



ਜਗਤ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ
ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਟੇਟ ਓਪਨ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ
ਪਟਿਆਲਾ

The Motto of Our University
(SEWA)

SKILL ENHANCEMENT

EMPLOYABILITY

WISDOM

ACCESSIBILITY

JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV

PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

(Established by Act No. 19 of 2019 of the Legislature of State of Punjab)

BACHLOR OF ARTS
HISTORY

SEMESTER IV

BAB32403T: CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Head Quarter: C/28, The Lower Mall, Patiala-147001

WEBSITE: www.psou.ac.in

SELF-INSTRUCTIONAL STUDY MATERIAL FOR JGND PSOU

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PREFACE

Jagat Guru Nanak Dev Punjab State Open University, Patiala was established in December 2019 by Act 19 of the Legislature of State of Punjab. It is the first and only Open University of the State, entrusted with the responsibility of making higher education accessible to all, especially to those sections of society who do not have the means, time or opportunity to pursue regular education.

In keeping with the nature of an Open University, this University provides a flexible education system to suit every need. The time given to complete a programme is double the duration of a regular mode programme. Well-designed study material has been prepared in consultation with experts in their respective fields.

The University offers programmes which have been designed to provide relevant, skill-based and employability-enhancing education. The study material provided in this booklet is self-instructional, with self-assessment exercises, and recommendations for further readings. The syllabus has been divided in sections, and provided as units for simplification.

The University has a network of 99 Learner Support Centres/Study Centres, to enable students to make use of reading facilities, and for curriculum-based counselling and practicals. We, at the University, welcome you to be a part of this institution of knowledge.

Dean Academic Affairs



BACHELOR OR ARTS
HISTORY
SEMESTER -IV
BAB32403T: CONTEMPORARY INDIA

MAX. MARKS:100
EXT MARKS :70
INT MARKS:30
PASS PER: 40%
Total Credits:6

Course Objective:

The paper aims at creating awareness among students about political, economic, and social issues that emerged in the modern period and remain contentious even in the present. It helps to understand that past, present and future are interlinked in the historical process. The problems of the past and their solutions need to be revised in the light of present issues in the best interest of the people. In a sense history is a continuous process.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PAPER SETTER/EXAMINER:

1. The syllabus prescribed should be strictly adhered to.
2. The question paper will consist of three sections: A, B, and C. Sections A and B will have four questions each from the respective sections of the syllabus and will carry 10 marks each. The candidates will attempt two questions from each section.
3. Section C will have fifteen short answer questions covering the entire syllabus. Each question will carry 3 marks. Candidates will attempt any 10 questions from this section.
4. The examiner shall give a clear instruction to the candidates to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.
5. The duration of each paper will be three hours.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES:

Candidates are required to attempt any two questions each from the sections A, and B of the question paper, and any ten short answer questions from Section C. They have to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.

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- Unit 1** The Making of the Constitution
- Unit 2** The Planning Commission
- Unit 3** The Green Revolution and its Impact
- Unit 4** Industrial Growth and Private Enterprise
- Unit 5** Liberalization of Economy

SECTION- B

- Unit 6** Issues of Caste, Class and Creed in the Political Sphere
- Unit 7** State's Reorganization
- Unit 8** Social Movements: anti caste, feminist, minorities

Unit 9 Issues in North East, Punjab, Kashmir

Unit 10 India in the 21st Century

Suggested Readings

Bipan Chandra, *India Since Independence*, Penguin, Delhi, 2003
Ramachandra Guha, *India After Gandhi*, Harper, Delhi, 2007



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SECTION A

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BACHELOR OF ARTS
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UNIT 1: THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Constitutional Developments

Formation of Constituent Assembly

Check Your Progress I

Salient Features of the Indian Constitution

Check Your Progress II

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students, after reading this unit you will be able to:

- Understand the formation and composition of the Constituent Assembly.
- Know about the making of the Indian Constitution.
- Learn about the salient features of the Indian Constitution.

INTRODUCTION

Students, this unit will examine the making of the Indian constitution. On 26th January 1950, the Indian constitution came into effect. By this act, the Dominion of India transformed itself into the Republic of India. The constitution had been drafted, discussed and finalized by the Constituent Assembly between December 1946 and December 1949. Comprising 395 articles

and 8 schedules, this lengthy document set out the architecture of the new state. The deliberations of the Constituent assembly were comparably long and painstaking. The Indian Constitution sets the rules to which the ordinary law of the country must follow. It gives down a framework for a democratic and parliamentary form of government. The Constitution contains the Fundamental Rights which guarantees against the encroachments by the state and Directive Principles which sets directives to the state to reforms and make them effective.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A prominent role was played by Motilal Nehru in introducing a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly on 8 February 1924, which asked to summon a representative Round Table Conference to recommend the protection of the rights and interests of the bottom minorities, the scheme of a constitution of India known as 'National Demand'. It was passed by a large majority in the Central Legislative Assembly-76 for and 48 against. This scheme was sent to the British parliament for its ratification. Moreover, this was the first time that the demand for a Constitution and the procedure for its adoption was clearly spelt out.

The British showed their discontent, to the 'National Demand'. In November 1927, they appointed the all-White Simon Commission to recommend the further constitutional changes. All the sections of political opinion in India condemned the disapproval of the British. Lord Birkenhead, Secretary of State, on 24 November 1927, while announcing the Commission in the House of Lords, repeated his challenge to the Indians: 'Let them produce a constitution which carries behind it a fair measure of general agreement among the great peoples of India.' He first challenged the Indians on 7 July 1925.

The Indians accepted the challenge. The Congress took the initiative and summoned an All Parties Conference in May 1928, and a Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to determine the principles of the Constitution for India. On 10 August 1928, Nehru Report presented an outline of a draft of the Constitution of India. It proposed for Upper Parliamentary System with fully responsible government and joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities in the states. It also emphasized on securing the Fundamental Rights of the citizens of India. The Fundamental Rights included: right to freedom of conscience, profession, practice of religion; right to freedom to express opinions, assemble in peace without arms, form unions or associations; equal rights for men and women and right to free elementary education. Secularism was also included in the Fundamental Rights. Out of nineteen fundamental rights, ten were incorporated into the Constitution. The Nehru Report also recommended that the provinces should be redistributed on the linguistic basis.

After the Nehru Report, the Simon Commission was boycotted. There were mass demonstrations in the country. The Congress declared complete independence in December 1929, and launched a Civil Disobedience Movement in April 1930. Hundreds and thousands of people were on the streets and many were in jail. It was clear that the Indians wanted the Constitution to be framed as soon as possible. It was thought that this should not be done through

the conference method, but through the Constituent Assembly. In 1933, Jawaharlal Nehru for the first time through M.N. Roy, the Marxist leader, articulated the idea of Constituent Assembly.

In June 1934, the Congress Working Committee, rejected the White Paper presented by the British government on further constitutional reform. The Committee passed a resolution that resolved that the only satisfactory alternative is a constitution drawn up by a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage or as near it as possible. After 1934, the demand for the formation of a Constituent Assembly was repeated and the demand was included in the Congress manifesto for the elections of 1936-37. The Congress won seven out of eleven provinces and formed ministries. However, the meeting of the Congress Working Committee held on 27-28 February 1937, at Wardah, decided to accept the office and also addressed the legislators at Faizpur Congress and demanded for the Constituent Assembly as soon as possible.

The Convention of Congress legislators and AICC members was held at Delhi from 19-20 March 1937, and it was presided by Jawaharlal Nehru. Nehru asked them to work for a '*panchayati raj*, framed by a Constituent Assembly, and also to frame a grand *panchayat* of the nation, elected by all or people. Nehru also asked the members to clear the way for the Constituent Assembly, although the constitution must go, lock, stock and barrel. In July 1937, Nehru, impatiently again, demanded the legislators to introduce the resolutions to reject the present Constitution and formation of Constituent Assembly. The Working Committee of the Congress, in August, accepted the draft prepared by Acharaya Kripalini and sent to Congressmen in the Provincial Assemblies. At session between August and October 1937, Congress provinces- Bombay, Madras U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, North-West Frontier Province and Sind passed the resolution which demanded the repeal and replacement of the 'Government of India Act', 1935 by the Constitution for the independent India, and it should be framed by the Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of the adult suffrage. A resolution framed by the Constituent Assembly, for the replacement of the Government of India Act 1935, by the Constitution was introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly on 17 September 1937. S. Satyamurthi, the Congress leader introduced it, urged the British government to grasp the hand of friendship extended by Mahatma Gandhi. The same demand was repeated in Haripura session of the Congress in February 1938.

After the outbreak of the Second World War, Congress ministries resigned in protest against their being made a party to the war without their opinion or consent. During this time, the ministries passed resolutions in the legislative assemblies which demanded that India should be declared an independent nation and give her right to frame her own constitution. After Nehru, now Gandhiji was enthusiastic about the Constituent Assembly. He said the democratic *Swaraj* lies only in Constituted Assembly.

In the meeting of the Congress Working Committee from 15 to 19 April held at Wardha, the discussion between Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru brought out Gandhiji's outstanding qualities of foresight and pragmatism. Jawaharlal Nehru decided that the British government must first declare India independent and then call a Constituent Assembly, but Gandhiji felt that the assembly could be called the first and be left free to decide on the issue of

independence. As it happened, and not for the first time, Gandhiji's views were closer to the actual turn of events.

The 'August Offer' was an offer made by Viceroy Linlithgow in 1940 to secure Indian cooperation in the war. For the first time, the British tried to concede the framing of the new Constitution. Lord Linlithgow also proposed that after the war, a Constitutional Assembly can be set up, but how it will be constituted by direct or indirect election based on adult or restricted franchise or by nomination, was not cleared. In India, the August Offer was rejected by all the major political parties. In December 1940, Congress launched a mass Civil Disobedience Movement to protest against the party made by the British without their consent. In March 1942, Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Britain dispatched Stafford Cripps, a Labour Party member of a war cabinet, to India with a task of making a Constitution for India and for the first time the procedure of setting a Constituent Assembly was discussed. This proposal was a great advance in securing the position of British in India. The Indians were given the liberty to frame their own Constitution. The idea of the Constituent Assembly was accepted, and its modalities were discussed. The Cripps' mission was to appease the Congress with its proposals. With the failure of Cripps' Mission, the National Movement and the British again confronted each other. The AICC resolution of 8 August 1942 asked the British to 'Quit India' and exhorted the Indians to 'Do or Die' and the provisional government of free India would evolve a scheme for a Constituent Assembly. At last, the British realized that the time of final negotiations with Indians have arrived. Therefore, after the conclusion of the war in Europe in May 1945, a White Paper on India was issued, followed by the abortive Simla Conference in June-July in 1945.

In July 1945 in the British elections, the Labour Party won, and it provided a new opportunity for a fresh start. On 19 September 1945, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, announced the policy of the new government in India. He also promised to form a Constituent Assembly immediately. On 19 February 1946, the British government declared to send the Cabinet Mission to India to resolve the whole issue of independence and Constitution making.

The Cabinet Mission on 24 October 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India and had prolonged discussions with the Indian leaders. The Cabinet Mission failed to secure an agreement and announced its own scheme on 16 May 1946. It recommended direct elections based on adult franchise for making of the Constitution. But any step would lead to unacceptable delay in the formulation of the Constitution. Therefore, the decision was taken that the newly elected Legislative Assemblies of the provinces would elect the members of the Constituent Assembly on the basis of one representative for one million population. The Muslims and the Sikhs would also elect their quota based on their population. There were many details about the procedures and suggestions about powers of the provinces and Unions. There were important provisions related to the grouping of the provinces into sections A, B, and C. Section A was the "Hindu Majority" provinces which consisted of Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar and the Central Provinces and Orissa. Section B and C Punjab, NWFP and Sindh in the west and Assam and Bengal in the east are the provinces of "Muslim-majority." The Cabinet Mission proposed that after the meeting to elect the chairman and completing the formalities, the Constitution

Assembly should be divided into sections. First, the provincial representatives in the meeting of their respective sections should decide the Constitutions of the Constituent provinces and whether they wanted to adopt any group Constitution. After the completion of this process, the members of all the provinces and princely states would meet again to settle the Constitution of the Union. The Union of India had to deal with defence, communication, and foreign affairs.

The Congress was against the Cabinet Mission. It opposed the scheme and wanted the Constituent Assembly to be sovereign as soon as it would come into being. Nevertheless, Congress decided to accept the scheme, and try to work it, as they felt that the rejection could again delay the freedom of India. The Muslim League also rejected the scheme. But the League opposed the Constituent Assembly before and after its formation.

FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The total membership of the Constituent Assembly was 389 of which 296 were representatives of the British India and, 93 represented the Indian princely states. However, there were only members from British India in the Constituent Assembly. In July-August 1946, the elections were held. Congress won 199 seats out of 210 seats in general category. From Punjab, it won 4 Sikh seats out of 3, 3 of the 78 Muslim seats, 3 from Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara and Delhi. The total tally of Congress was 208 and the Muslim League won 73 Muslim seats out of 78.

The talented persons were needed for the making of the Indian Constitution. So, Gandhiji suggested sixteen names for inclusion in the Congress list. Thus, thirty members who were not in the Congress list were elected on the Congress ticket. Muslim League failed to stop the elections of the Constituent Assembly. So, they started focusing on refusing to join its deliberations. Jawaharlal Nehru as President of the government and the Congress continued to make conciliatory gestures but to no avail. Therefore, the decision of the First session of the Constituent Assembly was taken, and it was announced on 9 December 1946.

As the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, was reluctant to call the Assembly, Congress insisted the Assembly to function, regardless of those who want to stay away. Nehru spoiled the desire of Wavell, to recruit the provisional president of the Assembly and issue invitations in his own name to the members to attend the first session of the Assembly. Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, became the provincial President and issued the invitations on the name of the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly. By doing this, Nehru wanted all to see the independence of India from British rule. It was a great achievement of the Congress, especially of Nehru. The Constituent Assembly for independent India was not only dependent, being autonomous, but on being seen as autonomous.

The First Session of the Constituent Assembly was held on 9 December 1946. Now, India's independence was not very far. To decide, the working of the constitution within which the government and the people of India had to function was transferred and assumed by the Indian people with the involvement of the Constituent Assembly. 207 members attended the first session. The Muslim League refused to be the part of the deliberations. As a result, 76 Muslim members did not attend the session and four Muslim members of the Congress attended the

session. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was elected as the permanent Chairman of the Assembly on 13 December, and later he was designated as the President. Jawaharlal Nehru presented Objectives Resolutions in the Assembly on 13 December 1946 and was debated till 19 December 1946. But, the Assembly decided to postpone the discussion so that the members of the Muslim League and the Princely States would join the next session of the Constituent Assembly. When the members of Muslim League did not attend the next session of the Constituent Assembly on 20-22 January 1947, without any wait, the Objectives Resolution was passed. The third session of the Constituent Assembly was held from 28 April to 2 May 1947 and still, the Muslim League was not its part. The Mountbatten Plan was announced on 3 June 1947, according to which India was to be partitioned. It was totally opposite to the perspective of the Constituent Assembly. As Cabinet Mission Plan was to compromise with the League, was also in vain. After the independence of India on 15 August 1947, the Constituent Assembly became a sovereign body and also doubled as the legislature for the new state. It was the responsibility of the Constituent Assembly to frame the Constitution and make ordinary laws. The effective working of the Constituent Assembly was possible only because of the enormous preparations, organizational skills and hard work of the leading members. Its function as a legislature and its large size was never a hurdle in its effective performing. The work was organized into five stages: first, committees presented reports on issues, second: B.N. Rau, the constitutional adviser, prepared an initial draft based on the reports and his research into the constitutions of other nations, third: the drafting committee, chaired by B. R. Ambedkar, drafted a constitution was published for discussions and comments of the public, fourth: the draft constitution was discussed, and amendments proposed and enacted, fifth: Constitution was adopted.

