# Some Special Features of the Social Reality in India

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An attempt has been made in this paper to cover a somewhat wide canvas, seeking to identify an overview and exploring the possibilities of arriving at a synthesis of Marxian perspectives on the State and Society in this country. The problematic of the non-European world, the problems of underdevelopment of the so-called Third World (above all of India) holds a key position both in the overall Marxian vision of history, on the one hand, and in understanding the most urgent socio-economic problems facing humanity today, namely the wretchedness of millions upon millions of people over vast areas across the globe, on the other. This has become all the more critical at a time when the horrendous threat of a nuclear war sandwiched with other threats of export of counter-revolution to the newlyliberated territories by the military power of imperialism confronts the world scene. As theory and praxis are inseparably united in Marx, so also there is an inseparable interconnection between, what might be considered, abstruse theories of societal formations epitomised in Marx's much-discussed concept of the Asiatic Mode of Production, (revivified in Marxian anthropology of recent years) and

the present-day political problems of India and similar other countries.

This will naturally entail a study of Indian (or other Oriental) society from its origin, characterizing the nature of its precapitalist medieval economy and polity before the impact of European expansionism through India's long and complicated struggle for freedom, to the understanding of state and society in India today. The issues involved in this extensive area are many and wellknown. have been raised before by many scholars and

hotly debated. One could therefore present an intensive study on any particular issue and seek to exhaustively prove or disprove this or that thesis. However, in this paper it is proposed to follow a different method. would be an extensive rather than an intensive approach. We shall seek to adopt simple and definite positions, about all or most of the contentious questions. There will be no scope to prove any of them but many scholars have expressed these opinions earlier and the references can easily be provided. Therefore what will be presented will be a simple narration on the basis of a series of judicious selections out of many theories or hypotheses presented before. They will stand together as a whole primarily on the basis of their mutual coherence although ultimately each one of them has to stand up to individual scrutiny. Here then, therefore, will be a commonsense approach towards an integrated Marxist view of India.

The mechanism of reproduction of conservative elements in Indian society is certainly one of the key factors both in its historical aspect as well as in the analysis of the present structures. An understanding of its structure (and of this mechanism) will make clear both the viability of the social basis for Rightwing extremism and the futility and ineffectiveness of such Leftist programme which so far has been incapable of offering a constructive alternative to this structure. Most social scientists writing on India will admit today that they have learnt the hard way that thay had all grossly underestimated the strength of these conservative factors responsible for the high degree of stagnation of social life, particularly in the countryside.

Looking at the historical background, some structural specificities of Indian society seem to stand out quite clearly. Even in India's traditional pre-British society, there had existed for centuries a relatively stable mechanism of reproduction of conservative social forces, ranging from the upper stratum of the rural community the Asiatic-cum-feudal landlords, to the centralized military-administrative machinery of the Mughal empire or other similar states. This mechanism was dealt a severe blow by the colonial administration which deformed it but failed to destroy it.

Against this general understanding, perhaps we can enumerate the following as constituting the special features of the Indian social reality as the working hypotheses for our investigation:

In these notes they have been identified in four specific areas: 1. Landlessness 2. Caste 3. Industrialization with a left-handed operation or half hearted effort, and 4. The gulf between law and actual reality.

#### I. LANDLESSNESS

The paradoxical nature of massive landlessness coexisting simultaneously with broad based landownership by a large and numerous community is a major aspect of the Indian situation. This ownership is not primarily confined among old-style Zamindar/Jagirdars. The exploiter class is not a very narrow stratum and the ownership is not over-concentrated except in certain areas. But the exploitation is both pervasive and increasing because with the existing land : man : capital ratios, neither do the landowners become really modern capitalist farmers continually increasing productivity of labour, nor the population alienated from landownership get absorbed outside the rural scene and economy. In fact there is alienation from landownership but not from land. Since almost the whole bulk of the non-landowning population remain in the countryside with all their native agricultural skills, what has been happening

