
UNIT 41 THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SECULARISM IN INDIA, 1947-1964

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41.0 OBJECTIVES

After reading this Unit you will get to know:

- briefly about the background and origin of the term Secularism;
- about the way secularism has been conceptualized;
- how secularism's conception developed during the National Movement;
- how India opted for a secular path in the post- independence phase;
- briefly, the legal basis of Indian secularism.

41.1 INTRODUCTION

You have read about the various trends and currents during the Indian National Movement. Many ideas developed and evolved during the national movement were to find their own direction in the post- independence phase. In this unit we are going to look at one such important theme i.e. Secularism. The direction which secularism is taking has become a very important concern today.

Keeping this concern as a central point, this unit attempts to trace the conception of secularism to its origin in the Western World. How did secularism develop in the post- independence phase and what shape it is taking in India are the other aspects dealt with in the unit.

41.2 THE EVOLUTION OF SECULAR CONCEPTION

Secularism is a modern outlook of life. It was the product of a large scale social organisation of production, distribution and consumption in the industrial market societies of the modern West.

To begin with, this idea was advocated by some (individual) rationalists. The new emerging bourgeoisie (as a class) supported and advocated it during its ascendent phase of

anti-feudal revolts in Europe. They realized that like the modern industrial and agricultural economy, no social and political institutions of the modern nation state could be governed by backward principles of social organisation. Religion, as the cultural bastion of the pre-capitalist society was the obvious target of bourgeois rationalist criticism.

In this way, the necessity of secularism as a legal ideology, acquired new significance. Once the bourgeoisie had more or less captured the state power, it was given an institutional legitimacy as the state policy and the constitutional philosophy of the modern state. It was also done, because secularism became a necessary qualification for any state to be identified and known as liberal and democratic. In those circumstances of modern state building there was, of necessity, a tendency towards mutual tolerance of various upcoming groups, classes, and stratas within the society irrespective of their religious affiliations. This historical necessity was later on institutionalized as a public and political virtue of the state policy and administration. This required an avoidance of religious conflict. Thus, most of the philosophers of nineteenth century Europe argued against the enforcement of any religion by the state on any section or class of the people. The separation of religion (or church) and the state became a basic principle of modern government. For example, it was turned into a basic constitutional-legal virtue in the United States when it was included as the First Amendment into the U.S. Constitution. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercises thereof."

The process of secularisation was also necessary to reform the socio-cultural basis of civil society according to the scientific spirit of the new historical times. Similarly, the organisation of the secular state became an important criterion for the legal-ideological basis of the bourgeois state power. The new class, and not religion, provided strength to the need of secular ideology. Further, modernity and modernisation was an all-encompassing phenomenon. In the sphere of ideology and politics it advocated democratic change. Being modern in the post-renaissance West European context of anti-feudal revolts meant the acceleration of the tendencies of secularisation. It also, implied an enlargement of human freedom. It made an individual and a people as a sovereign master. That is, the master of his (or their) own destiny, whether it was in the sphere of production, or social change, or that of state-craft and political institutions. The individual or the people, and not God, were recognized as the makers of their history and political institutions. In this way modernity became the hall-mark of anti-feudal and anti-traditional outlook. Secularism became an appropriate ideological weapon of new modern rationality. That is, even in the realm of private life of an individual, science and reason started gaining primacy over religion and superstition.

41.3 THE ORIGIN OF SECULARISM

The word 'secular' and 'secularisation' gained intellectual and ideological currency when it came into use for the first time in 1648, at the end of Thirty Years War in Europe. It referred to the transfer of Church properties to the exclusive control of the princes. After the French Revolution, on November 2, 1798 Talleyrand (a veteran French statesman) announced to the French National Assembly that all ecclesiastical goods were at the disposal of the nation. Still later in 1851 George Jacob Holyoake coined the term 'secularism'.