The Congress played a critical role as it asked a Committee of Experts that till 4 July 1946, prepare material and proposals for the Constitution. The leader of the Committee was Nehru, and the other members were Asaf Ali, K.T. Shah, D.R. Gadgil, K.M. Munshi, Humayun Kabir, R. Santhanam and N. Gopalswamy Ayyangar. On 20 and 21 November 1946, AICC ratified the Objectives Resolutions and the Congress Working Committee drafted by Nehru, and was introduced in the first session of the Assembly. It was continued till the adoption of the Constitution. The discussions were done thoroughly with the Congressmen and examine each provision in their party forums and also active participation in the Assembly debates. Dr. Ambedkar said that every detail in the Constitution ensured its goodness, and it was thoroughly scrutinized. In Objectives Resolution of Nehru, the philosophy and basic features of the Constitution are described. He remained the active participant in the process of the formation of the Constitution. Jawaharlal Nehru also brought members of the princely states into the Constituent Assembly because the separate electorates were removed and the reservation of seats for religious minorities were also ended. Dr. Rajendra Prasad because of his impartial nature and dignity, became the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Congress brought enormous benefit to India by adopting a completely non-sectarian, appointing the best leaders, striving for consensus, not imposing its will. It also laid the foundation of the independent India and with its hard work and efforts of the people led to the freedom of India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. How many members were there in the Constituent Assembly of India?

2. Write few sentences on first session of the Constituent Assembly of India?

3. What do you know about August Offer?

SALIENT FEATURES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The Indian Constitution sets the rules to which the ordinary law of the country must follow. It gives down a framework for a democratic and parliamentary form of government. The Constitution contains the Fundamental Rights which guarantees against the encroachments by the state and Directive Principles which sets directives to the state to reforms and make them effective. To give India a parliamentary system, a serious debate, was held. The panchayat based indirect elections and the decentralized government were not supported. With the support of Gandhians especially, Shriman Narayan, the decision was taken in the favour of a centralized parliamentary constitution. Many members, who committed intellectually or emotionally to socialism, also supported the parliamentary form of government. Most of the members did not desire about socialism to be embodied in the constitution, but framing of a democratic constitution with a socialist bias, to allow the nation to become as socialist as its citizens desired or as its needs demanded.

a. ADULT SUFFRAGE

The word suffrage means the right to vote. The Congress was demanding for adult suffrage since long time. Some were of the opinion to confine the adult suffrage to panchayat elections at the village level and indirect elections to higher level bodies. But the overpowering consensus favoured the direct elections. It was not a small achievement in a male oriented, upper-caste dominated, largely illiterate society to bring adult suffrage. There were many social groups who were unaware of their strength and remained unaffected by any political change, but after the introduction of the adult suffrage they realized that they were in a position to flaunt their power. There was an impact of the adult suffrage on the new groups at the lower level of the social hierarchy. They learnt how to experiment with the different political parties and the representatives to secure their needs. The adult suffrage forces the elitist of the candidates to seek the favour of the vote of the humblest voter.

b. PREAMBLE

The basic philosophy of the Constitution is found in the Preamble. The Preamble is based on the 'Objectives Resolution, which was drafted and introduced in the Constituent Assembly by Jawaharlal Nehru in its first session on 13 December 1946 and adopted by the Assembly on 22 January 1947. The Preamble states that the people of India in the Constituent Assembly made a declaration to secure to all citizens, 'Justice-Political, social and economic; Liberty to express, belief, thought, faith and worship; Equality of status and opportunity, and to promote Fraternity to assure the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.' The concept of Justice was given the priority deliberately, as compared to liberty, equality, fraternity along with social and economic as compared to political. Perhaps, the concept of social and economic justice was considered 'the most fundamental norm' of the Constitution of India.

c. FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES

Fundamental rights are justiciable and Directive Principles are not, so they are less important. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights contains two sets of rights, and in the constitution, the first set is included under fundamental rights and the second, under Directive Principles. The reason of distinction between the two is very simple. Under the Fundamental Rights, the state guarantees political and civil liberties, and only secure economic and social justice over a period of time. The Directive Principles are not justiciable, means a citizen could not go to a court of law in case of denial. But the states, while making the laws, enjoined to apply these precepts. Through this, when the rights contained in the Directive Principles were incorporated into laws, it could become justiciable.

There was a sharp break with the British Government in India on the decision to have written rights, a list of rights, a declaration of rights in the Constitution. The British frequently rejected Indian demands for a list of rights. But the Indians, because of their colonial experience, suspected the government and preferred rights to be written down. They wanted to follow international trends as well. After the suppression of human rights in Germany, the Atlantic Charter, Soviet Union, and other places, and the United Nations Charter had been drawn up and the United Nations Human Rights Commission was established.

The Fundamental Rights were included in the Constitution and was imperative, because the first Constitution of India Bill that was framed in 1895 had contained this concept in roots, and was figured particularly in the Motilal Nehru Report of 1928. Moreover, it not only represented 'advanced democratic thought' but was also 'a convenient way of setting at rest the fears of minorities.' The British claimed that they stayed in India to protect the minorities, otherwise they would be suppressed by the majority. The Congress knew that the assertion was totally false.

The Assembly doubted the need for fundamental rights because they were in dilemma that how to do distinction between the rights and how could it be granted like political rights, and how to grant socio-economic rights to the state. Then the Assembly found a solution and borrowed a concept from the Irish Constitution as 'Directive Principles of State Policy.'

These were made non-justiciable. The idea of creating justiciable and non-justiciable, was suggested by the Sapru Report of 1945 (though not in the context of positive and negative rights).

The seven Fundamental Rights are incorporated in the Articles 12 to 35 in the Constitution. The rights are: the right of equality, the right of freedom, the right against exploitation, the right to freedom of religion, cultural and educational rights, the right to property and the right to constitutional remedies. These rights, primarily, protect individuals and minority groups from arbitrary of the state. But three of the articles protect the individual against the action of other private citizens: Article 17 abolishes untouchability, Article 15(2) says that no citizen shall be denied access to shops, restaurants, wells, roads, and other public places on the basis of his caste, race, religion, sex, or place of birth; and Article 23 prohibits forced labour and human trafficking. The state had to protect the rights of citizens from the encroachment by other citizens. Thus, the state not only avoid an encroachment on the citizen's liberties, but it had to ensure that other citizens did not do so either. A citizen, whose fundamental right has been violated or breached, could apply to the Supreme Court or High Court for relief, and this cannot be suspended except in case of declaration of Emergency. The courts have the right to decide whether these rights have indeed been infringed and to employ effective remedies including issuing of writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto and certiorari.

The Directive Principles, as stated earlier, are non-justiciable. They are the guidelines or instructions issued to future legislatures and executives. The Constitution favoured Directive Principles and Fundamental Rights to be read together and there should be no conflict between the two, but many serious differences of interpretation have arisen many times on this issue. Till 1971 the courts gave greater importance to Fundamental Rights than to Directive Principles, but Indira Gandhi brought 25th and 42nd Amendments in 1971 and 1976 gave importance to Directive Principles. However, in 1980, in the landmark judgement in *Minerva Mills Limited vs. Union of India*, the Supreme Court ordered that both Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles are equally important and one cannot be sacrificed for the other (AIR 1980 SC 1789).

The soul of the Directive Principles is contained in Article 38 which lays down that 'the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic, and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life.' Thus, the state secure adequate means of livelihood of all citizens, equitable distribution of material resources, and concentration of wealth and means of production is avoided. Securing equal pay for equal work for men and women. Securing suitable employment and healthy working conditions for the workers, children and pregnant women. Making effective provisions for securing the right to work, education and public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness, etc. The Directive Principles expressed the hope that there would be compulsory primary education of children up to the age of fourteen years, and also desired for the objective of a common civil code. The state also took steps to organize village panchayats, provide free legal aid, improve standards of living and nutrition, and promote educational and other interests of Scheduled Castes and Tribes and other weaker sections. The

state was also asked for the protection and improvement of the environment, forests and the wild life of the country. The state shall endeavor to promote international peace and security, maintain just and honorable relations between nations, foster respect for international law and treaty obligations and encourage settlement of international disputes by mutual agreement.

It is clear after reading the Preamble, the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles that the main objective of the Constitution was to create an egalitarian society in which individual freedoms were secure. It did not abandon one ideal for the preservation of the other principle. Moreover, the relationship between individual liberty and social change was rightly envisaged as dynamic.

d. A SECULAR STATE

In the 42nd Amendment of the Indian Constitution, enacted in 1976, declares India to be a sovereign, socialist, secular and democratic republic. In 1973 the Supreme Court held the secular character of the Constitution to be one of the basic features of the Constitution. The Fundamental Rights prohibit the discrimination on grounds of religion. All persons are entitled to freedom of religion and conscience and also the right to freely profess, practice, propagate, and manage the religious affairs. Freedom to pay taxes to promote any particular religion. The Fundamental Rights also give freedom to attend the religious instructions and religious worship in any educational institution. Right to culture and education and securing the rights of the minorities and their right to establish and administer educational institutions.

Some people compared the term secularism borrowed from the western content to the Indian concept of Secularism. According to them, in the west, the struggle between the Church and the state led to the separation of the two. The Church used to decide on religious rituals, and the state regulated the secular affairs. But in India, In India, secularism became a part of the struggle of nationalist forces against communal forces that wanted to use religion for political purposes and divide the emerging nation on the basis of religion.

Nehru put it best: We call our state a secular one. The word 'secular,' perhaps, is not a very happy one and yet, for want of a better, we have used it. What exactly does it mean? It does not obviously mean a society where religion and conscience, including freedom for those who may have no religion. It means free play for all religions, subject only to their not interfering with each other or with the basic conceptions of our State.

e. FEDERAL STRUCTURE OR UNITARY

The Indian Constitution is both federal and unitary in nature. Perhaps, the Assembly was the first constituent body to embrace it from the beginning and called it 'cooperative federalism.' The characterization is done on the basis of the increased interdependence of the federal and regional governments without destroying the principle of federalism. The circumstances led the Constituent Assembly to have a federal constitution with the strong Centre. A strong Central government was needed to handle the situation of communal riots that accompanied the

Partition, to meet food crises, to settle refugees, maintain national unity and promotion of social and economic development, which was thwarted under the British rule.

However, before the fact of partition was accepted, the Assembly was not in the favor of a strong Central government. The Union Powers Committee of the Assembly, presided by Nehru, provided very weak central government in its first report. But when on 3 June 1947, the final decision of the partition was announced, the Constituent Assembly considered itself free from all the restraints imposed by the Cabinet mission of 1946, and moved towards a federation with a strong centre. There are certain distinctive features of Indian federalism.

The Constitution clearly specified the legislative powers of Unions and the states and minimized the disputes between them. It contains three lists of subjects: Union List, State List and the Concurrent List. The subjects in the Union list can be legislated upon by the union parliament, in State List only by the state legislature and the subjects in Concurrent list come within both state and union. But in case of conflicts between the state and the union legislation, the Union law prevails over the state law.

The Union Law has financial powers. The state depends on the Union for the financial aid for discharging their functions, limits the federalism. Nevertheless, in the constitution, federalism has withered away. The demands and agitations for the formation of the new states and for financial powers to the states, proved that the federal impulse is alive. The constitutional arguments are often occasioned by political contest and not by constitutional anomalies. There is a balance between the federal and unitary features of the Constitution, as much as the political balance in India as it is of constitutional developments, court judgement and the like.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Define the term, Adult Suffrage?

2. Write a few sentences on Preamble.

3. Mention a few Fundamental Rights?

SUMMARY

Students, in this unit we have discussed the making of the Indian constitution. On 26th January 1950, the Indian constitution came into effect. By this act, the Dominion of India transformed itself into the Republic of India. The constitution had been drafted, discussed and finalized by the Constituent Assembly between December 1946 and December 1949. Comprising 395 articles and 8 schedules, this lengthy document set out the architecture of the new state. The deliberations of the Constituent assembly were comparably long and painstaking. The Indian Constitution sets the rules to which the ordinary law of the country must follow. It gives down a

framework for a democratic and parliamentary form of government. The Constitution contains the Fundamental Rights which guarantees against the encroachments by the state and Directive Principles which sets directives to the state to reforms and make them effective.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipan Chandra, *India After Independence 1947-2000*, India: Penguin Books, 2000.

Granville Austin, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation*, 2nd ed, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.

S.K. Chaube, *Constituent Assembly of India: The Springboard of a Revolution*, New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2000.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG QUESTION ANSWERS

1. Discuss the making of the Indian constitution?
2. Write about the critique about the constituent assembly which drafted the constitution?

SHORT QUESTIONS ANSWERS

1. Write few sentences on third session of the Constituent Assembly of India?
2. What do you know about August Offer?
3. Define the term, Secular State?
4. Comment on Directive Principles?
5. Who was Viceroy Linlithgow?

B.A
SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 2: THE PLANNING COMMISSION

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

The Context

Models of Economic Planning

Five Year Plans 1951-1965

Economic Plans 1966-1991

Check Your Progress I

Five Year Plan 1992-2014

The NITI Aayog

Check Your Progress II

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the context of the founding of the Planning Commission for development.
- Learn about the Five-Year Plans and their aim.
- Know the outcome of the plans for development.
- Look at different perspectives on economic development.

INTRODUCTION

Students, the Planning Commission of India was established in 1950 as an organization to encourage and supervise the social and economic development of the newly independent country. The main objective of Planning Commission was to improve the standard of living of the citizens by maximizing the potential of the available resources and productive capacity. It aimed to increase the per capita income, national income, agricultural and industrial production. The Planning Commission was a non-constitutional and non-statutory body and was responsible for devising five-year plans for social and economic development through efficient use of material and human resources for self-reliance. The Planning Commission had several concerns like education, health, infrastructure, industry, rural development, water resources, finances and furthering science and social welfare.

THE CONTEXT

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had a certain ideological position influenced by ‘Stalin – Marxism and firmly insisted in socialism as an integral element in a democracy. It was with this perspective that the Planning Commission was established on 15 March 1950. Nehru was the Chairman of the Commission a Deputy Chairman and several Ministers and senior officials of the government were also included in it. Representatives from the fields of economics, science, agriculture, industry and commerce were other full-time members. The Planning Commission defined economic planning in accordance with national priorities, devised the path of action and policy measures to reach the goal of economic growth and self-reliance. Nehru recognized that India was still a nation –in-the-making and not a structured nation. He was also clear about the immense diversity and variety in the country, yet subordinated all issues to that of economic development for national unity.

The setting up of the Planning Commission was a long thought out process which was initiated even before the independence of India was achieved as early as 1934 M. Visvesvaraya, a well-known engineer and politician, spoke of the necessity of planning for a country in his book *Planned Economy of India*. In the same year N.R. Sarkar, president of the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) also voiced the opinion that for coordinated development of the country a comprehensive plan covering all aspects of the economy should be devised. In 1938 Nehru who also championed planned economic development for India set up the National Planning Committee (NPC) which drew up an elaborate plan and gave recommendations for economic development. In 1944 the Bombay Plan was presented by leading industrialists like JRD Tata, GD Birla and others which underlined a significant role of the state for economic progress. The Planning and Development department was set up with Sir Ardeshir Dalal as Chairman. The Interim government established the Planning Advisory Board in 1946. At the time of independence in 1947 Pandit Nehru set up the Economic Programme Committee and served as its chairman. Eventually the Planning Commission was founded in 1950. It functioned till 17 August 2014 when it was dissolved and replaced by the NITI Aayog.

