CHAPTER I
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The study of Indian politics in general has not been characterised by any systematic analysis of its ideological aspects. This is even more true of Karnataka politics because Karnataka has been the most neglected region in recent political studies. However there is a consensus about the importance of the ideology in politics.

This thesis attempts to examine and analyse the concept of Karnataka ideology and also to discuss the political application of this ideology. A study of this ideology will help us to understand the political developments in the Karnataka region as well as the country as a whole in the last 60 to 70 years. This involves a comprehensive study of the theory and history of the concept of the ideology. Karnataka ideology deals with the system of political ideas which constituted the basis of the political movement for the establishment of the united Karnataka State between 1906 - 1956. The ideology was not concerned with political
history as such, but it dealt with political ideas which were historically used to promote political action. This thesis therefore deals systematically with political regionalism in India as it developed in Karnataka.

The Karnataka ideology implies a system of ideas about society, which become the basis of an organised political programme and movement. The Karnataka ideology defined the objectives as well as the grounds for the justification of the establishment of the Karnataka State. This is essentially a contribution to political theory. In recent times, especially since the middle of the 19th century, there has been developing a political concept of Karnataka. This concept simply presupposes that Karnataka is the name of the territory which contains the people who speak naturally and habitually the Kannada language. This concept is not concerned with the question whether Karnataka in this sense existed or not. What was important was that Karnataka should exist in this sense because the people of Karnataka had a right to constitute a distinctive political system. The concept of Karnataka was elaborated by the intellectuals of Karnataka in the
later part of the 19th and early part of the present century. As a result, the political ideology of Karnataka became a significant aspect of the political development of the people of Karnataka.

The Political Role of Karnataka Ideology

The Karnataka ideology has been used to bring about political development. This ideology implied that India was a nation composed of different linguistic populations, inhabiting distinctive geographical regions of the country. Because of this argument it was maintained that India should be politically and administratively divided into different linguistic regions. Therefore the proper political system for India is a federal political system in which the various linguistic regions constituted the units of the federal system. The people of Karnataka therefore must be given the right to constitute themselves into a political-administrative system such as the 'province'. After independence and after the establishment of the new
Indian Constitution of 1950, this argument continued in Indian politics but technically the demand was now for a linguistic State, not province. This is because the new Indian Constitution had simply changed the term province into the State. Another argument was that "unless Karnataka State was established, the people of Karnataka could not progress economically, culturally and politically." It was this Karnataka ideology which dominated the politics of the people speaking Kannada until 1966.

This study of Karnataka ideology will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of regional political development in India. The study of Karnataka ideology will also throw light on the development of the nationalist ideology in India.

This study is expected to contribute significantly to the study of Indian federalism and to the theory of political development and modernization in the traditional societies. In the early times Karnataka was territorially and administratively fragmented into different segments. This was a fundamental factor
which governed the political history of Karnataka before independence as well as for at least 10 years after independence. Because of this the intellectuals of Karnataka struggled for the establishment of Karnataka into a separate State. This ideology became part of the consciousness of the people of Karnataka.

The Karnataka ideology leads to the theme of political modernization, which involves a functional and structural differentiation of politics. Karnataka ideology led to political development, involving more open and competitive politics providing opportunities for a substantial majority of the population to participate directly or indirectly, not only in the freedom movement of Karnataka, but also in their struggle to build a separate Karnataka State within the political system of India. The people wanted to modernize the politics of Karnataka as well as India. Also the leaders wanted to mobilize the people to form a Karnataka State.
Karnataka Ideology, Political Development and Federalism.

The people of Karnataka had their own distinctive ideas about building a separate Karnataka State within the political system of India. They wanted to modernize their political life. The Karnataka ideology contributed significantly to the political development and modernization of the traditional society in Karnataka. Therefore there is a close connection between ideology and political development.

India is a nation composed of different linguistic populations, inhabiting distinctive geographical regions of the country. Because of this fact India should be politically and administratively divided into different linguistic units. The proper political system for India is a federal political system in which the various linguistic regions constitute the units of the federal system. The people of Karnataka, therefore, demanded their right to constitute themselves into such a political administrative system. Thus we find a historical connection between the Karnataka ideology and the development of federalism in India.
Justification for the Thesis.

Karnataka has been one of the least studied areas in political science, excepting for a few articles in journals, some unpublished academic theses and the work of foreign political scientists like James Manor.¹

There is thus very little work done on Karnataka. On Karnataka ideology itself no specialised work has been done so far. Even within the available material there is no systematic attempt to analyse scientifically the ideological aspects of political development in Karnataka. Therefore this study will be a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the neglected ideological aspect of politics in Karnataka. This study is also

¹ The most important works are: James Manor, "Political Change in an Indian State, Mysore 1917-1956," Australian National University Monographs on South Asia, Published by Ramesh C. Jain in India by Manohar Book Service, No. 2, 1977.


an attempt to contribute to the study of political regionalism in India. This study is about the development as well as the ideas of the Karnataka movement from 1906 to 1956. We have to study how the Karnataka State became a separate unit within the political system of India.