It was in 1850s that secularism took the form of political philosophy and a movement. It was declared as the only rational basis of political and social organisation. Most of the radical intelligentsia and reformers of Europe regarded it as the movement of progress. The secular current of the movement began on 13th April 1853, when at a public meeting held in the honour of Robespierre many firebrands of Europe like Louis Blanc, Nadaud, Kussuli and others were present. This gathering also included peers, priests, politicians and the social workers. It was in this phase of the political movement that Holyoake defined secularism as a means of "promoting human welfare by material means, and making the service of the others a duty of life". Further, Holyoake questioned religious basis of civil society when he asked:

"What has the poor man got to do with orthodox religion, which begins by proclaiming him as a miserable sinner, and ends by leaving him as a miserable slave. The poor man finds himself in an armed world where might is God and poverty is fettered."

The criticism of theology in the writings of Holyoake therefore carries the radical element of socialist humanism. However, according to Holyoake himself, a secularist need not necessarily be an atheist. But Charles Bradlaugh, who exercised greater influence over secularist movement from the middle of 1860s onwards, asserted that the secularist should be a dedicated atheist. This position was also similar to many later days Marxists, socialists and communists.

41.4 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SECULARISM

The terminology of 'secularism' and 'secularization' were coined as post-facto conceptual determination of what had already been happening in the civil societies of Europe and North America for many decades. To begin with it was an ideological expression for the political reordering of large-scale complex societies. It was an outcome of the industrialisation, urbanisation and bourgeoisieification of these societies. However, the drive of secularisation also remained incomplete and fragmentary in the western liberal societies.

41.5 NEED OF THE SECULAR STATE AND IDEOLOGY

The establishment of the legal secular state and ideology was the necessity of modern nation state. Bodin, for example argued that:

"When two or more religions already existed.... it was useless and worse than useless for the state to seek to impose religious uniformity. To do so would merely lead to civil war and thus weaken the state."

But, the secular state in the West was not imposed overnight. It was essentially an end product of the secular social spirit at large. In fact, the evolution of the secular state in the modern West merely represented the progress of the secularisation of the civil society. To a large extent the secularization of the state followed up the secularization of the civil society. To begin with the secular spirit existed in the sphere of industry, science and technology and ultimately the market. The regulation of market economy also required secular laws and politics. And, as an ideology the process of secularization in the history of modern Western politics implied progressive social change in the structure of civil society, state, and its overall culture. It marked the rise of pluralism in politics and society.

In its essence, this social change can be characterized as the liberation (or separation) of state and public policy from the grips of religion and theological order. It also meant the primacy of the rational scientific non-religious, i.e., secular over public social life in a civil society leaving religion to a purely narrow private domain of an individual or a community's choice.

This private progressive ideological meaning of modernity, secularization and secularism survives to this day.

41.6 THE DEFINITION AND MEANING OF SECULARISM

It is clear from the foregoing explanation that the term 'secular', 'secular state' and 'secularism' is used to identify the character of state and society where there is complete separation of politics, administration and public social life from religion. The dictionary meaning of the word secular itself stands for things not spiritual or a policy having no concern with the Church. The secular nature of a state, its policy and the overall political culture is determined by the extent of their being liberated from the hold of religious cultural web. Similarly, secularization of the society can be measured by the irrelevance of religion in the day-to-day life, including the private life, of the people. For example, if the people of a particular region of a country cannot be activated and mobilized as a major political force by religious vested interests and religious ideology, it can be safely argued that such a society has a secular civic culture. Similarly, if the state in any country seeks non-religious solutions for solving the socio-economic crisis that grips their state and society, its political culture can also be termed as secular.

However, the process of secularization is determined by many factors. The specificity of the historical period, of the nature of the emergence of modern nation state, and the level of its scientific and technological development, for example, plays a crucial role in defeating a feudal way of life. Thus, the early development of capitalism in Europe and North America, was far more successful in overthrowing the feudal order than the late capitalist development in the third world countries.

Further, the role of secular education, secular literature and secular historiography also helps in defining the nation and national development in non-religious terms. In this way the "secularization", therefore, can be defined as "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols."