MODELS OF ECONOMIC PLANNING

There are different models of economic planning which follow specific strategies to reach their goal. In 1944 the 'Gandhian Plan' was enunciated by Acharya Agarwal which had the aim to raise the material and cultural level of the people and improve basic standard of living. It underlined scientific development in agriculture and growth of cottage industries with focus on employment-oriented planning rather than production oriented. In 1945 M.N. Roy put forward the People's Plan while in 1950 Jai Prakash Narayan gave a Sarvodya Plan for development. After 1947 first the Harrod Domar model was followed which focused on increase in national income and production. This strategy believes that economic growth is linked to the level of savings and capital output ratio. In the second Five Year plan the Nehru-Mahalanobis two sector model was adopted – which encouraged the consumer goods sector and capital goods sector and highlighted the need for investment in heavy industry for rapid economic development. This was a long-term strategy which continued up to the fifth Five Year Plan. It called for larger role of public sector. Dr. Manmohan Singh, as Finance Minister in the Narasimha Rao government, introduced the LPG strategy – Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization – for economic planning. This opened up the private sector, allowed foreign investment and promoted export to boost economic growth. The Planning Commission thus, followed different strategies of planning to move towards the goal of economic development for all.

FIVE YEAR PLANS 1951-1965

After independence India launched a programme of Five-Year Plans to optimize the use of resources and achieve rapid economic growth. The formulation of the Five-Year Plans considers the views of the Chief Ministers, Steering Committees and working groups which included representative from all concerned ministries and state governments, academicians, private sector and NGO's. The Planning Commission reviews all the plans and recommendations and prepares a detailed plan for approval by the government.

The Nehru government saw economic development as an essential component for national integration and consolidation. In 1947 it promoted the construction of dams, established fertilizer plants, cement factories, electric plants and heavy machinery units as symbols of national endeavor. To integrate the policies of social justice and social equality with economic development was equally important. During the national movement also, socio economic change for all levels of society had been part of the agenda after attaining freedom from colonial rule. In order to formulate a programme for planned economic development in the country the planning Commission was established. This ensured that there was proper distribution of resources to all states and reflected the concern of the government for all regions and their future. Planning was a powerful instrument that could be used for economic and social development.

The first Five Year Plan (1951-56) was launched on 1 April, 1951. It was focused on the economic sector, rehabilitation of refugees, agricultural development for food self-sufficiency and checking inflation. Five IIT's (Indian Institute of Technology) were also set up under this plan. The second Five Year Plan (1956-61) had 'socialistic goals' for a self-reliant and

self-generating economy. Five steel mills were set up in Bhilai, Durgapur and Rourkela. Basic and heavy industry was the focus with hydroelectric power projects. The plan however, had to be cut back due to shortage of foreign exchange. The third Five Year Plan (1961-66) initiated Panchayat elections, set up electricity boards in the states and Secondary Education boards to extend education and the democratic process.

The first five Year plan focused on the immediate refugee crisis following independence and dislocation caused by partition. With the second and third Five Year Plans the Nehru – Mahalanobis strategy of development was put into practice. The basic element was rapid development of heavy and capital goods manufacture in the country, mainly through the public sector. It was seen as critical for self – reliance. It allowed for foreign aid and investment to undertake massive projects. The plan also promoted labour intensive cottage industries for producing consumer goods. This was believed to be a solution for unemployment as well. The Nehru-Mahalanobis strategy also emphasized growth with equity, and therefore, wanted to distribute the economic resource and activities. Rapid growth was seen as the answer to the economic situation. The Planning Commission allocated greater resources to the backward states in the form of grants and loans on the basis of a formula which assigned an important criterion to the degree of backwardness. In the planning of public sector enterprise balanced regional growth was an important consideration. Bihar and Madhya Pradesh gained the most, Assam, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and the north east state also benefited in infrastructural development.

The Nehru – Mahalanobis strategy believed that state supervision of development was necessary for ensuring regional balance, preventing concentration and monopoly, protecting small industries and channeling resources according to planned priority. This required the establishment of a proper control and licensing authority for which the Industrial Development and Regulation Act (IDRA) was passed in 1951. Thus, began a system of license, quota rules and regulation, over which the bureaucrat and politician's nexus came to have a stronghold. They obviously resisted all attempts for any later change or modification.

The first three Five Year plans initiated a long-term impact on the economy and progress was soon visible. The growth in the GNP was 4% between 1951-1965 which was four times when compared to the early 20th century. It was even comparable to the then developed nations. A rise in saving and investment was seen increasing the possibility of further investment and growth. Agricultural growth took place with extension of cultivation, irrigation, community development at village level and agricultural research. The annual growth in agriculture was 3%, more than times higher than the early 20th century. Yet food shortage persisted and had to be imported. Industrial growth during this period was around 7% with a threefold increase in production. The dependency on the advanced countries was reducing with this programme the Planning Commission formulated. In 1960's the Planning commission formulated the concept of the poverty line. Below this line were those people whose food consumption was not providing the minimum level in terms of calories. The intention was to uplift those below the poverty line.

ECONOMIC PLANS 1966-1991

From 1966-69 the Planning Commission paid attention to agriculture in annual plans to meet the food crisis faced by the country. A New Agricultural Strategy was devised with high yield seeds, rise in use of fertilizers, soil conservation and irrigational development. This new agricultural strategy led to the 'Green Revolution' and food surplus for the first time. This new programme was continued in the Five-Year Plans from 1969-74 for growth with stability. In this plan 14 banks were nationalized. This period had a slogan '*garibi hatao*'. Despite a growth of 3.5% in the GDP however, inflation could not be controlled. The Five-Year Plan for 1974-79 was terminated by the Janata government. It had intended to create a national highway system and move ahead towards self-reliance and eradication of poverty.

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) framed by the Planning Commission aimed to expand the economy to combat poverty. It was also concerned about the over population and recommended family planning measures to check the rapid growth in the population. This period saw a growth of 5.5% in the GDP. The seventh plan (1985-90) saw a 6% growth with policies and programmes to increase food production, employment and manufacturing. The Jawahar Rozgar Yojna was introduced to combat the 3-year drought in several parts of the country. The phase from 1989-91 was marked by political uncertainties and annual plans were formulated by the Planning Commission. There was an ongoing debate on a shift to privatization and liberalization.

The achievements of the Planning Commission from 1965 to 1991 are generally not seen as being considerable but must be viewed in the backdrop of formidable issues both domestic and foreign. The genocide in East Pakistan led to an additional 10 million refugees in the country; war with Pakistan in 1971, drought in 1972, 1974 and also in 1987-88; oil prices also shot up in the 1970's causing havoc. Continuous efforts were made to improve balance of payments, creation of food security, alleviation of poverty and reduction of dependence on imports. India weathered through this storm. The food situation improved with a 35% increase in production by the early 1970's while food imports dropped from 10.3 million tonnes to 3.6 million tonnes. Food security became a reality, while rural employment and income was maintained despite the drought. Indian economy achieved greater self-reliance and autonomy. Fiscal deficit was brought down and foreign exchange increased. Capital good manufactures rose while import of foreign equipment decreased. This was the period in which the stock market now became significant, becoming a new feature in the economy. The ONGC or Oil and Natural Gas Commission were also set up. The economy under the guidance of the Planning Commission was steadily improving.

However, the need for reform was becoming visible to continue on the path to economic progress in the long term. Some structural weaknesses had been identified which were becoming critical by the 1990's. There was need for adjustments in planning and economic reforms. Three kinds of problems had emerged in the time since economic planning had been initiated. Firstly, were the protections, to the industrial base through import restrictions which were now seen as excessive and were causing technological backwardness, inefficiency and lack

of innovation. The license – quota system was stifling the industry, investment had decreased and the public sector had become stagnant and ineffective. There was not only control but also intervention from time to time with negative consequences. Secondly, the development path was slow to respond to global changes. Since entry of multinational companies (MNC's) and foreign capital was restricted it was not possible to utilize new opportunities. Exports had also started to decline. The third issue was related to political imperatives. There were new demands on resources, government expenditure was rising with increase in subsidies, grants, salaries, loan waivers and over staffing. The gap between saving and investment was constantly widening leading to a low GDP. Foreign exchange reserves were also declining. Reform was long overdue.

An attempt at reform was initiated in the 1980's with liberalization measures, deregulation of industrial licenses and fewer restrictions on large enterprises. They were path breaking but minor. By 1984 there was further deregulation, exchange rate flexibility and partial removal of import controls. The need for economic reform was recognized but in the face of persistent opposition from vested interests and ideological opposition from the orthodox left, reforms were obstructed.

A process of reform began in 1991 under the guidance of Dr. Manmohan Singh, the then Finance Minister in the Narasimha Rao government. It involved fiscal correction, liberalization of trade and industrial controls, dismantling of the licensing system, abolition of the MRTP Act, and reforms in public sector, capital market and foreign investment in an attempt to free the economy from internal controls. The reforms were creditable at first but the problems and challenges remained.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. When was the Planning Commission established?

2. What was the objective of the Planning Commission?

3. Explain the Harrod Domar model for Economic Planning.

4. What were Five Year Plans?

FIVE YEAR PLAN 1992-2014

The Eighth Five Year plan (1992-97) focused on economic growth and saw a 6.78% growth in the GDP. Agriculture and allied sector, trade, manufactures, export – import, all showed an increase. In 1997-2002 came the ninth plan with its agenda of growth with social justice and equality. It aimed at regional balance, productive employment and more self-reliance, with a better quality of life for the people. In this period the service sector grew by 7.8%, industry by

4.5% while the GDP was 5.4%. The tenth plan of the Planning Commission (2002-07) was concerned with literacy, forest cover, poverty and economic growth. The poverty ratio declined by 5%; forests increased by 25% and the literacy rate rose to 75%. In this period economic growth was at 8%. The eleventh plan (2007-12) had a target of 9% annual growth rate to propel Indian economy in the world with the country poised for a historic breakthrough. The economy continued with an average growth rate of 8%, farm sector increased by 3.7% and industry by 7.2%. The goal had been 4% for agriculture and 10% for manufacture and production. The Planning Commission had aimed at inclusive development. They were concerned with gender equality, environmental sustainability as well as education and skill development. This period saw a rapid economic growth. The target for the 12th Five Year plan was 8% with an agenda of fast, sustainable and inclusive growth. Agriculture was expected to increase at 4% per annum and manufacturing by 10%. There was also a scheme to increase electric power by 80,000 million watts. This plan was derailed with the dissolving of the Planning Commission on 17th August 2014.

As a result of the economic reforms of 1991 the Indian economy saw an unprecedented growth rate of 7.5% in the eighth plan. Gross domestic savings averaged over 23% by 1997. Industrial production rose to 12.8% by 1995-96. As the capital goods sector and small-scale industries bounced back. The fiscal deficit improved, foreign investment bore fruit, and liberalization of the stock market produced positive results. Critics of the economic planning however, claimed it was anti-poor, although poverty levels saw a significant fall. The economic reforms of the Planning Commission were designed to put India on a higher growth curve. Social services and rural development schemes were expanded and even inflation was curbed from 17% in 1991 to below 5% in 1996. The reform and initiatives were quite successful on the whole but issues of public sector performance, public savings, labour reform and fiscal deficit remained problematic. But 1996-97 a slowing down of the economy could be seen. This slowdown was partly due to political instability, coalition governments with divergent views and economic sanctions on India because of the nuclear tests. The reform process needed to continue with the same goals of self-reliance, industrialization, removal of poverty with new strategies and positive response to internal and external changes and experiences.

THE NITI AAYOG

The Planning Commission was replaced by the NITI Aayog (National Institute of Transforming India) on 1 April 2017. NITI Aayog was to prepare a fifteen-year vision document, a seven-year vision action plan and a three-year action plan. It was a ‘think tank’ of the Government of India to frame policy and provide direction. The objective of the NITI Aayog was to design a long-term strategy and program for development. It intends to encourage national and international partnerships, extend education and facilitate research. It is to function as a resource centre for knowledge and skills for innovation and research.

The Prime Minister is the Chairperson of the NITI Aayog which has a governing council with the Chief Ministers of all states and Lt. Governors of Union Territories. The Aayog

is supervised by a CEO and has full time experts in agriculture and public health. The NITI Aayog is an advisory body and unlike the Planning commission cannot impose policies on states, nor approve projects or allocate funds. It works to create policy to involve and foster participation in the economy. Its programmes include AMRUT, Digital India, Atal Innovation Mission, Medical Education reform, Swachh Bharat, Land Leasing law, Agricultural reforms and monitoring of states in health, education and water management.

The NITI Aayog is different from the Planning Commission in its purpose, structure and authority. The Planning Commission was an extra-constitutional body with secretaries appointed by due government process. It had a ‘top-down’ approach and imposed policies on states, even allotting funds to projects approved by them. The states participated in annual meetings as observers. In the NITI Aayog on the other hand a member come from a wider sphere and includes all Chief Ministers and governors of Union Territories as equal and full participating members. The CEO is appointed by the Prime Minister and the Aayog serves in a spirit of cooperation between all states. The NITI Aayog is an advisory body or ‘think tank’. It focuses on a ‘grassroots level’ of planning and does not impose policy or allocate funds. It is seen as an effort at cooperative federalism.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What was the Nehru – Mahalanobis strategy?

2. What is NITI Aayog?

3. Who is the chairperson of the NITI Aayog?

SUMMARY

Students, the Planning Commission with its Five Plans was successful at increasing national income from 1.2% in the early 20% century to 3% in 1950-2000. In 1970-80 the annual growth rate of national income was 4% which increased to 5% in 1990-2000. The per capita income also increased form Rs. 254.7 in 1950-51 to Rs. 1741.3 in 1980-81, further to Rs. 5365.3 in 1990-91 and Rs. 16563.5 by 2000-2001. This was a considerable achievement. Developments in agriculture were also significant and showed an upward trend of food grain output from 510 lakh tonnes in 1950 to 176.4 million tonnes in 1990 and 1950 to 176.4 million tonnes in 1990 and 211.9 million tonnes in 2001. Industry was an important sector of the economy and a large investment was made in it boosting production to new levels. The Planning Commission gave attention to transport and communication too. The mileage of roads and railways increased with higher outlay in the Five-Year Plans. The considerable progress in the economy led the self-reliance and self-sufficiency specially in food and consumer goods. The focus on basic industries like power, steel, fertilizer went a long way in contributing to the development in the economy.

This progress led to employment generation, specially in the first nine 5-year plans, creating job opportunities in small scale industry, self-employment and service sector. However, employment lagged behind with the increasing population and unemployment was rising at a rapid rate since 2000. The Five-Year Plans achieved a significant growth in power and public utilities. Hydro, thermal, nuclear and wind energy was developed in the five-year plans. The Planning Commission met its aim to bring about economic stability with efforts to check inflation. The Commission was able to increase capital formation to 21.3% in 2000-01. Planning also brought about development of science and technology to meet its goals with new institutions, research and technical education. An important sector of planning was the growth of social services – education, health and family planning, welfare of labour and backward classes. The Planning Commission made substantial provision of about 21% in the ninth plan for development of these services which are essential for the economically backward who need state support. The objective of social justice was met by the Planning Commission with emphasis on reduction of poverty, bridging the inequalities in wealth distribution, creation of jobs and raising the standard of living.