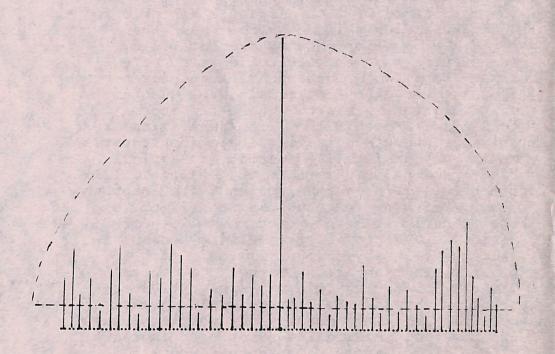
is that while they have been carrying out the same physical chores as before, their status has been changing from (a) poor cum marginal peasant, to (b) subtenant, to (c) sharecropper to (d) agricultural labourer Not that each family going down necessarily starts from position (a) and passes through all the stages till reaching position (d). Many were never at stage (a); Non scheduled caste poor peasants may be allowed to mark time at stage(c). But for the great majority who also have the ethnic distinctiveness of belonging to the scheduled castes - cum - tribes, it is stage (d) to which they come down to. The presence of this huge mass as a reservoir of cheap labour with agrarian skills then becomes the principal disincentive to the raising of the productivity of labour in agriculture.

It is well known that the Green Revolution took place in some areas and not in others. Even a slightly closer look will reveal that it has taken place in middle peasant (kulak) cum rich peasant economies, that is in areas which did not have an over-abundance of cheap labour, abysmal poverty and abject social relations. We have the evident examples of Punjab-Haryana as against Bihar-Orissa. It is visible that Punjab-Haryana after the Green Revolution are prosperous and Bihar-Orissa remain poor. But the rich in Bihar-Orissa are certainly not less rich than the rich in Punjab-Haryana. Very likely they are really much richer and certainly with far greater social power than their counterparts in Punjab-Haryana. The real difference then is whether the profits are reinvested as agricultural inputs resulting in greater output/production and even more importantly in greater circulation. A relevant question then would be under what circumstances will a rural rich turn into a rural entrepreneur and will stick to the practice of investing the bulk of his available assets (and then subsequently his profits) as inputs in order

to achieve the maximum output/production leading in a few years also to a rise in the productivity of labour. That of course will be the optimal situation.

There will be several factors influencing the result. In general, we know that owner-cultivators with some education are likely to be more enterprising compared to those landowners who are alienated from actual work on land and are rather well established in the social hierarchy. In addition to the expected conservatism of such a class, an over-abundance of cheap labour will act as a disincentive to raising the level of technology. The more a landowning community is alienated from actual work on land (and longer the duration of their having been in that position) and the higher they are placed in a hierarchical position in society and greater the proportion of abject landless masses in that society, the greater will be the likelihood of such a class being able to make far larger gains by means other than rise in production. Usury, landgrabbing, speculative cum monopoly trade, etc., are likely to yield greater profits and far more social power than from raising the quantum of production. In areas where the above conditions are fulfilled, the rural rich are unlikely therefore to contribute much towards making any qualitative increase in agricultural production. To take the example of Bihar-Orissa, as a type, we know what happened there, but a new element has been added to the scenario with the greater mobility of agricultural labourers travelling perhaps a thousand miles by train from their more poverty-stricken areas to the areas of the Green Revolution. This may apparently ease the situation in the labour-surplus areas but will certainly grossly reduce the bargaining power of the local labour force in the more affluent areas. Concretely speaking about Punjab-Haryana, this may mean not only

This is a diagrammatic representation of the man: land situation in the rural countryside. Each point on the bottom line represents a rural family, its vertical extension indicating the quantum of land it possesses. Points without vertical extension indicate landless agricultural labourers. The operation of land reforms has covered only those within the area bounded by the dotted line. The objective of the land reforms was to securing the tenancies and then these tenants also received some zamindari lands above the declared ceilings. As for the landless poor or marginal farmers below the dotted line, mostly they did not receive any land and the little land of which they may have been in de facto possession, they were gradually evicted or squeezed out of it over the next three decades.



that the plateau in the quantum of production already reached will not be further improved, but that the local rural poor will begin to feel the pinch on the one hand, and the land-owning hitherto self-cultivating class will begin to make use of hired labour vastly more than before (in this case labourers from another province and speaking another language and of course of a lower caste) and in the process will change their own class character.

This will of course sharpen the social confrontation in the countryside. An even more important question will be what will happen to the social surplus? Will it go for investment in agro-industry (and then to industry proper) or will the changes engendered in the rural society as envisaged above will also influence the direction of this investment to follow the Bihar-Orissa pattern?