Check Your Progress 1

1 Tick (✓) the correct answer:

Modernity recognized

- i) God as the sovereign master
- ii) Machine as the sovereign master
- iii) individual or the people as the sovereign master
- iv) none of the above.

2 Tick (✓) the correct answer:

Industrialization, urbanisation, and the establishment of the modern state:

- i) can be linked to the emergence of secularism
- ii) have no link with the emergence of secularism
- iii) can be linked to the beginning of ecclesiastic societies
- iv) none of the above.

3 Explain in 50 words as to what you understand by the term secular?

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41.7 THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN SECULARISM

The evolution of Indian secularism, took place, in the context of a twin struggle against colonialism and oppressive institutions of the traditional order.

41.7.1 Obstacles of a Traditional Society

In the context of India the process of modernisation was preceded and followed up by that of traditionalism. The process of secularization and modernization, was also undermined by the dominant mainstream of the traditional forces of religion and revivalism in Indian social life. Modernity could never become the major social force capable of transforming the social life in rural and urban India. On the whole, India continues to be a traditional society. In most of the cases religion still dominates in totality the life of its people. In the words of the French Scholar Louis Dumont, "religion in India is constitutive of society". Politics and economics are neither autonomous domains nor are they in conflict with religion in India. In fact, they are simply encompassed and swamped by religion. The politics and sociology of caste in India is the glaring example of it. So far religion, culture, and dominant politics of India have never witnessed any major rupture or divorce. Without this historical break, the religious culture in India could never be privatised in any meaningful sense in the mainstream of Indian social life. So, the secularization of the civil society could never really take off an actual start in India. Thus, in spite of the voices raised against it, the marriage of religion and politics has been the dominant feature of the Indian political culture.

41.7.2 Nationalism and Secularism

The process of transformation of India from classical traditional society into a modern national polity is only a century old. In the historical past, Indians had not been seized with the spirit of nationalism, which so radically changed the face of Europe by the end of the 19th century. The principal reason for India's conquest and colonization was also the lack of nationalist feeling in various regions. All the traditional institutions of India's compartmentalist culture and society went against any spirit of national solidarity. While commenting on its unique system of caste, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, for example said:

"I regret to say that the present system of religion adhered to by the Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interests. The distinction of castes and innumerable divisions and subdivisions among them has deprived them of patriotic feelings....."

The historical absence of patriotism and national feeling in India's traditional institutions had an important bearing on its future political developments. From the later half of the 19th century, when the nationalist feeling began to germinate in the minds of Indians they had to start from the scratch. Nationalism itself (like secularism), as an ideology, to a certain extent, was a foreign import. Like secularism, nationalism was also limited to few upper middle class liberals. The early moderates or liberals, though not atheist or agnostic in their personal lives, dutifully maintained a secular stance in politics and public life. Their objective was to create a community of all Indians, as well as gain concessions from the British. But this, was determined by their capacity to win support (for this project), of the wider community outside the tiny circle of educated elite. In other words, the secular intelligentsia had to encounter the traditional society. This encounter in practical politics was quite a challenging one. That is, who will change whom? Whether the secular-liberal intelligentsia would prevail over the traditional religious-minded people, or the secular intelligentsia itself be swamped by the hold of the traditional culture?

41.7.3 Limitations of Early Mobilisation

Here it should be noted that within a few years of the organisation of the Indian National Congress, the traditional society started setting the parameters of national mobilization. That is, almost from the very beginning the project of nationalist politics and nation-building was being limited by the communal and sectarian ideologies. The moderates and their secular ideology was soon challenged by the ilk of Hindu revivalist leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo Ghosh, Lala Lajpat Rai and other Muslim revivalists. The national mobilisation started taking place on the issues of religion and culture. This ultimately led to separatism between Hindus and Muslims. Further, harm was done to the cause of secularism (and nationalism) when religions symbols and cults were utilized as the instruments of national mobilization. The anglicized secular leadership of moderates did their best to keep Hindu issues and symbols outside Congress proceedings in accordance with their secular political resolve. But their upper-class secular outlook itself became the major reason for Congress's arrested development. So, the dilemma before Congress was difficult one, to Hinduise Congress would alienate Muslims who were already sceptical of the Congress, and not to use religion for national mobilization would render Congress to its original elitist form of impotency.