The Planning Commission achieved its objectives though not in totality and has been criticized on several aspects. Poverty and inflation remain persistent issues in the country, unemployment and unbalanced regional development also continue to plague the nation. Concerns of social justice and equality also mar the progress that has been made in the last seven decades. The Planning Commission and its five-Year Plans have mixed results. Targets have fallen short while some plans have even been disappointing. The economic planning still has to control rise in price, decrease unemployment, carry out infra structure development and improve efficiency in administration. There has been no substantial improvement in the standard of living, production is marked by a slow growth, while investment is still inadequate. Critics are of the view that India lacks a strong economic foundation. There has been debate on the economic needs of the country and even on the structure and functioning of the Planning Commission. The fact that the Planning Commission reduced the autonomy of states was raised, the departure from original functions and the neglect of a large section of society has been pointed out in these debates. Crucial decisions were taken by a handful of people in relation to their political ideology. It is hoped that the NITI Aayog with its new structure and objectives will change the economy in a positive way.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipin Chandra, *India Since Independence*, India: Penguin Books, 2007.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Examine the kind of economic planning suggested by different individuals in the mid 20th century.

2. What was the outcome of the Five-Year Plans from 1951-65?
3. Evaluate the economic planning from 1966-1991. What were its main achievements?
4. Assess the performance of the Five-Year Plans of 1992-2014. Did India meet the targets?
5. Write a short note on the NITI Aayog.
6. Discuss the achievements and limitations of the Planning Commission.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Who was M. Visvesvaraya?
2. What changes did Dr. Manmohan Singh introduce as Finance Minister?
3. What was the Jawahar Rozgar Yojna?
4. Why did the economy slow down by 1996-97?
5. Who all form the NITI Aayog?

BACHELOR OF ARTS
SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 3: THE GREEN REVOLUTION AND ITS IMPACT

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Early Developments after 1947

The Context of the 1950's – 60's

The Beginning of the Process

Check Your Progress I

The Results of the New Agricultural Strategy

Check Your Progress II

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the process which led to the Green Revolution
- Know the nature of the Green Revolution.
- Learn the impact of this development.

INTRODUCTION

Students, the Green Revolution was one of the most technological transformations of the 20th century. It was a process by which the food shortage in post – independence India was transformed to self-sufficiency in food grains. The programme behind this change was the new Agricultural Strategy which ushered in technological reforms from the mid 1960's. The Green

Revolution not only increased the food capacity but had far reaching impact on agrarian classes, ecology and even politics. It created a debate on the political and economic factors and even the timing of the programme. The new strategy was led by M.S. Swaminathan who took the initiative of Norman Borlaug to increase productivity in the developing world. Swaminathan is referred to as the 'Father of the Green Revolution'. In this strategy modern crop varieties were developed by agricultural research with support of international research centers and spread across the developing world.

The term Green Revolution was used by William Gaud of the USAID in 1968 who said the new developments in the field of agriculture are a new revolution – a green revolution. The new agricultural programme was first developed in Mexico in 1950 with help from the United Nations, US government and the Rockefeller Foundation. For the US this was a significant experiment in the use of science and technology for agricultural development. Mexico attempted to increase its agricultural productivity in irrigated areas to resolve issues of food shortage. The Rockefeller Foundation partnered with them in innovating new varieties and US universities participated in research. The government created the Mexican Agricultural Programme (MAP) to raise agricultural output. They were successful in increasing wheat production by 70% in 1951, 80% in 1965 and 90% by 1968. Mexico became the model for the Green Revolution to be extended to Africa and Asia. The success of the program was due to the high yield seeds, use of fertilizers, improvement of soil, and control of weeds and pests. These new varieties dramatically increased crop yields and vastly improved food supplies. The Green Revolution also triggered off broader economic change.

In 1960 the Ford Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation set up a rice research institute (IRRI) in Philippines and developed the IR8 variety which revolutionized rice production. Philippines became a rice exporter for the first time. China and Brazil also brought about a transformation in agricultural output through similar programmes. These successful experiments became the fore runners for the Green Revolution in India.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS AFTER 1947

The 'Nehru years' from independence to 1964 focused on institutional reforms and cooperative farming in agriculture and ignored technological advancement, according to critics. In fact, Nehru understood the importance of agriculture and from the first Five Year Plan invested in this sphere. The first plan had an outlay of 31% on irrigation and agriculture while in the next plans it ranged from 20-24%, a considerable proportion by any standards. Massive irrigation projects were completed like Bhakra Nangal, and a scientific infrastructure was created Research laboratories, agricultural universities, fertilizer plants were set up as the 'temples' of modern India. By the early 1960's however, the possible agricultural growth with extension of cultivated area had reached its peak and the benefits had been exhausted. At this juncture Nehru moved toward technological improvements to further expand cultivation and production from land. A new programme called the IADP (Intensive Agricultural Districts Programme) was initiated in fifteen districts, one in each state, as an experiment. These districts were selected on the basis of

their geographical advantages and were part of the third Five Year Plan. It was thought that it would be extended to other areas once it proved its worth. The foundation of the Green Revolution was thus, laid by Nehru in his lifetime.

THE CONTEXT OF THE 1950's – 60's

The annual growth in agricultural output between 1949 and 1965 was about 3 per cent. By the early 1960's the agricultural growth had started to slow down and began to stagnate. At the same time the population was increasing at the rate of 2.2 per cent per annum since independence and exerted pressure on agriculture with its increased demand for food. The proposed plan for industrial boost also needed agricultural support via raw materials. The increased demand led to rise in prices of food grain. To meet the food shortage and the rising prices the government had to import food grain. Under the PL – 480 scheme India agreed to import grain from the USA in 1956. In 1956-57 3 million tonnes of food grain were imported and by 1963 it had increased to 4.5 million tonnes.

The situation in the early 1960's had become critical. The two wars with China (1962) and Pakistan (1965), combined with drought in 1965-66 resulted in decline of agricultural output of food grain by 20 per cent consequently, food prices shot up by 20 per cent a year between 1965-68. India now imported 10 million tonnes of food grain to meet the crisis. There was fear of famine in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, adding to the economic issues. At this juncture the US threatened to stop its commitment to export grain to India. This pressure was being exerted on India by President Johnson of the US so that a policy favorable to America was accepted by India, he knew of the desperate dependence India had on US food grain.

It was essential at this point for India to become self-reliant and self-sufficient in food. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and the Food Minister C. Subramaniam decided that the New Agricultural Strategy be implemented in earnest. Indra Gandhi who became Prime Minister in 1966 too supported this programme for developing Indian agriculture and alleviating the issues of food shortage. The World Bank appointed Bell Mission also recommended this move.

THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS

The rationale for the Green Revolution was to tackle low food production, frequent famines and shortage of finances. It was to increase production by use of HYV's, artificial fertilizers and pesticides a goal that had seen dramatic success in Mexico and other countries. The selection of HYV's had great potential and could be adapted to diverse environments. They were resistant to biotic stress like insects and pests and abiotic stress including drought and flooding. It was intended that the Green Revolution would reduce malnutrition, poverty and prices. The short-term objective was to meet food shortage and long-term aim was to modernize agriculture, create infrastructure, boost industrial development, develop employment opportunities and lead to scientific innovation and research.

Government investment in agriculture rose considerably, almost doubled between 1968-1973. The new inputs included high yield variety seed (HYV), chemical fertilizers and pesticides, agro machinery like tractors, pumps; soil testing facilities, agricultural education and credit to areas that had good natural and irrigational advantages. The HYV's popular in the 1960's had some specific features. They were mostly dwarf varieties, had improved response to fertilizers, relied heavily on irrigation, matured in a shorter time span and were resistant to disease. They produced a better quality and quantity of crops. HYV's were largely for wheat, corn, rice and cotton. Some of the wheat varieties were Kalyan Sona and Sonalika which was obtained by cross breeding wheat were obtained by cross breeding wheat with other crops. About 10% of the total cultivated area, 32 million acres, was selected for this new strategy. The Agricultural Prices Commission was established in 1965 to ensure the farmer received sustained remunerative prices. The farmers too were ready to make investment in their land in this scenario adding to the total gross capital formation in agriculture. As a consequence, irrigated areas increased from 1 million to 2 ½ million in the 1970's, electric and diesel pumps from 0.4 to 2.4 million sets in the 1960's, tube wells from less than a lakh to 4.6 lakhs in number and tractors from around 30,000 to 1.4 lakh. The use of chemical fertilizers, nitrogen, potassium and phosphorus rose of 3 lakh metric tonnes to 23½ lakh metric tonnes by 1970-71.

3.4.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. What is meant by 'Green Revolution'?

2. Identify the main features of the 'Green Revolution'.

3. Which early developments helped to bring about agricultural improvement?

4. What was the IADP?

THE RESULTS OF THE NEW AGRICULTURAL STRATEGY

The Green Revolution led to increased crop production, decreased import of food grains, contributed to industrial growth, created rural employment and benefitted agrarian classes. Within a short time, the results of the new strategy were visible. By 1970-71 food grain production had increased by 35% compared to the late 1960's. In tonnage the increase was from 89 million tonnes in 1964-65 to 112 million tonnes by 1971 – 72. Food import consequently declined from 10.3 million tonnes to 3.6 million tonnes from 1966 to 1971. Availability of food rose from 73.5 million tonnes to 99.5 million tonnes during this period. By 1978 food availability was 110.2 million tonnes by 1984 it was 128.8 million tonnes. India was not only self-sufficient in food grains but had a buffer stock of more than 30 million tonnes. This made it possible for India to deal with severe drought in 1987 – 88 without foreign aid and even export grain to countries facing food shortages. The Green Revolution had arrived. By the end of the 20th

century India was producing 200 million tonnes of food grains. The production in 1951 was only 51 million. The Green Revolution ushered in a growth rate of 3 per cent which was higher than the population growth rate of 2.1 per cent. This was a major achievement for the country. In this period about 51% increase in production was due to expansion of agriculture and 49% as a result of increase in yield. Both area and yield were essential for maintaining growth. Between 1967-68 and 1989-90 about 80% of the growth of agricultural output was due to increase in yield. This was a direct consequence of the new strategy with high yield variety seeds, chemical fertilizers, mechanization and agricultural education.

The Green Revolution also generated a rapid increase in the marketable surplus of grains. A number of factors contributed to this process. The early areas where the new strategy was implemented were already high yield areas so additional output was marketed. The labour per unit output declined in these areas making the surplus available for marketing. The government also supported the marketing and distribution process, making it viable. The setting up of *mandis*, later Mandi Boards, Food Corporation of India with its large storage facilities, made this marketing and distribution possible. The market surplus as a result of the Green Revolution enabled the government to procure food grain and build up a considerable food stock. It was a major step towards self-reliance in the country.

Critics however, were not convinced of its positive outcome and pointed out that it led to increased regional disparities and was not beneficial to small and marginal farmers who became entrapped in a cycle of debt. Dry areas were in fact, ruled out for the Green Revolution and the use of technology was only by the large landowners. Thus, leading to class polarization and increasing the gap between the small and large farmer.

The Green Revolution was at first believed to heighten regional disparities. In fact, critics of the New Agricultural Strategy felt that the areas already well-endowed were being given additional resources thus, creating further inequality. However, recent research by scholars has found that over time the Green Revolution actually spread to other regions and brought prosperity. They look at three phases of the Green Revolution – a first from 1962 – 65 to 1970-73 in which Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh showed sharp increase in wheat production; the second phase up to 1980-83 saw a shift to HYV of rice and a Green Revolution took place in eastern UP, Andhra and coastal Karnataka and Tamil Nadu; Maharashtra and Gujrat also saw increased output; in the third phase of the Green Revolution till 1992-95 the new strategies spread to Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa as well. Growth was also seen in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the southern region. There was thus, eventually an all India growth in agricultural output at 3.4% a year. The growth pattern saw more diversification and reduced regional inequalities.

In the initial stages of the Green Revolution, specially in the 1970's, it was thought that it was creating class polarization in the villages. Critics believed that the wealthy peasants and capitalist farmers were gaining at the cost of the small peasant and tenants who could not make investments in their land. In fact, they said a process of de-peasantization was taking place taking place. They also argued that the introduction of agricultural machinery displaced

agricultural labour and caused a decline in wages of labour too. They were of the view that a process of impoverishment was taking place which could lead to unrest among agrarian classes and even revolt. 'The Green Revolution will lead to the Red Revolution' was their slogan. These arguments seem unfounded as an effort was made from the initial stages to ensure that small farmers and poor farmers had access to the new technology and participated in the new agricultural strategy, even the labour concerns had been addressed. A series of programmes were devised to reach out to the rural groups, including the poor farmers and the landless. Schemes like Rural Works Programme (RWP), SFDA, MFAL, CSRE, EGS were launched to give small and marginal farmers long term loans and subsidies. Millions of farmers benefitted from these institutional credit organizations like Agricultural Refinance Corporation in addition to nationalized banks.

As a result of the government efforts small farmers too had productive assets. Peasant with a small landholding of 5 or less acres cultivated 21% area, had 31% of irrigational facilities and used 32% of the fertilizers. They had received 33% of the total agricultural credit. The Green Revolution had thus helped them to produce 26% of the value of agricultural output with 21% of the cultivated land. It enabled the marginal farmer to survive. It was actually the large land owners who faced consistent decline in the agricultural areas while holding of small farmers remained stable or even improved. In 1980-81 98% farmers who held 25 acres or less of operational holdings cultivated 77% of total area and cultivators with holdings of 10 areas or less were 88% of total operational holding and cultivated 47% of the area. There was no class polarization as such that could be identified with the Green Revolution. Tenants and sharecroppers may have been at a disadvantage as rents increased and also owners started to organize farming on their own to get more benefits of the increased output. Mostly all the agrarian classes were beneficiaries of the Green Revolution.

In fact, the doubt that mechanization of agriculture would lead unemployment of labour was also unfounded. In 1969 a study on the labour found that the demand for labour had risen as had wages due to cropping intensity. The number of agricultural labourer's in the Punjab for instance increase three times between 1961-81. This demand was filled largely with large scale migration of workers from eastern UP and Bihar. This rate of growth in labour demand however, could not be sustained for long.

The Green Revolution actually created new employment opportunities through agro industries, trade in agricultural produce, warehousing for agricultural needs like fertilizers, pesticides and even food grain. This growth gave a boost to the transportation industry and maintenance of agricultural implements, trucks, tractors, pumps, and other equipment created further employment. With a increase in the income of farmers due to the Green Revolution there was a parallel increase in the demand of masons, carpenters and other skilled workers. The additional demand however, could not meet the requirements of employment for the rapidly growing population: all categories of people, directly or indirectly, benefitted from the Green Revolution and interstate disparities in agricultural wages also began to decline from the 1970's onwards.

The Green Revolution also had a negative impact. In the long term the legacy of the Green Revolution is assessed as detrimental. Although crop output increased for food grains, the non-food grains were largely left out of the new Agricultural strategy – pulses, oilseeds, jute, tea and sugarcane did not benefit as wheat and rice did. In fact, the use of HYV's was only of food grains and some extent cotton. In retrospect we find that only 40% of the cultivated land was under the impact of the Green Revolution. The eastern parts if the country were mostly excluded, while the western and southern areas had less impact of the new strategy. Unemployment also became an issue in rural areas and increased with time.