The Key Concepts

This study employs a number of key concepts for analysing the Karnataka ideology. They are: (1) Ideology, (2) Federalism, (3) Regionalism, (4) Democracy, (5) Political Mobilization, (6) Political Participation, (7) Political Identity, (8) Political Integration, (9) Political Development, (10) Political Culture.

We shall briefly explain the sense or senses in which we have used these concepts, and provide operational definitions of the concepts.
Ideology

Ideology is the study of ideas in general but it soon came to refer to ideas about society, with the connotation that these ideas were distorted or highly selective from a rational, objective point of view. We may distinguish four different meanings of ideology:

a) One of the most common uses of the term is defined as follows in Webster's Third New International Dictionary: "Ideology is a pattern of beliefs and concepts which purport to explain complex social phenomena with a view to directing and simplifying socio-political choices facing individuals and groups."

b) Another common meaning of the term "Ideology" as defined in Webster’s Third New International Dictionary is "Extremist Socio-political programme or philosophy constructed wholly or in part on fictitious

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2. Ideology - Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences
or hypothetical ideational basis."

c) Karl Marx who gave prominence to the term "Ideology" used it for distorted ideas in defense of the status quo of a social system.

d) The fourth definition is both broader and narrower than the foregoing definitions. According to it, ideology consists of selected or distorted ideas about a social system or a class of social systems, when these ideas purport to be factual, and also carry a more or less explicit evaluation of the "fact".

**Federalism**

A federal political system is one in which there is a constitutional division of powers between two sets

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of governments, namely the Central or General Government and the State or Provincial Governments. The system also requires a constitutional machinery, namely the judiciary, to enforce the division of powers on the basis of its authority to interpret the constitution. Federalism is the constitutional theory which underlies such a political system.

Regionalism

A region is a homogeneous area with physical and cultural characteristics distinct from those of neighbouring areas. Within a national domain, a region is sufficiently unified to have a consciousness of its customs and ideals and thus possesses a sense of identity distinct from the rest of the country. The term 'regionalism' properly represents a social movement based on the ideology of regionalism.

For the purpose of our thesis the term 'Democracy' has the following operational definitions. By democracy we imply a political system characterised by -

(1) a system of elections based upon adult franchise,

(2) a free party system in which there is no legal and constitutional restriction on the formation and functioning of political parties, subject to the general constitutional system,

(3) individual rights including rights to limit the authority of the Government, and

(4) social, economic and cultural conditions favourable to the existence and working of a democratic political system.

Political Mobilization

Political Mobilization implies a process in which people are organised to participate in the political


system in order to achieve political objectives. This mobilisation takes many forms such as, mobilisation through direct mass action (public meetings, protest marches, strikes and so on).

Political Participation

The term 'Political Participation' will refer to those voluntary activities through which members of a society share in the selection of rulers, and indirectly in the formation of public policy. The more 'active' forms of participation include formal enrollment in a party, canvassing and registering voters, speechwriting and speech-making, working in campaigns and competing for public and party office. Participation is an essential part of every polity, large or small. Those who fail to participate, whether out of neglect or exclusion, are likely to enjoy less power than others. Although not all who participate possess effective power, those who do not participate cannot exercise or share

power. As these observations imply, the right to participate is an essential element of democratic government, inseparable from such other attributes of democracy as consent, accountability, opposition, majority rule, equality and popular sovereignty. Participation is the principal means by which consent is granted or withdrawn in a democracy and rulers are made accountable to the ruled. A people can be equal and free only if they share in the determination of their own affairs. Participation has been viewed as a means for realizing these democratic objectives. Political participation may be expressive or instrumental. This is to say that participation may be seen as an end in itself, and hence expression as a means to an end and hence instrumental. The party is not only instrumental but it also implies expressive participation like the nation or the church, it generates symbolic force in arousing affection, devotion and sacrifice on the part of its loyal members.

Political Identity

Political identity means the capacity of an

organised political community or group to define itself in political terms. Therefore political identity is necessary for a group to become politically active.

**Political Integration.**

Political integration is the process by which individuals, groups and territorial units, previously politically unconnected, become combined and integrated into a common political system. This process may take place at many levels, starting from the local level and going up to the international level.

**Political Development.**

Our definition of political development relates to political modernization. By political development


we imply a historical process by which a society or a community which is not politically modern becomes politically modern. Therefore the central concept in political development is political modernization. By political modernization we mean the process by which the political system becomes,

1) functionally and structurally differentiated, and

2) becomes more politically open and competitive to provide opportunities for a substantial majority of the population to participate directly or indirectly in the political system.

This means that we assume that political modernization implies the development of what we have already defined as a democratic political system. In short we define political development as the development of a democratic political system.

Political Culture

"Political culture is the set of attitudes,

beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process. Political culture will provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It is the manifestation in aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics. A political culture is the product of both the collective history of a political system and the life histories of the members of that system."