41.7.4 The Gandhian Model

Finally, it was left to Gandhi to unmask the secret of religion and politics for national mobilisation. Gandhi openly declared the necessity of religion for political movement. "Those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means." Further he said, "for me, every, tiniest activity is governed by what I consider to be my religion." And, by 1920 the leadership of the Congress party passed into the hands of Gandhi. With this also came to an end the influence of the earliest school of secular nationalists. The early moderates (the liberal secularists) believed that the most creative domain for the play of religious consciousness was private rather than public domain. They placed integrated and national vision of India's future before their countrymen.

In opposition to the early liberal secular credo of nationbuilding, Gandhi upheld the role of popular religion in the generation of national consciousness. He wanted to widen the political base of the national movement with the help of the religious sensibility of the masses.

Although deeply rooted in Hindu popular ethos, Gandhian paradigm of national movement was based on religious pluralism, an equal respect towards all religions of India and world. His religious sensibility was based on a genuine democratic temper. His support to Khilafat movement and its transformation into India's national movement can be cited in this respect. That is why, the Gandhian model of secularism (or nationalism) also has been referred as 'composite secularism' or the goodwill towards all religions (sarvadharmā Sudbhava.)

The Gandhian version of secularism became immediately popular both among the poor as well as the rich. This success was partly because it relied heavily upon the traditional mainstream of religious value system of India. Gandhi's religious background was Vaishnava tradition. It provided him with an intimate knowledge of the legends and symbolisms of the folkheros of India. For example, the ideal state of independent India was termed as 'Ram Rajya' by him. The Gandhian reliance on masses did not frighten the propertied classes also, partly because he drew upon the theory of the trusteeship of wealth and non-violence, and opposed any idea of class-struggle and socialization of private property. In this way, the Gandhian model of secularism acquired hegemony over the national movement. It became the basis of pluralistic national identity of various communities and regions. But, its excessive dependence on symbols of Hinduism (like Ram Rajya) only helped in the process of the alienation of Muslims. The greatest limitation of the Gandhian model of religious and political harmony, is that, it rules out the differences between various religions. If religions are sought to be made as the constitutive of society, the religious differences are bound to become political differences. Those who religiously differ cannot unite on those very political principles which are based on religion itself. In practice it has always led to more conflicts deriving their strength from differing religious outlooks.

41.7.5 Radical Secularism

In opposition to the early moderate secular credo and Gandhian model, therefore, another variety of secular model was evolved during the national movement. It can be described as 'radical secularism'. This school while accepting some of the beliefs of early nationalists (who had initiated the growth of national consciousness in India and formed Indian National Congress), rejected their elitist upper class approach to India's socio-economic problems. The radical secularists had an alternative economic and political programme of national renewal. They upheld that the language of popular religion and moral regeneration should be replaced by the language of class struggle and social equality. They spoke of a socialist, democratic and secular India. They also advocated that religion ought to be confined only to the private life of Indian citizens. Jawaharlal Nehru became the champion of this school within the Indian National Congress. From outside the Congress, the Communists lend their full support to this school of secularism.

Check Your Progress 2

1 Tick (✓) the correct answer.

The main difference between Gandhi and the radical secularist can be said to be:

- i) It is not possible to talk of differences between the two
- ii) Gandhi emphasised separation of religion and politics, while the radical secularists stressed upon unity of religion and politics
- iii) Gandhi stressed upon unity of religion and politics, while the radical secularists talked of separation of religions and politics
- iv) none of the above

2 Write in 100 words about the way Gandhi defined the relationship between religion and politics? Was he different from the early nationalists on this matter?

