PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

"Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism" is being reprinted. The book was out of print for some years. Preoccupations with University work and involvement in other researches and publications prevented me from revising the book and making it up-to-date. However, the pressure of the Publisher, to meet the growing demand for this work, compelled me to reprint the work in its original form.

The book, as indicated in the preface of the first edition, was a sketch delineating the broad trends emerging in India after Independence. The method adopted to analyse the reality of social transformation was the method of Historical Materialism. I also indicated in my studies of Indian Nationalism viz. "Social Background of Indian Nationalism" and "Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism" that this powerful method enables one to discover long term tendencies. It provides greater insights into the unfoldment of the core processes of social development, than any other method. It is proving its superiority over other methods is Social Studies. This is proved by the fact that hundreds of "scattered studies towards factual surveys based on 'Organic metaphysics of liberal practicality'" have avoided the central problems of "historical structure" and have transformed social studies into conscious or unconscious provider of apologetic for Ruling Class policies.

I am attempting to examine the unfolding Indian social reality on the explicit assumption of adopting the method of Historical Materialism. The major postulate adopted in the earlier edition of the book was stated clearly. *The Indian Society after Independence is being shaped on Capitalist path of development. The State which has emerged in India after Independence is a capitalist state. The Constitution evolved is bourgeois Constitution and the leadership, is representing Capitalist class and is reshaping the economy and society on Capitalist path. The slogan of socialistic pattern is a hoax to create illusion and confuse the masses. The real intentions and practices are geared to the development on Capitalist*
lines. The book also pointed out how the trends of development, economic, political, social, educational and cultural, emerging after Independence could be understood and explained only if they are viewed as a result of a policy of Capitalist path of development in Indian context. It also pointed out that the direction of emerging trends, the growing contradictions and the evolving tensions and antagonisms have arisen out of the social transformation on Capitalist path.

Through a series of papers, articles and books, I am attempting to point out how this approach is being vindicated by developments in various segments of Indian social reality.

The central thrust of the 1st edition has been more than proved by the subsequent developments. The emergence of the leadership of Smt. Indira Gandhi, with her sloganary of Garibi-Hatao, Socialism, and concern for weaker section, does not disprove the central proposition of the argument of the book.

Prof. Gunnar Myrdal in his major classic “Asian Drama” has given a clarion call to scholars to explicitly state the major postulates on which they conduct their studies. He has chastised the Western scholarship for its so-called value-free researches. Prof. C. Wright Mills in his “Sociological Imagination” also launched a scathing attack on the scholarship based on “Organic Metaphysics of liberal practicality” as indicated in the preface to our First Edition of the present book. I also pointed out in the first edition that the Indian scholarship is also basically affected by the disease of “Social Science of Scattered Milieus”.

It is my submission that studies of Indian social development, while providing some valuable information have not only failed to grapple with but have even dodged the central issues. As formulated in this book, I deem it urgent that social scientists clearly realise that the transformation that is being brought about in India is on Capitalist Path, and that the State that has emerged in India after Independence, is a Capitalist State whether government is headed by Pt. Nehru, Shastri, Morarjee Desai, Indira Gandhi, Bajpai or even S. A. Dange or Jyoti Basu. It is also necessary to clearly understand that the policies, followed by the Government, whatever their variations from time to time, have one consistent axis viz. a
policy to adumbrate Capitalist socio-economic formation.

Explicit recognition of this crucial point alone will enable the scholars to arrive at a proper comprehension of the trends of development that are taking place in India and also to grasp the nature of tensions and antagonisms unfolding in the country.

I do hope the reprint of the present work will help to re-assert the central point presented in the earlier edition, which to my mind has become even more relevant today. The coming into power of Smt. Indira Gandhi, with her slogans of Garibi-Hatao and Socialism, has switched a large section of Indian scholarly fraternity to evolve a radical stance and sophisticated terminology to interpret the astute Capitalist policies of Smt. Indira Government, as socialist ones. Unless the major postulates are not clearly comprehended, there is a danger, that the bulk of Indian scholarly fraternity unconsciously or consciously will be used as band wagons or prize fighters to defend the policies of the Smt. Indira Government as socialists while in reality they are adroitly elaborated to evolve Capitalist path of development, with all its implications for exploited and oppressed classes of India.

I am deeply thankful to Sjt. Ramdas Bhatkal and his able associate Sjt. Gokarn for forcing me to reprint the book and publishing it in its present elegant form. I trust the book, will evoke further discussion on the central issues of vital significance for Indian society.

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“Recent Trends in Indian Nationalism” attempts to continue the discussion on the theme of Indian Nationalism during the War and Post-War period, and is a brief extension of my earlier study, “Social Background of Indian Nationalism”.

When I was retouching “Social Background of Indian Nationalism” for its third Edition, the Publishers asked me to add a few pages in the form of a Post-script delineating the development of Indian Nationalism during the War and Post-War period. I struggled hard to work out a short Postscript. However, due to the exigency of adequately portraying the numerous momentous developments which took place during this period, and vastly transformed world social landscape, the Postscript lengthened to the size of a small book. It was deemed advisable to publish this elaborate Postscript as a separate companion volume to “Social Background of Indian Nationalism”. The present work is thus in the nature of an enlarged Postscript of “Social Background of Indian Nationalism”.