The most detrimental impact was on the soil, water and air - leading to health issues and environmental degradation, even loss of biodiversity. The many fold increase in water consumption for irrigation purposes has led to water scarcity and a lowering of ground water levels. It is estimated that 91% of water is used in the agricultural sector. Rice needs flooding for growth and cereals take 50% of the water consumed. The Green Revolution favoured water intensive crops and led to a series of issues related to water availability. In fact, irrigation was allocated larger resources than even agriculture with high investments in irrigation.

The excessive and unrestricted use of chemical fertilizers and pesticides had poisoned the soil, water and environment. Heavy use of pesticides pollutes groundwater and air and even enters the food chain. It destroys the beneficial organisms in the earth leading to poor quality of soil. The heavy metals in the fertilizers are released into the environment with harmful effects. Crops are sprayed with chemicals, sometimes 2-3 times to protect them from insects and disease. These chemicals are a serious health hazard and damage kidneys, liver and lungs. They also cause neurological, endocrine and reproductive disorders. In areas with high use of chemicals still births, delayed development and even intellectual disabilities have been on the rise. Concerns have also been linked to environmental degradation with increased morbidity over the last few decades. Most farmers do not use protective gear like masks and gloves, increasing the effect of chemicals on the body. Men and women are both exposed to these chemicals from an early age with harmful consequences for health. Even the banned DDT causing severe harm is used illegally. Stubble burning is adding to the increasing problem caused by fertilizers and pesticides. The Green Revolution thus, had serious long-term consequences for both agriculture and society. Social activists are of the opinion that the Green Revolution caused greater financial and sociological problems for the people.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What was the PL 480 Scheme?

2. List the major outcomes of the Green Revolution.

3. Which programmes were started to reach out to rural people?

4. What was the negative impact of the Green revolution?

SUMMARY

Students, the Green Revolution was a new strategy to boost agricultural output and make India self-sufficient in food. It was a successful programme that brought about not only food sufficiency but had an impact on all categories of society by generating employment and contributing to increase in wages with a large proportion of the population dependent on the agricultural sector it had a major impact on the agrarian classes and improved rural poverty levels. The agricultural growth did bring prosperity in each agrarian group but was not equitable making the wealthy farmers even more rich. The gaps within the peasantry thus increased. By the 1990's the programme had slowed down as investment in infrastructure, and irrigation necessary for agricultural growth was reduced. The initial investment by the government which had brought about the Green Revolution could not be sustained over or long period of time.

On the whole, the Green Revolution was successful in introducing new methods of farming in India. The new high yielding varieties of food grain led to greater output from land. This enabled cultivators to prosper by selling the surplus in the market. New insecticides and pesticides protected crops and contributed to enhanced yield. The expansion of irrigation also added to the growing surplus. The shift to agriculture machinery made it possible for farmers to work more efficiency and over a longer area too. On the downside the continuous, almost overuse of chemical fertilizers and pesticides affected the fertility of soil, they are water soluble and dissolved easily, and caused degradation of soil by killing bacteria and micro-organisms useful for growing crops. They also made the soil alkaline and rendered it unfit for agriculture. The excessive utilization of ground water through tube wells had led to a considerable reduction in the water table making it not only difficult to bore new tube wells but has also impacted the water available for people.

There has been criticism of the Green Revolution in the context of its negative environmental impacts, excessive use of chemical fertilizers excessive use of ground water without adequate rejuvenation – is taking its toll. The practice of agricultural subsidies this for fertilizers and electric power are also adversely affecting the country's economy. The optimum agricultural growth without the parameters of the Green Revolution have probably been reached. Output and growth rates have plateaued with known technology and it is creating new problems related to ecological degradation and even health. The Green Revolution led to extension of cultivation at the cost of the forests triggering a massive deforestation in many parts. At the same time experts point out that if new techniques are not utilized we would require an impossible increase of 66% in existing cultivable area, which would wipe out the forests too. In fact, the green revolution is actually instrumental in saving the forest from further encroachment. What is needed is a balance between modern technology a sustainable agriculture and not an opposition to agricultural growth. It is essential to educate farmers about proper use of fertilizer and pesticide after due soil testing, to check wasteful irrigation practices and retain a healthy

ecological balance. What is required is further scientific innovation and discovery through research to achieve sustainable growth. The Green Revolution is a success story which needs to be replicated in new forms and ways.

A new Green Revolution is needed – Green Revolution 2 with organized ways of farming for sustainable practices. Alternative agricultural techniques may be the solution, like the Zero Budget Natural Farming (ZBNF), climate resilient ZBNF, which has been initiated in 6 million hectares in Andhra Pradesh and 8 million hectares in Karnataka. Interventions deviate from the natural laws of balance and functioning that is unsustainable with adverse effects. Any new strategy has to be eco-friendly and sustainable. Several suggestions have been put forward to achieve this new milestone in agriculture - such as plant protection programmes, irrigation, education and research activities, crop insurance, land development programmes, credit at low interest, natural pesticides with neem and chillies, among others.

The Government of India introduced the Green Revolution Kishonnati Yojana in 2005 with the aim of boosting the agricultural sector. Eleven schemes were initiated among them the National Food Securing Mission (NFSM), Subsidy on Agricultural Extension (SMAE), National Mission for Sustainable agriculture (NMSA) and Mission for Integrated Development of Horticulture (MIDH). Increased mechanization is also on the agenda. An ‘Evergreen Revolution’ is the need of the times, in which productive output is increased within a safe environment, with economic viability and is socially sustainable. Integral to this ‘revolution’ would be the coming together of technical development with economic principles. Improvement in agriculture should not be at the cost of the environment or human health, a balance has to be achieved and maintained.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipan Chandra, *India Since Independence*, India: Penguin Books, 2007.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the problems that India faced with regard to food in the Post-1947 period.
2. Describe the preparation made for initiating the Green Revolution.
3. Identify the immediate results of the Green revolution.
4. Comment on the long-term impact of the Green Revolution.
5. How did the Green Revolution impact the different agrarian classes?

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What was the New Agricultural Strategy?
2. What were the ‘temples of modern India’?
3. How much did food grain production increase in the Green Revolution?
4. Did the Green Revolution increase regional disparities?
5. Explain ‘class polarization’?
6. Was the small farmer also part of the Green Revolution?

BACHELOR OF ARTS
SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 4: INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Industrial Growth and Private Enterprise

Industrial Policy Resolution, 1948

Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956

Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969

Check Your Progress I

The Industrial Policy Statement of 197

The Industrial Policy Statement of 1977

The Industrial Policy Statement of 1980

Liberalization of Industrial Policy Regime, 1980's

Check Your Progress II

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- Understand why independent India followed the mixed economy framework for the growth of its industrial sector.
- Examine the features of the Industrial policies adopted by India for the growth of the Industrial sector between 1947-1991.

- Critically assess the movement of Indian Industrial policies from stringent control over private sector to policies towards industrial liberalization.

INTRODUCTION

Students, India immediately after its Independence introduced the first Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 with an objective to achieve rapid industrial growth and development. The system of economy visualized was a mixed economy comprising public and private sectors. Following, the adoption of the Constitution and the socio-economic goals, the Industrial Policy was comprehensively revised and adopted in 1956. But development experience during the 1960s suggested that this policy was unsuitable for achieving rapid growth and transformation of economy to a developed economy. To meet new challenges, from time to time, it was modified through statements in 1973, 1977 and 1980. In this module an attempt has been made to assess the need and features of various industrial policies and amendments adopted between 1947-1991.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Students, post-independence India was deeply influenced by the Soviet Union which had state run industries and an era of socialism with large role of the government in production of goods and services. Capitalism was associated with exploitive tendencies and having vested interests. At the time of independence, the private sector was virtually non-existent in India except the Tatas and the Birlas. The requirement of capital for the country's industrial growth was far beyond the capacity of these industrial houses. Accordingly, it became essential for the state or the government to achieve industrial growth through public sector undertakings. It was realized that the objective of socialistic pattern of society could be achieved only through a comprehensive development of public sector enterprises. Saving and investment were identified as the key determinants of economic growth. High interest rates were offered to promote saving, while investment was induced through subsidies and capital grants. Industries like of electricity generation, transport and communication, engineering goods, telecom, and iron and steel industry were exclusively put in the domain of public sector and were identified as of strategic significance or were to be developed on priority basis because they provided an infrastructural base for the overall spread of industrialization in the economy. The Indian government after Independence had put barriers to foreign trade and foreign investment. This was considered necessary to protect the producers within the country from foreign competition. Industries were just coming up in the 1950s and 1960s and competition from imports at that stage would not have allowed these industries to come up. Thus, India allowed imports of only essential items. The role of public and private sector in the industrial growth has been guided by various industrial policies of the government that has been announced from time to time in view of changing priorities from 1948 onwards. Let us discuss them in detail.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY RESOLUTION, 1948

The Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948 marked the beginning of the evolution of the Indian Industrial Policy. The resolution was issued on April 6, 1948. It made clear that India is going to have a mixed economic model. In other words, the resolution accepted the importance of both private and public sectors for the development of the industrial sector. The 1948 Resolution also accepted the importance of the small and cottage industries as they are suited for the utilization of local resources and are highly labour intensive. The 1948 Resolution divided the Industries into following four broad categories:

- **Strategic Industries (Public Sector):** Owing to the strategic need of country's defence, the three industries of arms and ammunition, atomic energy and rail transport could not be left in the hands of private entrepreneurs. Therefore, these industries were monopolized by the central government.
- **Basic/Key Industries (Public-cum-Private Sector):** 6 industries viz. coal, iron and steel, aircraft manufacturing, ship-building, manufacture of telephone, telegraph and wireless apparatus, and mineral oil were designated as "Key Industries" or "Basic Industries". These industries were to be set-up by the Central Government. However, existing private undertakings in this field were allowed to continue for ten years after which the government would review the situation and could acquire any existing undertaking after paying compensation.
- **Important Industries (Controlled Private Sector):** 18 industries of national importance were included in this category. It included industries like heavy chemicals, heavy machinery, sugar, cotton, textile and woolen industry, cement, paper, salt, machine tools, fertilizers, rubber, air and sea transport, motor, tractor, electricity etc. These industries were placed under private sector. However, the government decided to regulate them. Regulated development of private sector was to ensure that there was no concentration of economic power in the private hands.
- **Other Industries (Private and Cooperative Sector):** All other industries which were not included in the above mentioned three categories were left open for the private sector. However, the State could take over any industry in this sector also if its progress was unsatisfactory.

The Resolution emphasized the predominant role of small-scale industries for fuller utilization of local resources of the country, the generation of employment and reaching the goal of self-sufficiency in consumer goods. Thus, the State was to extend financial assistance for their expansion. It also felt the need for labour legislation to ensure the working classes a fair wage and improved working conditions.

The system worked to provide protection to Indian industry. Protection, both against potential domestic competition and foreign competition, was the right approach in the initial

stage of industrialization in a developing economy which was struggling to come out of the stranglehold posed by two-centuries old colonial domination. However, over time, the excessive protection through import restrictions started leading to inefficiency and technological backwardness in Indian industry.

THE INDUSTRIES (DEVELOPMENT AND REGULATION) ACT, 1951

The Industries (Development and Regulation) Act or IDRA was passed in October 1951 to implement the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1948. It came into force on May 8, 1952. The Act provided the necessary means to the central government in order to implement its industrial policy of 1948 and to regulate and develop the activities of industries of national importance. For instance, the Act made the registration of all industrial units in the scheduled industries compulsory and enjoined upon the owners thereof to obtain a certificate of registration within a prescribed time. It also necessitated the need that the new industrial units to be established only after obtaining a license from the Central Government. A license was needed not only for establishing a new enterprise, but also for expanding production capacity of the existing ones, production of new articles, and change in location. Licenses to increase production were issued only if the government was convinced that the economy required more of the goods.

Opening new industries in economically backward areas was incentivized through easy licensing and subsidization of critical inputs like electricity and water. This was done to counter regional disparities that existed in the country. The Act in its original form applied to industries included in the first schedule of the Act. The schedule covered a number of industries like metallurgical, industrial machinery, transportation, fertilizers, textiles, cement, defence, etc. The provision was also made for the constitution of the Central Advisory Council and Development Council. The prior consultation with Central Advisory Council and Development Council was obligatory before the Central Government took certain measures such as the revocation of a license or taking over the control and management of any industrial unit on the ground of unfair practices adopted by the industries or if the working of a particular industrial unit was not satisfactory (say for example, there was substantial underutilization of capacity or product was not up to the mark or cost of production and price were excessive).

INDUSTRIAL POLICY RESOLUTION, 1956

Students, the Government revised its first Industrial Policy (the policy of 1948) through the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 (IPR 1956). It was regarded as the “**Economic Constitution of India**” or “**The Bible of State Capitalism**”. The noteworthy factors that necessitated the government to plan the new industrial policy resolution were: the enactment of the Constitution of India guaranteeing certain fundamental rights to all citizens, the directive principles of State Policy; acceptance of 'Socialist Pattern of Society'

as the objective of social and economic policy; the successful completion of the First Five Year Plan and the need for placing the Second Five Year Plan before the country with rapid economic development as its objective. The broad objectives laid in the IPR 1956 for the growth of the Industrial sector were as following:

1. To accelerate economic growth and boost the process of Industrialization.
2. To secure a continuous increase in production and its equitable distribution,
3. To develop heavy industries and machine making industries.
4. Expansion of public sector.
5. To build up a large and growing competitive cooperative sector.
6. To prevent monopolies and the concentration of wealth and income in the hands of a small number of individuals.
7. To create employment and reduce poverty.
8. The removal of regional disparities through the development of regions with low industrial base.

It provided the basic framework for the government's policy in regard to industries till June 1991. It 1956 classified industries into three broad categories:

- **Schedule A:** It included 17 industries. Four industries namely the railways and air transport, arms and ammunition, heavy industries, and atomic energy were to be developed as central government monopolies. In the remaining 13 industries, all new units were to be established by the state. However, existing units in the private sector were allowed to subsist and expand.
- **Schedule B:** consisting of 12 industries, was open to both the private and public sectors; however, the private sector was to play only a secondary role. In other words, such industries were progressively state-owned, but private enterprise was expected to supplement the efforts of the state in these fields. This category included all mineral industries, road transport, machine tool, chemical industries like manufacturing of drugs, antibiotics, fertilizers, rubber etc.
- **Schedule C-** All the other industries not included in these two Schedules constituted the third category which was left open to the private sector. However, the main role of the state in this category was to provide facilities to the private sector to develop itself but the state reserved the right to undertake any type of industrial production.

The IPR 1956, stressed the role of cottage and small scale industries in the development of the national economy, for providing immediate large scale employment, for ensuring a more equitable distribution of the national income and facilitating an effective mobilisation of resources of capital and skill which might otherwise remain unutilised. The state supported cottage and small-scale industries by restricting the volume of production in the large-scale sector, by differential taxation, by direct subsidy policy and by reservation of certain products for small-scale sector. Financial assistance was also offered to these small-scale industries for improving and modernising their techniques of production and thereby improve their competitive

strength. The Resolution also called for efforts to maintain industrial peace; reduction in regional disparities, the need for organisation of schemes of apprenticeship training in both public and private sectors, and the extension of training facilities in business management in universities and other institution to meet the shortage of technical and managerial personnel.

The private entrepreneurs were offered many types of industrial concessions for establishing industry in the backward regions of the country. These concessions included: tax holiday (freedom from the payment of tax for some time), and subsidised power supply. Like the policy of industrial licensing, the industrial concessions were expected to promote regional equality.