Political culture, thus, defines the framework of behaviour, values and attitudes, within which a political unit - individual, group or system - acts. In other words, political culture is the basis of a political system as it always presupposes a corresponding and appropriate political culture.

Democracy and Development.

Democracy is one type of political system among others. Democracy indicates both a set of ideas and a concrete political system. Democracy leads to the
entire development of a country. Democracy implies a free party system in which there is no legal and constitutional restriction on the formation and functioning of political parties but within a general constitutional system. In the democratic system the powers are in the hands of the people.

Political development, as already suggested, implies the process of political modernization. By political modernization we mean the process by which the political system becomes functionally and structurally differentiated and it also becomes more politically open, competitive, and democratic. Without democracy there is no political development. Political modernization implies the development of what we have already defined as a democratic political system. The people of Karnataka in their demand for a Karnataka State, based on Karnataka ideology, were involved in a process of democratization. Therefore there is a close connection between democracy and political development in Karnataka.
Democracy, Participation, Mobilization and Federalism.

This thesis assumes a theoretical connection between the process of democratization and certain kinds of political activities implied in the concepts of political participation and political mobilization. Further, it also assumes that in the specific context of India democracy and the process of democratization implied necessarily the growth of federalism. The ideology of Karnataka will be shown later as theoretically connected with democracy, participation, mobilization and federalism. At this point our main concern is to indicate the theoretical connection between these concepts.

As we have defined, democracy implies organized political competition between groups and individuals, but within an established system of political rules, norms and conventions. Therefore democracy as a political system involves large-scale political activity throughout the political population at different levels. In other words democracy implies a large-scale political mobilization of the population. In a democracy
the people are mobilised through political organisations, both party and non-party in structure, in order, not only to choose the political rulers, but also to influence them during their office. Therefore political mobilization is an essential aspect of democratic politics.

The objective of political mobilization is ultimately to involve the people in the political system. This means political mobilization is a means towards political participation. The people are enabled to participate in the political process through organised mobilization. But political participation can be of different types, ranging from electoral politics to what is known as extra-parliamentary politics. Democracy involves a significant level of public participation in the process of politics and government. The most important expression of such participation takes place through the electoral process. But participation cannot become active without substantial organization and mobilization of the people. In other words, both mobilization and participation are essential elements in the development and functioning of democratic politics.
If federalism implies a system of constitutional distribution of political power within the political system, then it presupposes that there are within the political system a number of political areas which demand political autonomy. This demand for political autonomy is connected with democracy because it is based upon the principle that the existence of different and distinctive regions within the political system in a large country with great diversities would logically lead to federalism. Like the U.S.A., India is a large country characterised by several kinds of diversities, based on language, religion, culture and geography. Therefore democratization of India implies theoretically the necessity for federalism.

Thus the concepts of democracy, political mobilization, political participation and federalism are theoretically connected, and they constitute a basis for Indian federal democratic political system.
Federalism and Regionalism.

These two concepts are logically interdependent. This is because regionalism tends towards federalism. As already defined, regionalism is a political movement demanding autonomy for regions but within the national political system. Such autonomy is possible only under a federal political arrangement.

As we have already indicated, federalism presupposes a constitutionally guaranteed division of powers between territorial political units within the national political system. The basis of such political units is logically regionalism. Therefore regionalism finds its political expression generally in a demand for greater autonomy for the regions. In the history of political institutions, such demand has been generally met through federal arrangements.

Political Culture, Political Identity, Political Integration and Ideology.

A political system defines the framework within
which the political community concerned must act politically, but it also provides the framework of attitudes and values. In other words a political system embodies a specific political culture. Therefore a political system cannot function without a corresponding political culture.

The process by which a political culture strengthens the political system is the process of political integration. Different groups and individuals become integrated into a single political system through their accepting a common political culture. This means that political culture is an essential element in the process of political integration. Such integration may take place at different levels, and in that case it involves different levels of political culture. In the federal political system there are at least two important levels of integration, the central and the regional.

Political identity, like political culture, is a psychological concept. The two concepts are intimately connected because political culture provides the basis
on which individuals and groups express their political identity.

Political ideology is connected with political culture and political identity in the sense that the ideology implies political attitudes and values. It is connected, though not necessarily and always, with political integration. In other words, while political ideology is always based upon political culture and identity, it does not always promote political integration. In theory it is possible for an ideology to oppose and challenge certain types of political integration. In fact, this study of Karnataka ideology would show the complex relationship between ideology and integration.

Methods and Techniques

This thesis uses a predominantly documentary method. It is concerned with the study and analysis of documentary material, published and unpublished, private as well as official. The documentary material used in the study is both primary and secondary.
The research work involved in the study has not posed any language problem. This is because the documentary material which forms the basis of this study is available in English or Kannada, in which languages the researcher has full competence.

To recapitulate, this thesis attempts to examine (1) the nature and content as well as the historical development of the Karnataka ideology; (2) it examines the political role of the ideology in the development of regionalism, federalism and democracy in India in the context of Karnataka, and (3) it attempts to relate theoretically the Karnataka ideology to the process of political development and modernization in Karnataka.