I have been trying to study the phenomenon of Indian Nationalism in its recent socio-historical context for a number of years. Massive literature has been accumulating dealing with different aspects of Indian development and that too on the rich background of a rapidly changing international setting. I desire to present the picture that has been emerging in greater detail and substantiate it by a large volume of evidence subsequently in a more comprehensive study—an elaborate sequel to “Social Background of Indian Nationalism”.

In the process of my study, I found to my painful surprise that there has been hardly any attempt made hitherto to cohesively depict the developments—apparently confusing and contradictory—that have taken place during last twenty years.

There is a tragic dearth of literature which is prompted by bold hypotheses and, further, which transcends mere pragmatic, empirical and symptom-describing level. Some of the attempts to evaluate the total development suffer from lack of a scientific approach, and have been made from the standpoint of such misleading theories as the creative genius of the Hindus or the Great Man theory. A large number of works is in the nature of defence
credo of the extant Government and avoid some of the most vital questions of Indian social development. Social development in India is made to appear as a Jigsaw puzzle.

It appears that our dominant economic thought, political theorizing, historical analysis as well as sociological and philosophical exploration have, after independence, taken to expedient apologetics in place of scientific inquiry. They appear to have been adapted to the needs of the ruling class rather than prompted by anguished search for objective truth. As one great scientist has very pertinently pointed out, "What Social Science needs is less use of elaborate techniques and more courage to tackle, rather than dodge, the central issues."

The scholarly literature on various aspects of the social-cultural life of India seems hesitant to confront central issues, is inclined more to dodge the crucial-epocal problems that face Indian society.

C. Wright Mills, in his recent profound work "Sociological Imagination" has pointed out the pitfalls of recent social science studies. According to him,

If there is any one line of orientation historically implicit in American Social Science, surely it is the bias toward scattered studies, toward factual surveys, and the accompanying dogma of a pluralist confusion of causes. These are essential features of liberal practicality as a style of social study. For if everything is caused by innumerable "factors" then we had best be careful in any practical actions we undertake.

We must deal with many details, and so it is advisable to proceed to reform this little piece and see what happens, before we reform that little piece too. And surely we had better not be dogmatic and set forth too large a plan of action. We"must enter the all-interacting flux with a tolerant awareness that we may not yet know, and perhaps will never know, all the multiple causes at work. As social scientists of milieux, we must become aware of many little causes; to act intelligently, as practical men, we must be piecemeal reformers of milieus, one here and one there.

Walk carefully.... things are not so simple. If we break a society into tiny 'factors', naturally we shall then need quite a few of them to account for something and we can never be sure that we have hold of them all. A mere emphasis upon "the organic whole" plus a failure to consider the adequate causes—which are usually structural—plus a compulsion to examine only one situation at a time—such ideas do make it difficult to understand the structure of the status quo....

In the "Organic" metaphysics of liberal practicality, whatever tends to harmonious balance is likely to be stressed. In viewing everything as a "continuous process" sudden changes of pace and revolutionary
dislocations—so characteristic of our time—are missed, or if not missed, merely taken as signs of the 'pathological', the 'maladjusted'. The formality and assumed unity implied... decrease the possibility of seeing what a modern social structure may be all about. (pp. 85-86).

Indian scholarship is also being affected by the disease of "social science of scattered milieus". It is also becoming a prisoner of "'organic' Metaphysics of Liberal practicality". It is also elaborating a screen to avoid observing "sudden changes of pace and revolutionary dislocations" or treat them as "pathological" phenomena. It also basically avoids the central problems of "historical social structures".

Professor Mills has rightly pointed out that any significant major study of a social phenomena needs to answer the following crucial questions:

"(1) What is the structure of this particular society as a whole? What are the essential components and how are they related to one another? How does it differ from other varieties of social order? Within it, what is the meaning of any particular feature for its continuance and for its change?

"(2) Where does this society stand in human history? What are the mechanics by which it is changing? What is its place within and its meaning for the humanity as a whole? How does any particular feature we are examining affect and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves? And this period—what are its essential features? How does it differ from other periods? What are its characteristic ways of history making?"

The present work is an endeavour to understand the recent trends in Indian Nationalism. It tries to answer some of the outstanding questions with regard to Indian society from a synthetic perspective. It is based on the application of the method of Historical Materialism. It, for the first time, tries to indicate the casual connections underlying economic, political, social, educational, cultural, and ideological currents that have been developing in India. To my best knowledge, this is the first synthetic account of the various aspects of Nationalism in India, that have developed during the War and Post-War period.

The present study is in the nature of a draft for examination. It also is in the nature of a challenge to provoke controversy over many fundamental problems of Indian history.

The author will be happy and will be fully rewarded if the present work stimulates more comprehensive and more scientific
analyses of this most significant and fateful phase of Indian history. In fact, the present work is intended to focus attention on the extremely complex and unprecedented problems confronting the Indian nation the adequate understanding and mutual relationships of which alone can help to comprehend the law of motion of the Indian Society as a whole during the present historical period.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. G. S. Ghurye who has constantly goaded me to pursue the exploration of the more fundamental problems of social life.

I extend my thanks to Dr. Dhirendra Narain in helping me to get this work through the press. I am also thankful to the Librarian of the Bombay University and his courteous staff. To the publishers, I cannot but extend my thanks. But for their persistence this work would not have seen the light of the day.

The author will feel amply compensated if like his earlier work "Social Background of Indian Nationalism", this work also evokes controversies and stimulates healthy discussion on the subject.

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