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41.8 THE SECULAR CHOICE FOR POST- INDEPENDENT INDIA (1947-64)

The genius of Gandhi, in the context of India's nation-building, was that of all the leaders (like Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad) he chose Jawaharlal Nehru as his successor within the Congress hierarchy. Gandhi knew that Nehru had always provided to the nation what he himself lacked. Gandhi was also aware of the potential of Nehru's leadership and vision in shaping the destiny of India. Within the framework of the Indian National Congress, and its class alignments, the Gandhi-Nehru combination was complimentary to each other.

It is true that Nehru was at the helm of the affairs when India got independence. But on various issues he was incapable of committing the Congress party, the Indian state and the Indian society to his model of Indian polity. Secularism was, for example, one such issue on which he could not hold his ground. He could not mobilize enough support for adopting a model of secularism which he advocated from the beginning, i.e., a legal institutional framework of secularism which could prohibit the use of religion in politics and administration of the nation. The reasons for the failure of Nehru are obvious. They are not his personal failures as such but failures due to the political limitations.

41.8.1 The Communal Problem

Further, the communal holocaust that preceded and followed the independence and partition of India, had strengthened the position of orthodox communalists. Even the father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, who had always upheld the validity of popular religion for political mobilization stood isolated (and eventually murdered by a Hindu fanatic) in the face of the rising strength of pragmatic orthodox Hindu onslaught. The Hindu communalists advocated a state which would give primacy only to Hindu religion, Hindu culture and Hindi language. They raised the slogan of 'Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan'. The pragmatic orthodox Hindus wanted a Hindu nation in India along the same model that



13. Nehru, Ambedkar and Mountbatten discussing Partition.

Jinnah had provided to the Muslims of Pakistan. The Pakistan phobia, thus, hindered the path of democratic — secular institution building in India because the realization of Pakistan became a great inspiration to the Hindu communal movement. The leadership of both Nehru and Gandhi stood isolated and weakened in the face of Hindu communal pressure within and outside the Congress party. Leaders like Patel and his ilk, openly espoused the cause of Hindus. For example, Patel openly vowed that unless Somnath temple would be restored to its glory, he would not rest. The attitude of such leaders made Nehru compromise on his model of radical secularism.

41.8.2 Towards an Indian Model of Secularism

Under these circumstances the model of secularism that was adopted for free India can at best be called a compromise. This compromise was arrived at by avoiding the two extreme poles of orthodox Hindu communalism and radical secularism as its counterpart. Again, the choice naturally fell on the Gandhian alternative. Thus, the secular model of independent India was also patterned after Gandhian philosophy which seeks to harbour religious plurality as opposed to the orthodox Hindu monolithicity and the religious impositions. However, the proposal of so-called Indianization of minorities by seeking a Hinduised polity was rejected. With the effort of Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar (who shared Nehru's vision of secularism) even this compromise was also transformed into a defensive strategy of secularism known as 'religious neutrality' (or 'Dharma Nirpekshata'). As opposed to 'religious pluralism', which seeks more and more use of diverse religious values in politics. The 'religious neutrality' implies distancing from direct religious propaganda and its use in politics and state policy.

In his personal capacity, Nehru tried his best to develop the institution of democracy in India. From 1947 to 1964, he initiated steps that would commit independent India to the tasks of modernizing and secularization. He realized that only by modernizing its economy, politics and society could India emerge in future as a self-reliant country. He, therefore, gave primacy to science and technology by rejecting theology and the theocratic model. For him, the issues of health and poverty, were of far more real concern than the modes of religious worship. He confessed that the religiosity had already done enough harm to the cause of India. But the trying circumstances of post-partition political pressures had weakened the position of secularists in India. Nehru knew that the retreat was inevitable. Therefore though religion was partially dissociated from the state, it could not be barred from the public and political life of the country. The political culture of India therefore continued to be soaked by the religious communal conflicts. The hub of the communal problem in India, however, was not religion as a faith (or religion for religions sake), but religion as a political instrument. It was the use of religion as a political tool that has caused havoc to the process of modernization and nation-building in India.