Criticism: The IPR 1956 came in for sharp criticism from the private sector since this Resolution reduced the scope for the expansion of the private sector significantly. Most of the laws and policies that were passed during that time were based on the Principle of Command-and-Control. There was high scale of government intervention in the affairs of the private industries and businesses. The thrust was to promote the public sector of the county which could only lead to the growth of the economy. This era is also termed by many as the period of License Raj wherein, the private industries were required to take approval licenses from the government in order to function; there were high tariffs and quotas imposed on the import of goods.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. The first Industrial Policy Resolution was announced in which year?

2. Why did Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 give importance to the public sector?

3. What was the basic idea of industrial licensing policy?

4. What were the main objectives of Industrial Regulations Act 1951?

MONOPOLIES AND RESTRICTIVE TRADE PRACTICES ACT, 1969

Students, to prevent the concentration of economic power in the hands of few, to provide for the control of monopolies, and to prohibit the monopolistic and restrictive and unfair trade practices of large business houses, the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act, was passed in the year 1969. Monopolistic Trade Practices meant that activities which hamper or

eliminate competition of healthy nature in the economic market were prohibited as these trade practices were anti-consumer. Restrictive Trade Practices meant some businesses often tend to control the supply of goods or products in the market by either restricting production or taking control of the delivery. The Act disallowed and ensured that firms do not indulge in these practices. MRTP Act also allowed for the establishment of the Commission of MRTP which was to be a regulatory authority to deal with the offences under the MRTP Act. Under the MRTP Act, all firms with assets worth more than rupees 100 crores were classified as MRTP firms and were subjected to several restrictions. For instance, if big business houses intended to set up a new enterprise, then applications were sent for the scrutiny of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Commission. Under the MRTP Act, if the assets of a business house were more than the prescribed ceiling of Rs. 100 crores, its application was rejected. Such firms were permitted to enter selected industries only and this also on a case-by-case approval basis. In addition, separate approvals were required by such large firms for any investment proposals. Its sole purpose was *“Achieving the highest possible production with least damage to people at large while securing maximum benefit”*. It became effective in June 1970. This prevented big business houses to undertake big investments in projects of infrastructure of heavy industry.

Small-scale industry, on the other hand, was offered protection from competition by reserving certain areas of production exclusively reserved for the small-scale industries, particularly labour intensive industries such as readymade garments, chemicals, leather products, etc. Besides, financial institutions were developed to cater to the needs of small-scale industries. Several boards (like Handloom Board and Silk Board) were established to promote the products of small-scale industries in the global market. With the emphasis placed on productivity in the Sixth Five Year Plan, major amendments to the MRTP Act were carried out in 1982 and 1984 in order to remove impediments to industrial growth and expansion. This process of change was given a new momentum in 1985 by an increase of threshold limit of assets.

THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY STATEMENT OF 1973

Over the years, keeping in view the changing industrial scene in the country, the industrial licensing policy underwent several modifications or its procedures have been liberalized from time to time. The next important Industrial Licensing Policy Statement came on February 12, 1973. It identified high-priority industries where investment from large industrial houses and foreign companies would be permitted. In the Industry Policy Statement 1973, the term “Core Industries” was included. It referred to the 6 Core Industries: iron and steel industry, cement, coal, crude oil, oil refining and electricity. They were called the basic industries or infrastructure industries. The private players were allowed to apply for license in these industries and for that they required Rs. 20 crore assets or more. In this policy some industries were reserved for small and medium players. The Public Private Partnership (PPP) was also emphasized as a prototype and it was called “Joint Sector” in which a partnership between public and private sector was allowed. The government also decided to take over and run ‘sick’ companies, such as a number of textile mills, rather than allow such loss-making companies to close down. In the same year,

government had also enacted the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act 1973 (FERA) due to severe crunch of Foreign Exchange. India allowed limited investment by MNCs in the country. All non-banking foreign branches and subsidiaries with foreign equity exceeding 40 per cent had to obtain permission to establish new undertakings, to purchase shares in existing companies, or to acquire wholly or partly any other company. The foreign investment brought advantages of technology transfer, marketing expertise, introduction of modern managerial techniques and new possibilities for promotion of exports. However, it tied the hands of big MNC's to expand their business, so it was felt by the policy makers that there should be some relaxation in the act so that the economic development through industrialization can speed up in the country.

THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY STATEMENT OF 1977

The Industrial Policy Statement of 1977 laid emphasis on decentralisation and on the role of small-scale, tiny and cottage industries. The list of industries exclusively reserved for the small scale sector was expanded from 180 items to more than 500 items. It provided for an annual review of this list in view of new products and new processes of manufacture that emerge. Within the small scale sector, a tiny sector was also defined with investment in machinery and equipment up to Rs.1 lakh and was situated in towns with a population of less than 50,000 according to 1971 census figures, and in villages. Special legislation to protect cottage and household industries was also proposed to be introduced. A District Industries Centre would be set up to provide, under a single roof, all the services and support required by small and village entrepreneurs. In addition, the Khadi and Village Industries Commission would plan and develop the 22 village industries under its purview.

The areas were clearly demarcated for the development of large scale industry like basic industries that are essential for providing infrastructure and for the development for small and village industries, such as steel, non-ferrous metals, cement, oil refineries, capital goods industries, high technology industries that require large scale production and that are related to agricultural and small scale industrial development such as fertilizers, pesticides and petrochemicals, machine tools, organic and inorganic chemicals. A list of industries was issued where no foreign collaboration (financial or technical), was considered necessary since indigenous technology was fully developed in the field.

THE INDUSTRIAL POLICY STATEMENT OF 1980

The Industrial Policy Statement of 1980 focused attention on opening the domestic market to increased competition, technological upgradation, modernization and readying our industry to stand on its own in the face of international competition. The public sector was freed from a number of constraints and given a large measure of autonomy. The technological and managerial modernization of industry was pursued as the key instrument for increasing productivity and improving our competitiveness in the world. It emphasized on rapid and balanced industrialization of the country with a view to benefit the common man by increasing availability

of goods at reasonable prices, large employment and higher per capita incomes. Certain major concessions and relaxations to help the growth of small, medium and large-scale enterprises with the objectives of modernization, expansion and development of backward areas were announced, which were as follows:

Relaxation to MRTP and FERA Companies: Under the pretext of expanding industrial production and promoting exports, various concessions were provided to companies falling under the MRTP Act (Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act) and FERA (Foreign Exchange Regulation Act). The government specified a list of 33 broad groups of industries in which MRTP and FERA companies were permitted to undertake production of new articles, provided the concerned items were not reserved for the small-scale or public sectors. Various other concessions like regularization of excess capacity and capacity re-endorsement, facilities to set up industries in backward areas etc. were also granted to MRTP and FERA companies.

Delicensing: With a view to allow faster industrial growth and production, the government delicensed 28 broad categories of industries and 82 bulk drugs and their formulations. For these industries only, registration with the Secretariat for Industrial Approvals (SIA) was now required: no license had to be obtained under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act. This was subject to the conditions that the undertakings concerned did not fall within the purview of the MRTP Act or the FERA, that the article of manufacture was not reserved for the small-scale sector. During 1989-90 some more industries were delicensed.

Economic Federalism: It proposed to promote the concept of economic federalism with the setting up of a few nucleus plants in each district, identified as industrially backward, to generate as many ancillaries small and cottage industries for their development.

Improving the performance of the public sector: It was realized that public sector enterprises were working below the optimum level of efficiency and the faith in the public sector was eroding. Therefore, industrial undertakings were closely examined on a unit-by-unit basis and steps were taken for effective development of management cadres in finance, production marketing and information system. The statement mentioned that industrial units found guilty of deliberate mismanagement and financial improprieties leading to sickness would be dealt with firmly. "In the case of existing sick undertakings which show adequate potential for revival, it would be the policy of the government to encourage their merger with healthy units which are capable of managing the sick undertakings and restoring their viability". "Recourse to takeover of the management under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act will be taken only in exceptional cases on grounds of public interest where other means for the revival of sick undertakings are considered not feasible. Where such takeover becomes necessary the state government will, in such case, is expected to assume responsibility for the financing and management of the undertaking."

Redefining the role of small-scale units: To encourage the development of small units, the government revised the definition of small units. Investment limit of the small scale industries was raised from Rs 10 lakhs to Rs 20 lakhs and investment limit of tiny industries or micro enterprises was raised from Rs 1 lakh to Rs 2 lakhs to help them upgrade their machinery and improve their efficiency.

Protection to small scale Industries: It was notified that the items produced in small sector would be reserved for development in the small-scale sector and that the large-scale units would not be allowed to expand the production of these items. It is significant that while 180 items were reserved for extensive development in the small-scale sector between 1967 and 1977, their number was now increased to 807.

Incentives: Industrial processes and technologies that aimed at optimum utilization of energy or the exploitation of alternative sources of energy were given special assistance, including finance on concessional terms. Similar benefits were also extended to activities that contributed directly to the improvement of the environment and reduced the deleterious effects on pollution of air and water.

Removal of Regional Imbalances: To remove regional imbalances the state encouraged industrial units in backward areas. To achieve a faster rate of growth in the villages, generate higher employment and higher per capita income, the handlooms, handicrafts and Khadi and other village industries were given greater attention.

The net result of all these changes was that on the eve of the Seventh Five Year Plan, a broad-based infrastructure had been built up. Basic industries had been established. A high degree of self-reliance in a large number of items - raw materials, intermediates, finished goods - had been achieved. New growth centres of industrial activity emerged. A large number of engineers, technicians and skilled workers had also been trained. The Seventh Plan recognized the need to consolidate on these strengths and to take initiatives to prepare Indian industry to respond effectively to the emerging challenges. Indian industry grew by an impressive average annual growth rate of 8.5% in the Seventh Plan period.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. When was MRTP Act passed?

2. What were the two aims of Industrial Policy Statement of 1980?

3. What is the full form of FERA?

4. What was the aim behind the passing of MRTP Act?

SUMMARY

Students, in this unit the various industrial policies adopted from time to time (between 1947-1991) to accelerate the economic development. Each and every policy had stressed on the mixed economy character of the economy which is co-existence of the public and private sector but in reality, it was heavily tilted towards the public sector. The pre-1991 policies were highly regulated and were formulated with a view to give public sector commanding heights and control over key industries/services. It paved the way for nationalization or overtake of private industries. Thus, coal mining, banking, insurance, textile mills, earlier in the private sector were nationalized. In order to protect domestic industries, India followed a regime of quantitative restrictions on imports. This was encouraged through tight control over imports and by keeping the tariffs very high. However, the policies adopted were severely criticised. It was argued that these industrial policies have generated inefficiencies, under-utilisation of capacities, mismanagement, red-tapism and a shift in the industrial policy was envisaged. Consequently we saw a new industrial policy in 1991. It needs to be mentioned here that it was not only the criticism but the surrounding international and national environment also that led to shifts in policy towards liberalisation.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipin Chandra and et.al., *India After Independence 1947-2000*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999.

Jagdish Bhagwati, *India in Transition: Freeing the Economy*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992.

V.K. Puri and S.K. Misra, *Indian Economy*, Mumbai: Himalaya Publishing House, 1983. (37th Edition 2019)

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write a detailed note on the limitations of Industrial policies adopted in post-Independent India between 1947-1991?

2. Why did independent India adopt the mixed economy system?
3. Write a detailed note on the salient features of industrial policies adopted in India since independence?

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Give two main features of the Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956.
2. Write two salient features of the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948.
3. Write two amendments made to the Industrial policy Resolution of 1956?
4. What were the two steps taken regarding liberalization of licensing policy in the 1980s?
5. What incentives for export promotion were laid down in the Industrial Policy in the 1980s?

SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 5: LIBERALIZATION OF ECONOMY

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Liberalization of Economy

Causes

Objectives

Measures taken for Liberalization

5.2.4 Check Your Progress I

Benefits of Liberalization

Disadvantages/Criticism of Liberalization

Check Your Progress II

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students, after reading this unit you will be able to:

- Understand the need for liberalizing Indian economy in 1991.
- State the measures taken for liberalizing the Indian economy.

- Critically evaluate the impact of liberalization on economy.

INTRODUCTION

Students, in 1991, the massive shortage of funds, corruption, the malfunctioning of government-owned sectors, bureaucratic interference, delays in investment decisions, debilitated the Indian economy. Together with the concepts of the 'License Raj' and red-tapism, there was fear that the Indian nation would go bankrupt. It was at this crucial juncture that the then Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao and the then finance minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh attempted one of the most important economic reforms since independence aiming at liberalizing the economy and quickening its rate of economic growth. In this module an attempt has been made to critically analyze the need and features of New Economic Policy introduced by the Indian government in 1991 of which Liberalization was an important component.

LIBERALIZATION OF ECONOMY

Prior to 1991, government had imposed several types of controls on Indian economy, for instance, industrial licensing system; price control or financial control on goods, import licence, foreign exchange control, restrictions on investment by big business houses, and others. It was experienced by the government that several shortcomings had crept into the economy on account of these controls. These had dampened the enthusiasm of the entrepreneurs to establish new industries. These controls had given rise to corruption, undue delays and inefficiency. Rate of economic growth of the economy fell sharply and high-cost economic system came into being. With the gradual liberalization of the 1956 Industrial policy in the mid-eighties the tempo of industrial development started picking up. But the industry was still feeling the burden of many controls and regulations. Therefore, the long-awaited liberalized industrial policy or New Economic Policy also known as the policy of liberalization or end of licence/permit Raj was announced by the Government of India in 1991 in the midst of severe economic instability in the country. The economic liberalization in India aimed at making the Indian economy more market and service-oriented and expanding the role of private and foreign investment to raise efficiency and accelerate economic growth. It opened up the economy for private players. Liberalization policy reduced unnecessary restrictions and controls on business units imposed by government, simplified the procedures, and relaxed trade and industry from unnecessary bureaucratic hurdles. Greater reliance was placed on market forces (of supply and demand) rather than on checks and controls.

CAUSES

Students, several causes resulted in introducing these reforms. Let us discuss them.

Fiscal Deficit: A fiscal deficit is a shortfall in a government income compared with its spending. Prior to 1991, on account of continuous rise in non-development expenditure, fiscal deficit went on increasing. In the year 1981-82, it was 5.4% of GDP and in 1991-92, it rose to 8.4% of GDP. Thus, due to rising fiscal deficit there was corresponding rise in public debt and interest payments. Interest liability became 36.4% of total government expenditure. It, therefore, became inevitable for the government to make efforts to scale down fiscal deficit.

Increase in Unfavourable balance of payments: When the value of total imports is greater than the total value of exports then the problem of balance of payments arises. Government could not restrict imports even after imposing heavy tariffs and fixing quotas. On the other hand, exports were very less due to the poor quality and high prices of our goods as compared to that of foreign goods.

Gulf War I: In 1990-91, the situation was aggravated by the rise in the price of oil and a fall in Indian exports to the Middle East or Gulf region due to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. Also, a large number of Indians working in Gulf countries came back because of which India lost remittances too.

Fall in foreign Exchange reserves: In 1990-91, Foreign exchange (foreign currencies) reserves, which the government (earns from exports) generally maintains to import goods like petroleum, dropped to such low levels that it was insufficient to pay for an import bill for 2 weeks. The government had to mortgage country's gold to arrange necessary foreign exchange.

Rise in Prices: Annual rate of inflation increased to 10.3% in the year 1990-91. Because of increasing pressure of inflation, country's economic position became worse. Poor and marginalized people of the society did not have enough access to food.