#### II. CASTE

This process cannot be accepted merely as the inevitable corollaries of the development of capitalist relations in agriculture. It is part of a larger scenario that only happens to coincide with the process of the growth of capitalist relations. How did this come to be ? Looking back at the entire span of the three and a half decades since Independence we can say that it is the middle-peasant-proprietor class belonging to the corresponding intermediate castes which has moved up fast, and effectively taking full advantage of all the limited land reform measures has improved its position vis-a-vis the former zamindar-landlord classes having benefited from the better irrigation, availability of electricity, improved seeds and fertilizers, etc. Simultaneously, they have pushed further down the ladder and kicked out of land the

bottom stratum who also happened to belong to the scheduled castes. (Here we are not talking of landlords who have in various ways succeeded in evading the land reform measures and have managed to retain much of their lands through benami and other means.) For this process to have taken place effectively and continuously for over thirty-five years, it is not only the working of the laws of capitalist development which has been responsible. There is also the force and tenacity of a growing, fast-reviving process of caste solidarity which has proved to be far stronger than it was thought to be by all our social scientists.

This caste solidarity, its effectiveness, its cruelty, its relentless ever-advancing solid front squeezing out of land the Scheduled Castes numbering no less than a third of the entire rural population, denying them even drinking water, keeping large numbers of them under various forms of debt slavery, ever ready to teach them a lesson to keep them in their place, together with the willing cooperation of the bureaucracy specially at the lower level; all this can never be understood purely in terms of class and economic forces and the working of capitalist relations.

We can begin to understand the situation only when we look out at other societies with exploited racial minorities suffering from discrimination. It is only against the background (and memory) of racial war, genocide and slavery that such antagonism can come to existence and be sustained for such a long period. In our case, the longest in history, perhaps for over 3,000 years!

A considerable section of the Scheduled Castes were agrestic slaves till not more than a century ago. There may be many differences of opinion among historians of ancient India about interpreting the role of

the Indian caste system, but there is no doubt that the bottom stratum consisted of conquered aboriginal population (chandala) who were given the lowest and the most degrading position as the despised untouchables, the antyaj, outside the chaturvarna system proper. Even the very concept of the word unchhadefines the social position of the untouchable, to eke out an existence by means of gleaning the left-over food of the conqueror race.

In analogous historical situations in the case of other civilizations, there would be attempts at genocidal wiping out of the conquered race in which the males would be killed off and the women taken over. Of course the women would be treated as slaves and for a couple of generations their offsprings would suffer some discrimination but gradually they would be fully absorbed in the general society and their geneology forgotten. But Hindu society with its highly evolved caste system succeeded in remembering and thus perpetuating the absolutely degraded status of the bottom stratum for centuries and millenia.

Similarly, there may be differences of opinion among social-anthropologists studying Indian society whether there had been any substantial instances of vertical and intercaste mobility in Indian society, but as far as the bottom stratum is concerned, there is no evidence whatsoever that there ever was any relaxation in their very rigidly imposed servile status. The difference in the position of the aboriginals (now called the Girijans) and that of the 'untouchables lay in this that whereas the former who were considered wild and barbarian, were left to themselves and could thus enjoy the protection of the forest and remained in their tribal state, the latter were incorporated into Hindu society as a neech jati, were cut off from any land or food gathering source and were compelled to perform the most unclean and degrading jobs as a subhuman appendage at the bottom of Indian society. They were not left free. They were compulsively attached to a specific position in society. There can be no doubt that this was imposed by extra-economic physical force and was later justified, rationalised and even sanctified with the theory of karma.

Whereas many societies have practised extreme violence and cruelty towards their conquered racial minorities, there were always voices of conscience in the contemporary scene which disapproved, leading to substantial revolts of the exploited. The uniqueness of the Indian case lies in the application of the most perfected ideological apparatus aimed even at the mental disarming of the downtrodden with the theory of karma. It has been suggested that historically, stratification or division of society on an occupational basis has sometimes shown some castelike appearances and tendencies in some other societies too very different from that in India. But subsequent socio-economic developments eroded those features and the stratification came to correspond with the more normative class divisions. In India alone the caste division has not only perpetuated itself but has evolved a very complex codified system which pervaded almost all aspects of life and still proves itself so tenacious. What is unique in the Indian case is not that in contrast to the more common three-fold division (priest-intellectual, warrior and producer), here there was a four-fold division (Vaishyaagriculturist and Shudra-artisan-producer below the Brahman and Kshatriya) but that these four castes were anchored with the fifth caste, antyaj at the bottom. The even more unique aspect was that unlike slavery in the Greco-Roman world, the antyaj were not chattel slaves but were slaves collectively to the entire community and most particularly condemned to do the most unclean jobs. (The exception was during the comparatively short