41.8.3 The Persistence of Religion in Politics: A Limitation

The shortcoming in purging religion from the political life of the country, was a big failure of Indian secularism after independence. Only by creating the legal provision for confining religion to an individual private domain could an unambiguous secular institution building be proceeded in India. From such beginning along, the process of modernization and secularization could have proceeded. On this basis, the institutionalisation of secular principles and conventions could have exercised their hegemony over the general social life and the political culture of the country. Ultimately, it could have diminished the role of religion even in the private life of the citizens. Instead of popular religion, then the nation could be built by popularising science and rationalist education.

The influence of popular science and reason can along radically change the outlooks of its individual citizens. The use of science and reason provides the mechanism to utilize elemental force of nature by explaining the natural phenomenon. The victory over disease, a clean and decent habitat, production of basic necessities of life, etc. are all achievable by using existing science and technology. The belief, that people at large, are incapable of understanding the use of science and technology is a myth fostered by vested interests in order to preserve their own control. This control alienates science from the people. If secularism in India could have become a movement of science for the people, knowledge for people and the science for self-reliance and national integration, then alone communalism could be defeated at the roots of its bastion itself. Efforts were made in this direction but the retreat of Indian secularism from science and reason towards the goodwill

to all religions, have more or less indicated the basis of its positive development. However, it can still be argued that even the choice for the model of 'religious neutrality' (Dharma nirpekshata), in those years of post-independent India was a step forward towards the road to secularism.

41.9 LEGAL BASIS OF INDIAN SECULARISM

The secular state according to D.E. Smith is:

A state which guarantees individual and corporate freedom of religion, deals with individual as a citizen irrespective of his religion, is not constitutionally connected to a particular religion nor does it seek either to promote or interfere with it.

Further, he argues that:

The secular state views the individual as a citizen and not as a member of a particular religious group. Religion becomes entirely irrelevant in defining the terms of citizenship and its rights and duties are not affected by the individuals' religious belief.

One of the logical consequence of such a state policy is that the holding of public office and employment in government service should not be dependent on the religious affiliation of an individual. Smith has demonstrated on the basis of various clauses of Indian constitution, that India is a secular state in line with the liberal democratic tradition of the west.

41.9.1 Freedom of Religion—a Fundamental Right

From the very beginning, the framers of the Indian Constitution were convinced of the necessity of the right of freedom of religion and worship, as the fundamental right of every citizen of India. The preamble to the Constitution of India expresses the solemn resolve to secure to all citizens 'equality of status and opportunity'. We find that the Indian Constitution specifically embodies the principle of religious non-discrimination in general and public employment in particular. Article 15 (1) of the Indian Constitution for example provides that:

"the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex place of birth or any one of them".

Article 16(1) states that:

"there shall be equality of opportunity to all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the state".

Similarly Art, 25(1) guarantees the "freedom of conscience and the free profession and practice of religion....." But the law in India does not make any provision for barring religion from politics. That is why communal parties like Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha have been active in politics.

41.9.2 The State above Religion

However, it should be noted that the state in India acquires a supreme position vis-a-vis religion. None other than the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constitution, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, for example, stated: "let no community be a state of mind that they are immune from the sovereign authority of the Parliament". Although the Indian Constitution speaks against any principle of religious discrimination, but it cannot prevent the state to legislate in favour of any oppressed community (e.g. the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes). Such legislation is based on the Philosophy of 'positive discrimination'. It is also in accordance to the scientific spirit of secularism. That is why V.P. Luthra regards Indian state as 'jurisdictionalist'. The Indian state according to him maintains equal status to all religions, grants equal liberty of conscience and worship, but does not divert entirely of its responsibility towards religion. It exercises vigilant supervision over their activities and can intervene when necessary. This Legal-constitutional model of secularism functioned more or less satisfactorily in the Nehruvian era (1947-64) in which one witnessed the 'religious neutrality' in the state policy vis-a-vis various religious communities in India.

