ignore the historical development of the society. We have to rely on the futuristic trends based on what was there in the past and the present scenario, because they are going to be the immediate factor which will bring about the transformation in the new set up in the coming future.

So, with these kind words and the shearing, which he had kindly is try to go through further readings. In that sense as such from Desai and D P Mukherjee and many other scholars which I named, so that you can have a better understanding about the Marxian perspective in the understanding of the Indian social reality.

So, thank you for listening and having the wider understanding about the Marxian perspective, and for further deliberations we can have some other dialogues may be in coming future.

Thank you.