period as described in the Arthashastra when there also prevailed a system akin to chattel slavery). In the Greco-Roman system the slave is characterised by the absence or diminution of his legal rights, in contrast the antyaj is characterised by his uncleanliness and as a source of pollution which is an altogether different dimension. It seems the ancient Indians suffered from an obsessive and morbid fear of certain unclean substances which they considered pollutants, for instance, excreta, cadaver, corpse, blood, menstrual blood, afterbirth, semen, etc. For a people suffering from such a psychosis, one of the earliest uses to which they could possibly put their conquered slaves would be for handling, removing or treating these pollutant substances. But after carrying out thse jobs forced on them by their conquerors, the Chandals would so demean themselves in their conquerors' eyes that their sub-human status would then certainly be perpetuated. Once the Antyaj has thus been fixed at the lowest point, the rest of the population which previously may have been divided into castes on the occupational basis will now be hierarchi. cally graded on the pollution principle.

The tenacity of the caste system can be gauged from the ultimate failure even of the great Buddhist revolt. In any case there is very little evidence to show that the lot of the bulk of the population from the bottom was substantially improved even during the Buddhist period. It is only during the late medieval period that there were very perceptible stirrings among the untouchable lower castes and they threw up a number of great leaders who came to be known as great poet saints. But the very form of their struggle and revolt, namely through the medium of love and bhakti shows the limitedness of their material success in bringing about any concrete change in the socio-economic condition of their following from the lowest castes.

(The only exception perhaps was the case of the rise of Sikhism). In fact the strength and capacity of the hierarchical Indian, society to forcibly keep down the untouchable lowest castes was so great that even when foreign religions with certain egalitarian principles like Islam and Christianity were introduced in India, conversion to those religions did not provide a very effective way for the untouchables to escape from the bondage of their low-caste status. Traces of the caste system permeates among the Indian Muslims and Christians also. The neo-Buddhists of today are also faced with the same failure to escape from the stigma of their low-caste origin.

How then to characterize the present Indian situation? There are evidently contradictory circumstances. On the one hand, there is universal adult franchise and the formal legal equality of all citizens guaranteed by the Constitution, on the other, there is an immensely powerful self-righteous arrogant sense of superiority among the very numerous dominant-peasant-proprietor class who bring to action a very considerable caste solidarity and organization not only in maintaining their dominant economic position but also in terrorising and forcing the Scheduled Castes to keep to their place in the caste hierarchy. Of course the situation is not uniform all over India. The little access to education, training and employment that has been opened to them have enabled a small number of members of the Scheduled Castes to escape from their traditional work. In this process, whereas a Scheduled Caste upper section has emerged, a distance has also grown between this fortunate upper crust and the bulk of the population still living out their miserable existence.

But the emergence of this Scheduled Caste educated section has brought about a sea change on the socio-political scene in that the will

for resistance has increased many folds. As the struggle spreads and also acquires greater depth, it will have to grow at both ends. At the grassroots level, it will require a vast and massive movement of agricultural labourers and other rural poor and particular attention should be paid to the unionization of such labour force the bulk of whom come from the Scheduled Castes, like leather workers, for instance. At the same time it is necessary that there should grow a powerful and organised cultural movement among the educated Scheduled Castes to expose, interpret, document and also research into the entire legacy of caste exploitation in India and all the attendant problems emanating from it.

It must be emphasized that while the backbone of the exploitation of the Scheduled Castes is certainly economic, their actual suffering is made many times worse because of the social discrimination that is enforced against them. If only they could improve their economic position they would of course be able to escape from a lot of the social humiliations and indignities. But they cannot improve their economic condition precisely because they suffer under a system of racist discrimination which keeps them backward and suppressed. We have seen earlier how the intense caste solidarity among the dominantpeasant-proprietor class has in fact evicted the Scheduled Castes from land in the post-Independence years. In this situation the particular independent role of caste in perpetuating these pockets of abject poverty has to be specifically recognized. Here again the facile view that the overall general economic development - by which is meant growth of capitalist relations - will bring about the loosening and ultimately the disappearance of the caste structure has been proved to be totally erroneous. In fact, caste has been proved to be the precise instrument of resistance of the pre-capitalist (Asiatic/feudal) structures and it lends itself as a factor in the peculiar link-up between the capitalist sector and the feudal, usurious and trading sectors.