Check Your Progress 3

1 The model of secularism adopted in the post independence phase was:

- i) basically the Nehru (radical - secularist) model
- ii) basically the Gandhian model
- iii) basically a compromise between the Nehru and Gandhi model.
- iv) None of the above.

2 Mention two main features of the Indian Constitution which ensure legally the spirit of secularism.

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3 Comment in about 50 words as to the role popular science can play in spreading the understanding of secularism.

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41.10 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit you got to know:

- that secularism emerged as the modern outlook of the Western Society which was adopting large scale social organisation. There in the older and most backward principles of social organisation e.g. religion had increasingly a smaller role. that the word secularism gained ideological currency as reason and rationality asserted itself in Europe.
- increasingly secularism was identified as separation of state from religion.
- that secularism in India developed with the increasing needs of the modern national movement. Ways and means were found by the nationalists to overcome barriers of religion and caste for an all India movement. The Gandhian and radical secularist model of secularism were two of the prominent attempts.
- that India adopted the secular legacy of the national movement after independence. The practice of secularism which came to be adopted was essentially a compromise of Gandhian and radical secular mode.
- that the constitution of India in the post- independence phase emphasised freedom of religion and separation of state from religion as fundamental right to give a legal base to Indian secularism.

41.11 KEY WORDS

New revolutionary bourgeoisie: historically referred to as the class in Europe which emerged fighting the pre-capitalist interests. It included the entrepreneurs i.e. men of industry, traders and middle class engaged in various professions.

Rationalists: people who believed reason to be the basis of human existence.

Ideological: i.e. referring to a particular world view. Secularism e.g. became a new part of the modern world view which emerged with the emergence of large scale social formation of capitalism.

Constitutional philosophy: set of principles around which the constitution of a country is based.

Institutional legitimacy: legal recognition given by an institution.

Anti-feudal revolts: In Europe during the phase of emergence of the modern large scale capitalist system, a number of rebellions against the existing feudal order took place. These

revolts were most of the time against the pressures to limit and localise the new order. However, since the nature of the modern systems of production was large scale, the new order some tended to break these barriers. The French revolution e.g. can be said to be one of the biggest anti-feudal revolt of its times.

Compartmentalist culture of India: the hold of institutions of caste and religion which tend to demarcate and divide, the Indian society fairly sharply. This is why we talk of a compartmentalised Indian culture as a culture divided into compartments.

Agnostic: a person who is not convinced whether God exists or not.

Intelligentsia: a section of society which professionally deals with study and development of ideas.

Pluralist culture: plural meaning more than one or many. By pluralist cultures of India, we refer to the many culture streams existing within India.

41.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

1) (iii) 2) (i) 3) see particularly section 41.6. Your answer should indicate the separation of religion and politics in all activities of the modern society.

Check Your Progress 2

1) (iii)
2) See Sub-sec. 41.7.3 and 41.7.4. Your answer should highlight how Gandhi was to use popular religion for mass mobilisation. In comparison the early nationalists were caught in the frame of religion and tradition itself to be effective in mass mobilisation.

Check Your Progress 3

1) (iii)
2) See section 41.9
Your answer should pinpoint the fundamental right to religious freedom, equality amongst religions and the provision of the state as being above religion.
3) See Sub-sec. 41.8.3
Your answer should emphasise on how popular science by explaining everyday life and activities in scientific terms can help to remove superstition and blind belief. Look around your own everyday experience to explain this.

SOME USEFUL BOOKS FOR THIS BLOCK

Girish Mishra, *Nehru and the Congress Economic Policies*. Sterling Publishers Private Ltd.

Singh, Yogendra, *Essays on Modernization in India*, 1978. Manohar Publications.

Singh, Yogendra, *Social Stratification and Change in India*, 1978. Manohar Publications.

Bipan Chandra, *Communalism in Modern India*, 1987. Vikas, Delhi.