Poor performance of Public Sector Undertakings (PSU'S): PSU's enterprises are wholly owned by the government. In 1951, there were just 5 PSU'S and in 1990-91 its number rose to 246. Despite of huge investments in this sector, they were incurring heavy losses because of too much of government interference, inefficient management and poor performance of the employees who did not feel the need to be either competitive or effective because their jobs were secure. Thus, importance of private sector was felt.

To manage the financial crisis, India received financial help of \$7 billion from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), popularly known as World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on an agreement to announce its New Economic Policy. It meant they expected India to liberalise and open up the economy by removing restrictions on the private sector, reduce the role of the government in many areas and remove trade restrictions between India and other countries.

OBJECTIVES

Students, let us discuss the main objectives of India liberalizing its economy in 1991.

- Liberalizing the industry from the regulatory devices such as licenses and controls.
- The reforms intended at bringing in larger cooperation of the private sector to make the economy of India the fastest developing economy in the globe with capabilities that can help it match up with the biggest economies of the world.
- To bring down the rate of inflation.
- To reduce the role of the public sector in future industrial development.
- To enhance support to the small-scale sector.
- Increasing competitiveness of industries for the benefit of the common man.
- Providing more incentives for industrialization of the backward areas.
- To introduce more competition into the economy with the aim of increasing efficiency.
- To loosen the governments' grip over the economy and the introduction of open competition into economic life or to introduce a free market system.
- To reduce the public debt and stabilize the economy.
- To build sufficient foreign exchange reserves.
- To convert from inward looking economy to outward looking economy by removing all kinds of un-necessary restrictions.
- It wanted to permit the international flow of goods, services, capital, human resources and technology, without many restrictions to develop India on modern lines.

MEASURES TAKEN FOR LIBERALIZATION

Students, the public sector which was conceived as a vehicle for rapid industrial development, largely failed to do the job assigned to it. Most public sector enterprises became symbols of inefficiency and imposed heavy burden on the government through their perpetual losses. Since a large field of industry was reserved exclusively for public sector where it remained a virtual non-performer (except for a few units like the ONGC). The industrial development was thus the biggest casualty. The new industrial policy seeks to limit the role of public sector and encourage private sector's participation over a wider field of industry. Though a few liberalization measures were introduced in 1980s in areas of industrial licensing, export-import policy, technology upgradation, fiscal policy and foreign investment, but reform policies initiated in 1991 were more comprehensive. It made very significant changes in four main areas viz., industrial licensing role of public sector, foreign investment and technology and the MRTP Act. Let us discuss these measures in detail.

Deregulation of Industrial Sector: Prior to 1991, government had imposed various controls on Indian economy. For instance, (i) industrial licensing under which every entrepreneur had to get permission from government officials to start a firm, close a firm or decide the amount of goods that could be produced (ii) private sector was not allowed in many industries (iii) some goods

could be produced only in small-scale industries, and (iv) controls on price fixation and distribution of selected industrial products. This dampened the enthusiasm of the entrepreneurs to establish new industries and led to rise in corruption, undue delay and inefficiency. Rate of economic growth fell sharply. The reform policies introduced in and after 1991 removed many of these restrictions. Under the New Economic Policy, private sector was freed to a large extent from licences and other restrictions. Industrial license is required only in five industries namely the alcohol, cigarettes, hazardous chemicals, industrial explosives, and defence equipment's. Under the new industrial policy, number of industries reserved for public sector was reduced from 17 to 8. In 2010-11, the number of these industries was reduced merely to two namely the atomic energy and the core railway operations. Many goods produced by small-scale industries have now been de-reserved. In most industries, the market forces (demand and supply) has been allowed to determine the prices. Government stakes in Public Sector Enterprises were reduced to enhance their efficiency and competitiveness.

Relaxation from Monopolies Restrictive Act: Under the Monopolies and Trade Practices Act (MRTP Act), all firms with assets worth more than rupees 100 crores were classified as MRTP firms and were subjected to several restrictions. For instance, if big business houses intended to set up a new enterprise, then applications were sent for the scrutiny of the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Commission. Under the MRTP Act, if the assets of a business house were more than the prescribed ceiling of Rs. 100 crores, its application was rejected. This prevented big business houses to undertake big investments in projects of infrastructure of heavy industry. Such firms were permitted to enter selected industries only and this also on a case-by-case approval basis. In addition, separate approvals were required by such large firms for any investment proposals. Under the new economic policy MRTP was done away with. These firms no longer require to obtain prior approval from the government for investment in the delicensed industries. They are free to expand themselves. By eliminating the requirement of time-consuming procedures and prior approval of the government, it is now possible for all productive sections of the society to participate in efforts for maximisation of production. As a result, there would be no restriction on dominant companies and industrial houses for setting up new industries or expansion of existing industries, acquisitions and amalgamation. In year 2002, MRTP Act was abolished and in its place a much liberal Competition Act 2002 was enacted.

Freedom for Expansion and Production to Industries: Prior to liberalization, government used to fix maximum limit of production capacity. Under the new policy no prior official approval is needed and industries are free to expand. 'What to produce and how much to produce' is now a matter of producer's choice depending on market conditions. This has enabled the industry to take full advantage of large-scale production.

Increase in the Investment Limit of Small Industries: Investment limit of the small scale industries and tiny industries or micro enterprises was raised to Rs. 1 crore and rupees 25 lakh, respectively, to help them upgrade their machinery and improve their efficiency.

Freedom to Import Capital Goods and Raw Materials: Under the policy of liberalization, government allowed Indian industries to import machines, high technology and raw materials from more advanced countries in order to expand and modernise themselves.

Replacing FERA with FEMA: Earlier, for regulating foreign exchange transactions, government had enacted Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA). This Act was very restrictive in nature. It involved various checks and controls on transactions involving foreign exchange. Following the economic liberalization and changed attitude of government towards foreign capital, FERA was replaced with Foreign Exchange Management Act- FEMA in the year 1999. The provisions of FEMA liberalized foreign exchange controls and restrictions on foreign investment.

Liberalization of Taxation Policy: Prior to 1991, the income tax rates were very high and tax structure was also very complicated. It was a great hindrance in the path of rapid economic development. High tax rates de-motivated the entrepreneurs in setting up new enterprises or expanding the existing enterprise. Since 1991, there has been a continuous reduction in the taxes on individual incomes as it was felt that high rates of income tax were an important reason for tax evasion. It is now widely accepted that moderate rates of income tax encourage savings and voluntary disclosure of income. This reduced tax evasion and increased government's revenue. The fiscal policy reforms simplified the tax structure and also reduced the rates to a very large extent. Instead of so many indirect taxes at different levels of production, the government introduced GST in 2017, which is a single indirect tax on the final product. It brought about a uniform tax system all over the country.

Liberalization in Financial Sector: Financial sector includes financial institutions, such as commercial banks, investment banks, stock exchange operations and foreign exchange market. Earlier financial sector was regulated and controlled through various norms and regulations by the RBI (Reserve Bank of India). Liberalization implied a substantial shift in the role of the RBI from 'a regulator' to 'a facilitator' of the financial sector. For instance, as a regulator, the RBI (prior to Liberalization) would itself fix interest rate structure for the commercial banks. But as a facilitator (after Liberalization) the RBI would only facilitate the free play of the market forces and leave it to the commercial banks to determine their interest rates within certain limits, to recruit their employees and to manage their internal working with less restrictions. Further, norms for setting up private sector banks have been liberalized. Now, competition (rather than control) rules the decision-making process in banks. Free play of the market forces has led to the emergence of private bankers (both domestic as well as international) in the Indian banking industry. Liberalization has also allowed FII (Foreign Institutional Investors) such as merchant bankers, mutual funds and pension funds, to invest in Indian financial markets. Though banks have been given permission to generate resources from India and abroad, certain managerial aspects have been retained with the RBI to safeguard the interests of the account-holders and the nation. Consequent upon these changes, financial sector in India has shown a multi-dimensional

growth and is playing a significant role in the growth and development of the economy. New institutional structures such as SEBI were erected in the face of new realities of Indian financial sector.

Disinvestment in selected public sector industrial units: For the first four decades after Independence, the country was pursuing a path of development in which the public sector was expected to be the engine of growth. However, the public sector overgrew itself and its shortcomings started manifesting in low capacity utilization and low efficiency due to over manning, low work ethics, over capitalization due to substantial time and cost over runs, inability to innovate, take quick and timely decisions, large interference in decision making process etc. Hence, a decision was taken in 1991 to follow the path of Disinvestment. As a measure to raise large resources and introduce wider private participation in public sector units, the government would sell a part of its share-holding of these industries to Mutual Funds, financial institutions, general public and workers. For this purpose, the Government of India set up a 'Disinvestment Commission' in August 1996 which worked out the modalities of disinvestment. On the basis of recommendations of the 'Disinvestment Commission' the government sells the shares of public enterprise.

Establishment of a Board for Reconstruction of Public Sector Enterprises (BRPSE): The Government has decided to establish a Board for Reconstruction of Public Sector Enterprises (BRPSE) to advise the Government on ways and means for strengthening public sector enterprises (PSEs) in general and to make them more autonomous and professional. The Board would consider reconstructing – financial organizational and business – of central PSEs and suggests ways and means for funding such schemes. The Board would also advise the government on disinvestment/closure/sale in respect of chronically sick/loss making companies, which cannot be revived.

Liberalization of industrial location: The Industrial Policy 1991 stated that, there is no need to obtain approval from central government for industrial location. This enabled the Indian firms to set up industries at a right location of their choice without much interference from government authority.

Foreign exchange reforms: These were initiated in 1991 to increase the foreign exchange reserves in country. For instance, Indian rupee was deliberately devalued or lowered down against foreign currencies to encourage exports of the domestic goods and services and discourage imports. It also set the tone to free the determination of rupee value in the foreign exchange market from government control. Now, more often than not, markets determine exchange rates based on the demand and supply of foreign exchange.

Liberalization of Foreign Trade Policy: In order to protect domestic industries, India was following a regime of quantitative restrictions on imports. This was encouraged through tight

control over imports and by keeping the tariffs very high. These policies reduced efficiency and competitiveness which led to slow growth of the manufacturing sector. Foreign Trade Policy also underwent a substantial change in the wake of liberalization. It has made the import of capital goods, raw materials, technology very easy. Quantitative restrictions on import have been withdrawn. Provisions regarding import quota, import-permit, import-licence have been simplified. The procedures and documents related to import and export have been simplified. Tariff restrictions have been moderated and instead of policy of protection to the domestic industry, now there is the policy of ‘survival of the fittest’. Efficiency is the benchmark of growth.

Liberalization of Foreign Investment: This was the first Industrial policy in which foreign companies were allowed to have majority stake in India. In 47 high priority industries, up to 51% FDI was allowed. For export trading houses, FDI up to 74% was allowed. Today, there are numerous sectors in the economy where government allows 100% FDI like in case of mining, including coal and lignite, pollution control related equipment, projects for electricity generation, transmission and distribution, ports, harbours, oil refining, all manufacturing activities in Special Economic Zones (SEZ’s), some activities in telecom etc. Foreign investment inflows are of two types: foreign direct investment and portfolio investment. Foreign direct investment (FDI), is buying or establishing a manufacturing business, building warehouses, buying buildings, creation of infrastructure in the form of hydro-electric projects, telecommunications, construction of express highways, manufacturing units, in a foreign country. It raises the rate of real investment in the economy and helps us to achieve a faster rate of economic growth. It is a long-term investment in a foreign country. As against it, foreign portfolio investment (FPI) is the purchase of securities of foreign countries, such as stocks and bonds, on an exchange. In simple words, FPI involves the purchase of securities that can be easily bought or sold with a hope of generating a quick return. Critics believe that the share of foreign direct investment should be more than portfolio investment as portfolio investment is of a speculative nature and is hot money which can lead to flight of capital during a period of political uncertainty.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Who was the finance minister during the 1991 economic reforms?

2. Write down the two main objectives of Liberalization.

3. How were the Indian industries regulated prior to reforms?

4. For what categories of products was industrial licensing not abolished?

5. List the aims of trade policy reforms.

BENEFITS OF LIBERALIZATION

Industrial policies in India have taken a shift from predominantly socialistic pattern in 1956 to capitalistic pattern since 1991.

Increase in Foreign Investment: Liberalization has promoted globalisation. With liberalization, inflow of foreign investment has increased. The foreign investment in the form of foreign direct investment and portfolio investment has brought valuable foreign exchange currencies in India which is helping us in solving our balance of payments difficulties.

Increase in Foreign Exchange Reserves: Before new economic policy of 1991, India was facing acute shortage of foreign exchange. After liberalization wave, foreign exchange reserves of India have improved because of huge inflow of foreign investment and increase in exports. On 12th April, 2019, India's foreign exchange reserves were 414.89 billion US dollars.

Increase in Industrial Production: The changes in respect of foreign investment and foreign technology agreements are also designed to attract capital, technology and managerial expertise from abroad. This has raised the availability of such scarce resources in the country, has improved the level of efficiency of production, and has given boost to entrepreneurs to set up more industrial units. All this has increased industrial production. Also, due to the end of license Raj, project time and therefore, project cost has reduced. Material and human resources engaged in cultivating contacts and 'getting things done' are released for more productive uses. Thus, efficiency has also improved. Closure, liquidation, or rehabilitation etc. of sick/ weak public sector units will free resources for more productive use.

Increase in Competition: As a result of liberalization, many domestic and foreign enterprises have started business operations in India. The economy is thrown open and the best goods and services compete in the market. Because of increased competition, consumer has a choice, there is reduction in prices and improvement in quality of product. It has benefited the customer.

Control over Price: Before liberalization, inflation rate was very high in our economy. With liberalization, competition and production have increased. In the year 2009-10 inflation rate was only 3.8 percent, while this rate was 12.1 percent in the year 1990-91. In 2017-18, inflation rate was 3.6 percent.

Check on Corruption: The end of licence or permit Raj has put a check on demand of bribe by bureaucratic officials for granting these licences, permits, etc. It has helped to check corruption.

Reduction in Dependence on External Commercial Borrowings: Before liberalization, our government had to raise external commercial loans to meet balance of payments deficit. Liberalization has helped to increase inflow of foreign capital, which in turn has reduced the need of external commercial borrowings. It has reduced the debt burden of government.

DISADVANTAGES/CRITICISM OF LIBERALIZATION

Students, the liberalization policy of 1991 has invited scathing criticism from a number of quarters. The main points of criticism are as follows:

Increase in Unemployment: Liberalization has promoted the import of capital intensive technology. It has promoted automation, computerisation and mechanisation of industrial activities in the economy, which in turn, has accentuated the problem of unemployment. Also, the trade liberalization often leads to a shift in the balance of an economy. Some industries grow, some decline. Therefore, there may often be structural unemployment from certain industries closing. Trade liberalization can often be painful in the short run, as some industries and some workers suffer from the decline in uncompetitive firms. Though net economic welfare improves, it can be difficult to compensate those workers who lose out to international competition.

Loss to Domestic Units: Liberalization has promoted competition in the economy. It has adversely affected infant domestic industries which are not strong enough to compete with multinational corporations. Many small domestic units have become sick and have been closed.

Dangers of business colonisation: the various measures and concessions given to promote foreign investment has provided opportunities to MNCs to percolate down the Indian economy and gobble up Indian enterprises. The aggression which MNCs have shown to devour domestic enterprises has raised the dangers of business colonisation.