The problem of the extreme poverty in the countryside, the problem of the opening up of the vast rural market without which a real breakthrough in the overall development will not be possible, the problem of carrying out radical agrarian reforms, and the problem of abolition of caste-based discrimination and exploitation - are not only inter-related but are absolutely inseparable. The extreme poverty of the bottom stratum of the rural population and their caste-based exploitation are two different aspects that feed each other. Just as we know from experience of the last three decades that overall general economic development cannot progress uninterruptedly till the problem of the bottleneck of rural poverty is solved through genuine agrarian reforms, in the same way, the solution of the problem of extreme rural poverty through change in social relations in the countryside cannot be achieved till the problem of caste-based exploitation is tackled simultaneously and independently.

Just as an agrarian revolution is necessary per se in the same way the struggle for abolition of caste-based exploitation is necessary per se. Some very detailed field studies have revealed that very often the poor Scheduled Caste member's ability or possibility to uplift himself taking advantage of one or the other ameliorative measure that supposedly is legally available, has actually declined compared to in the early decades of this century when their struggles and efforts went hand in hand in the wake of independencecum-social-reforms movements. That is to say, the struggle against caste-based exploitation can be conducted successfully only in the context of a political-ideological millieu

of a social reform movement. To think that the role of such a conscious political strugg-le could be dispensed with and the general economic development could be expected to break down the barriers of caste, would be an extreme folly. Unfortunately it seems the left and progressive forces in the country too have been victims precisely of such illusions. It is because of this illusion that the need of maintaining the pressure of a powerful anti-caste social reform movement to continuously fight and eradicate the racism has been forgotten in the post-independence decades.

Some may argue that the real problem is economic and the caste problem is a social problem which should not be unduly brought to the forefront. The absurdity of this argument will be self-evident if we ask back if the Negroes in the USA too should not wait till the problem of poverty and capitalism is solved in that country and not conduct any special struggle for the ending of racial discrimination here and now. The Scheduled Castes in India are an oppressed community united together by a common history of three thousand years of the most intense discrimination and exploitation and have every legitimate right to demand an equitable share of the national cake commensurate with their numbers. For any lover of economic justice and social progress, there can be no task more urgent than this in India today, Just as nonimplementation of land reforms can hold up economic development and prevent a breakthrough, in the same way, not to struggle to end the exploitation of the Scheduled Castes will render all moves for land reform infructuous.

Today nobody will deny the significance of caste as a factor in social confrontation. The phenomenon of landlessness and the process of landgrabbing and squeezing the poor out of land is achieved by a combination of means in

which caste soliderity of those who to begin with were the owner-cultivators (belonging to the appropriate landowning castes) but soon become employers of agricultural labourers (belonging to the scheduled castes cum tribes) and beneficiaries of the social hierarchy which gets strengthened all the time, plays the most significant role. Caste solidarity thus acts as a major motive force in social interaction and by virtue of their entrenched position in the social hierarchy and wielding the extra-economic power which that position gives them over the lower strata, this class is then further enabled to enforce the inequitous economic division and social immobility discussed earlier with strength derived precisely from the current spurt in caste solidarity. With caste playing such a major role in social interaction it has become urgent to enquire into any unique aspects of Indian Society and psychology which led to the evolution, rigid codification and the eventual perpetuation of the caste system in India. We must examine the suggestion that the origin of the rigidly imposed caste division in addition to such factors as the normal occupational divisions and the division between victorious and conquered ethnic entities lay in the existence in ancient India of what may only be described as psychological obsession about pollutants. Given the basis of such a commonly held obsessive fear of the pollutants, one most likely use of despised conquered slaves (or any other conquered group to be particularly punished) would be to make them handle the pollutant substances. But unlike all other harsh or unpleasant jobs imposed upon slaves in other societies, this job will so grossly demean the victims in the eyes of their masters, themselves suffering from this psychological obsession, that any possibility of their eventual abscrption in the main body of society will be for ever ruled out. It is really the existence of this antyaj fifth caste which acts as the anchor to fix the

rest of the cast division, which may have originated on the occupational basis, on a hierarchical basis on the pollution principle and then to perpetuate the whole edifice of the system.

### III. INDUSTRY (Left hand operated !)

The next special feature of the Indian Socio-economic scene is the peculiar character of the capitalist development in the country. Industrial development was carried out not on the basis of what is called by Marx "from below" in the "really revolutionary way" but by a traditional business community which already had a long tradition of having worked out its hardiheaded business methods and moneymaking devices. These again were essentially usury, monopoly and specultive trade, comprador relations with the European "factories" in India, and landgrabbing, When some opportunity was opened for industrial development, say, during the last quarter of last century, there could be three possible avenues: 1. Traditional small craftsmen having acquired some modern technology rising from below. 2. Some members of the new middle class having acquired some modern technological training and science education abroad and also backed by some enlightened moneyed class to embark on an adventure of modernisation. We know that the first was quite out of the question both in view of the Asiatic/feudal background and the low cultural level under the existing colonical set up. As for the second possibility, we know that there were quite a number of such attempts but almost all of them ended in failure due to their lack of any business experience and acumen who soon lost the money of their wellmeaning but impractical patrons. In the circumstances, the attempts that succeeded (3) were those by already established shrewed businessmen. For

them the industrial venture was like a cautious operation, even sometimes taking a small chance, by the left hand as it were, while the right hand continued with the "sure" methods of traditional business activity which kept the business fortunes of the family on a steady keel. The history of the successful industrial houses which have been studied so far, confirms this hypothesis. A question has often been asked as to why the national bourgeoisie in India which succeeded in creating an industrial base larger than in any other colonial or semi-colonial territory, never took any interest for major socio-economic transformation in a clearly anti-feudal direction. The answer to this question would be obvious in the light of what we have discussed above. For the great majority of the business houses, greater financial gains and also perhaps the ascendance of their social power base was achieved from their traditional business activities. Naturally, therefore, they would not like to cut down that very (Asiatic/feudal) structure on which are based their entire righthand operations which still continue to be probably much larger than their lefthand industrial operations. The rise to astronomical figures of the estimated quantum of black money operations in the country will also support the same view. The right hand will have precedence over the left hand! The statement often made in the pre-independence period that Indian capital was "Shy" euphemistically hid the same factor. In any society with backward agrarian relations where a large proportion of the population is permanently on the brink of disaster, returns from usury will always be greater than normal profits from productive processes and most of the available money would therefore flow in the traditional direction. All these factors continue to be operative till today and the difference in character between the Punjab-Haryana type and the Bihar-Orissa type is to be seen both in the pattern of input in

agriculture and growth of small and medium industries in their respective areas.

## IV. GULF BETWEEN LAW AND REALITY

Lastly, there are the twin aspects of the incidence of corruption, emphasising the weakness of the State, on the one hand, and the wide gulf between the law cum written Constitution and the actual reality operating in society, on the other. A seemingly-advanced bourgeois-democratic constitution with very laudable directive principles including even some socialistic claims coexists with almost total rightlessness of the masses at the lower levels of society. In his draft of lecture on Annihilation of Caste (1937), B.R. Ambedkar had quoted the following from Ferdinand Lassale addressing a Prussian audience in 1862 ! "The constitutional questions are in the first instance not questions of right but questions of might. The actual constitution of a country has its existence only in the actual condition of force which exists in the country; hence political constitutions have value and permanence only when they accurately express those conditions of forces which exist in practice within a society." Evidently the State in India does not have the capacity or the necessary instruments to enforce either the Republican Constitution or the regulation of the economic development according to the decisions of the Planning Commission, for instance. The State in India is thus both strong, because it has all the elaborate instruments of power and coercion, and at the same time, it is weak, because when the crunch comes, they obey somebody else's orders. That is to say, the various hidden sources of power, the vested interests, the combination of pre-capitalist/Asiatic-cummonopolist forces can at all times interfere and short-circuit the chain of command, rendering futile that what may be legitimate. The pull and influence exercised by the vested interests on the instruments of law and order are far greater today as compared to in 1947. In fact, in these three and a half decades the vested interests at different levels of our society have developed an elaborate system of linkages with the instruments of law and order at all levels, so that the latter can be said to be in effect at the former's service. The importance of investigation into the character of the State in India today is therefore paramount.

In the light of the above, it is proposed to organize the investigation in all the three fields: historical, statistical and analytical. There is a plethora of material already researched by many scholars. The working hypotheses outlined above are certainly not conclusions arrived at a priori, but no investigation is possible without some preliminary assumptions which then opens avenues of closer examination which may confirm or reject altogether that what had been perceived earlier. In this it is proposed to have a two-fold approach: To subject to rigorous examination all particular assumptions or theories about processes, but simultaneously, an attempt will also be made with a more holistic approach to make out a judicious selection out of many theories presented before. They will stand together as a whole primarily on the basis of their mutual coherence (or fall for the lack of it). Of course ultimately each such assumption or theory has to stand up to individual scrutiny.