Increased Dependence on Foreign Nations: The greater flow of cheap goods from developed countries has replaced the demand for domestic goods. Economic liberalization has seriously undermined our manufacturing capabilities. Now a common man also uses imported televisions, refrigerators, mobile phones, and other things. Also, with liberal import of technology, India's local Research and Development capabilities in the production of technologies is adversely affected. Increased dependence on imported goods has hindered the self-sufficiency character of our country.

Narrow Scope: It has mainly concentrated on the large corporate sector. As a Consequence, there is a virtual neglect of small-scale sector and agriculture which are the main sources of

employment. Therefore, in order to improve the over-all economic growth and make it more sustainable from a long-term point of view, small scale sector and agriculture should be strengthened.

Unbalanced Economy: Liberalization makes the economy an unbalanced economy as it makes it dependent on other countries. In case of any fluctuation in the foreign economy, there is a correspondent fluctuation in our economy also.

Increase in Regional Imbalances: Private sector units and foreign enterprises capital flows and trade have remained highly confined to certain core developed areas of the country. They have shown no interest in setting up their business units in backward regions. It has further increased regional imbalances.

Vaguely defined industrial location policy: The New Industrial Policy, while emphasised the detrimental effects of damage to the environment, failed to define a proper industrial location policy, which could ensure a pollution free development of industrial climate.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What was the consequence of devaluation of rupee?

2. Write two effects of Liberalization on the Indian Economy.

3. How the policy of liberalization towards foreign investment has raised the dangers of business colonisation?

4. How the policy of liberalization has led to an increase in the Foreign Exchange Reserves of India?

SUMMARY

Students, this unit made an attempt to understand the need, features and impact of the new liberalisation policy introduced in the year 1991. In the late 1980s, government expenditure began to exceed its revenue by such large margins that meeting the expenditure through borrowings became unsustainable. Prices of many essential goods rose sharply. Imports grew at

a very high rate without matching growth of exports. The foreign exchange reserves declined to a level that was not adequate to finance imports for more than two weeks. There was also not sufficient foreign exchange to pay the interest that needed to be paid to international lenders. Also, no country or international funder was willing to lend to India. It was feared that the Indian nation would go bankrupt. It was at this crucial juncture that the then Prime Minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao and the then finance minister of India, Dr. Manmohan Singh attempted to liberalize the Indian economy by removing bureaucratic hurdles in industrial growth. This policy opened the door of the Indian economy for the global exposure for the first time. Liberalization policy reduced the import duties, abolished quantitative restrictions on import of raw materials, opened reserved sector for the private players, relaxed rules restricting large companies to expand existing units and construct new ones, devalued the Indian currency to increase the export, and made 'Licence, Permit and Quota Raj' a thing of the past. Furthermore, reforms included breaking public sector monopolies, reducing foreign currency debt dependence and tax reforms. The economy was thrown open and the best goods and services could compete in the market and the consumer got a choice at best lowest prices. Trade liberalization gave substantial economic benefits. However, there is a need to re-orient our liberalization policy with a view to making it more broad-based so as to include agriculture and small scale industries. Excessive dependence on foreign investment needs to be checked, or else it can raise the dangers of business colonisers.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipin Chandra and et.al., *India After Independence 1947-2000*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1999.

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V.K. Puri and S.K. Misra, *Indian Economy*, Mumbai: Himalaya Publishing House, 1983. (37th Edition 2019)

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is liberalization? What steps were taken by the government to liberate the Indian economy?
2. Critically analyze the liberalization policy adopted by the Indian government in the year 1991.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Why was Liberalization policy introduced in the year 1991?
2. What effect did Liberalization have on foreign investment?
3. What benefit did the domestic industries get by reducing the tariff?
4. Does Liberalization cause economic growth?
5. Write two positive and negative impacts of Liberalization?

SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 6: ISSUES OF CASTE, CLASS AND CREED IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Issues of Caste, Class and Creed

Check Your Progress I

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the question of caste system and caste inequality.
- Know about the efforts of the leaders to remove caste injustice from the country.
- Analyze the role of political parties to protect the interests of the Dalits, backward classes and minorities.

INTRODUCTION

Students, in this unit the issues related to caste, class and creed in the political sphere will be discussed. Before independence, socio-religious reformers like Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra and Sri Narayana Guru in Kerala took up the question of caste system and caste inequality. Gandhiji also integrated the issue of abolition of untouchability into the national movement. With independence, major initiatives in this area of removing caste injustice and inequality were to be attempted. The Constitution extended political rights to all citizens. The reservations were made. Dr. B.R Ambedkar played an active role in this sphere. After him, a new trend identified in the

political sphere as Dalit Panthers emerged in Maharashtra as part of the country-wide wave of radical politics. On similar lines, another party emerged in North India, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) for the Dalits, backward classes and minorities.

6.3. ISSUES OF CASTE, CLASS AND CREED

In India, the caste system originated about twenty-five hundred years ago. It is prevalent in all the religions like Hindus, Christians, Sikhs and Muslims. The main aspects of caste are: aspects of hierarchy, of high and low, of untouchable and touchable, unequal legitimation for the unequal access to resources, exploitation and oppression of lower castes, discrimination against lower castes by higher castes. The caste system designated certain groups like out castes and untouchables, it denied their access to ownership of land, entry to temples, access to common resources of water from the village tank or well. Non-untouchable castes, including lower among them, were denied to have any physical contact with the untouchables. They were not allowed to accept food or water from the hands of untouchables. The untouchable castes performed all the menial jobs in the villages. Such as water carriers, skinners of hides from dead animals, leather workers, scavengers and agricultural labour. Under the jajmani system, the landowning families distributed the fixed share of the agricultural produce to the untouchables in exchange for their menial services.

There were certain breaches in the caste system from the middle and late nineteenth century onwards. The new employment opportunities in factories outside the village, economic changes, mandis, government services, emergence of contractual relations, the army (aided by education), all contributed to the upliftment in the position of the untouchables. The Social reform movements started by Jyotiba Phule and Sri Narayana Guru also began to question the caste system and caste inequality in Maharashtra and Kerala. Gandhiji also integrated the issue of abolition of untouchability into the national movements from 1920 onwards. The other major campaigns and struggles such as Viakom (1924-25) and Guruvayur Satyagrahas (1931-32) were organized. Gandhiji wanted the upper caste to realize the enormity of the injustice done by them to the untouchables. He also opposed the attempt of the British to treat the Depressed Classes. The untouchables were then called in the official parlance as Depressed Classes. Gandhiji wanted the untouchables to be separate from the Hindus, and grant them reserved seats in legislatures, based on the separate electorates in the Communal Award of 1932. Once the untouchables were separated from the Hindus, the Hindu society would change its attitude towards them.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, born in a major untouchable Mahar caste of Maharashtra, was a brilliant lawyer. He was educated in the United States with the help of a scholarship given by the Maharaja of Baroda. By the late twenties, he emerged as a major leader of the Depressed Classes. In 1932, Ambedkar agreed to the Poona Pact, providing the reserved seats to the Depressed Classes from within the general Hindu category. Gandhiji went on a fast against the Communal Award. Dr. Ambedkar even chose Sikhism in 1936 and argued that conversion to

another region was necessary. But the British government did not assure the continuation of the benefits of reservation in the case of conversion. Ambedkar formed the Independent Labour Party in 1936, to combine peasants and workers. The party, participated in the elections of the Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1937, and won few seats. In 1942, Dr. Ambedkar formed the Scheduled Castes Federation, to focus on the Scheduled Castes (SCs) alone. He also realized that his effort to build an alliance against the Congress was of no use. To get more benefits for the SCs, Ambedkar also co-operated politically with the British government. In the forties, he won a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council (the equivalent of the Cabinet) for his loyalty towards the colonial government.

In the different regions also, the differing strands emerged. The Ad-Dharm, in the Punjab, Adi Hindu in U.P., the Namashudras in Bengal. They allied with the pro-British Unionist and Krishak Praja parties in both Bengal and Punjab. In Bihar, Jagjivan Ram, a prominent Harijan leader, formed Khetmajoor Sabha and the Depressed Classes League. Before independence, the Harijan organizations demanded for freedom of the *begar* or caste-specific imposed labour, grant of forest or wastelands for cultivation, and removal of legal disabilities from owning land, as imposed by the Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900, which did not include SCs among agriculturalist castes. A number of individual Gandhians and Gandhian organizations actively took part in it.

After independence, major attempts were made to eradicate caste injustice and inequality in the area. The Constitution provided political rights to every citizen of India including Scheduled Castes irrespective of caste, sex, religion, language, and race. Article 17 abolished the practice of untouchability in any form. Its enforcement shall be considered a punishable offence with law. The parliament passes the Untouchability (Offences) Act in 1955, according to which any offences were punishable with fine, cancellation of licences, and public grants. The Protection of Civil Rights (Amendment) Act, was passed in 1976. It provided enhanced and stringent punishment and appointment of officers and special courts to deal with the offenders, legal aid for victims. The Indian Constitution made provisions for the Scheduled Castes, such as reservation of seats in educational institutions and legislatures, and in the government jobs. These reservations were made only for ten years, but since then it has been extended continuously.

Despite the differences between Dr. Ambedkar and Congress in the pre-independence days, he was chosen as the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constitution by the Congress and also the law minister in Nehru's Cabinet. As the differences grew, Ambedkar left the Congress and formed All India Scheduled Castes Federation. It participated in the elections, but most of its candidates lost to Congress candidates in reserved seats. Dr. Ambedkar, in 1956, reverted to his position of conversion being necessary. As the leader he led, half a million people (approximately 6 million), especially Mahars, his own community, to become Buddhists. He did this because the reservations for the Buddhist converts were not denied as they were to SCs who converted to Christianity and Islam. Some other untouchable groups, such as the Jatavs of Agra, also followed him, but many others did not. In

1956, Dr. Ambedkar died, leaving no second line of leadership. In 1957, the Republican Party was founded. It contested the elections to the Bombay Legislative Assembly in the end won a few seats. The party soon split because of the clashes over personality and the other issues. In a few years' time, most factions joined or allied with the Congress, and under Y.B. Chavan special efforts were made to accommodate them.

In Maharashtra, a new movement emerged called Dalit Panthers (Dalit, meaning downtrodden) as a part of the country-wide wave of radical politics. In 1972, the Dalit Panthers established itself as a political organization and was inspired by the ideology of Dr. Ambedkar and popular mainly among youth and students in urban areas. They had revolutionary thinking, but there is no evidence of evolution of such concrete strategy. In 1978, there was an agitation for renaming Marathawada University as Ambedkar University. As a result, there was an Anti-Dalit riots in the rural areas of Maharashtra. In the riots, the main aggressors were the middle-caste Maratha Kunbi non-Brahmin peasants.

In the 1980s, there were serious differences in Dalit Panthers over the issues, either to include non-Dalit poor, non-Buddhist Dalits, primacy of cultural versus economic struggle and over personalities in Dalit Panthers or not. For instance: Raja Dhale versus Namdeo Dhasal. As soon as the splits began, most factions joined Congress. In 1990, Prakash Ambedkar, grandson of B.R. Ambedkar, tried to unite all the Dalit organizations to contest in the Maharashtra State Assembly elections. In Bombay, a huge morcha of 500,000 people was organized, but still the differences arose again between them.

In the 1980s, a new party, the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) emerged in North India, under the leadership of Kanshi Ram (and later Mayawati, who became Chief Minister of U.P.). BSP declared electoral power as its chief aim and strategy.

Initially, though, there was a talk of Dalit Backward Castes and minorities to come together as Bahujan Samaj, BSP became a willing party to befriend with any political party like Congress, BJP, Janata, Samajwadi Party as long as it advances its vote share and gets political power. This deal with BJP, made Mayawati the Chief Minister of U.P. in 1995. BSP, who regarded V.P. Singh as a messiah of social justice, dropped him to support Devi Lal and Chandra Shekhar in 1990. The BSP has succeeded in securing the base of the SCs in U.P., Punjab and Madhya Pradesh for becoming the significant factor in electoral calculations of other parties. The importance to the party is given because of the lack of dominance of any one party, otherwise it might not have the power. In general, the ideology has been strident and often abusive towards the upper castes.

Non-Dalit parties and groups have also played a significant role in their empowerment. The NGOs and the different parties have set up different agricultural labour unions. It has taken over the issues such as wage demands, demands for employment guarantee schemes, right to work, house-sites, abolition of child labour, right to education. These all have contributed to a new self-confidence of Dalits. Moreover, Dalit organizations have also mushroomed exclusively. In rural areas, the Dalit youth have organized Ambedkar Samghams. The students, teachers, youth, and office workers have been organized into associations in the

urban areas. But these organizations are more concerned in promoting the interests of their members and are less concerned with rural areas or the urban poor.

However, despite all the efforts of Dalit parties and other political groups, the majority of Dalits still vote for the Congress. The overwhelming reality that propelled Dalit leaders over the years towards the Congress. There are no simplistic explanations based on theories of co-option or betrayal. Dalit ideologies will have to understand the underlying causes, if they want to change it.

According to sociologists, despite the claim of the leaders of the Dalits, the Buddhist converts did not give up their Hindu gods or goddesses, but they have added the photos of Ambedkar and Buddha. Buddhist converts celebrate Hindu festivals that were barred to them with great public display, by cooking prohibited religious food, and enhance their confidence. The upper castes are not arranged based on their becoming Buddhists-but by their defiance of traditional Hindu norms and emulation of Hindu religious practices.

Thus, despite conversion, Dalits feel equal with upper caste Hindus only when they practice the same religious rites and customs which were earlier denied to them by the upper caste Hindus. The understanding and strategy of struggle of Gandhiji against the Dalit problem, which provides religious equality via temple entry, stands validated. The Christian converts continue to have separate Dalit Churches, or separate places within churches. They face discrimination, denial of promotions within Church hierarchy, denial of right to perform ceremonies, priest's refusal to accept water from their hands, proves that conversion only transferred the problem of caste-based discrimination from Hinduism to Christianity. The high caste Ashraf's treated Muslims, and the low-caste Muslims converts, in a similar manner.

Similarly, there is a marginal difference in the reservation of job and seats in educational institutions at a higher level. In the total population, about 3 percent get a higher education and can have access to government jobs. The percentage of Scheduled Castes is much smaller, as they are mostly poorer, more rural. There are effects of reserved seats for scheduled castes in legislatures with the electoral imperatives. It forces the representatives to take up the issues to their constituents. But the tendency for co-option and personal aggrandizement among the Scheduled Caste representatives has not been any lower than that among those belonging to higher caste groups. Recently there is problem of competition between different castes, like Mahars and Mangs in Maharashtra, Malas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh, Chamars and Chuhras in North India. The better-off castes, the SCs avail benefits of the reservation and the disadvantaged ones started to demand quotas within quotas and intra-SC hostility becoming visible politically. So, once the reservation is secured, for the further improvement you have to secure a larger portion for your group.

Nevertheless, the overall position of the Scheduled Castes has improved considerably. The causes are not mainly found in the two highly visible strategies that are: conversion or reservation. The invisible processes of industrialization, social and economic change, growth of rural employment due to agricultural growth have helped in the upliftment of the Scheduled Castes.

The extension of the anti-poverty programme, primary education and health facilities, the literacy campaign, rural income-generating schemes like subsidies and loans for dairying and goat-rearing, the rural employment guarantee schemes, the abolition of child labour are all crucial. Indira Gandhi started the provision of house sites in villages. It has been important as it has removed a major power in the hands of the upper castes who earlier threaten to throw out the recalcitrant members from the village land. There were the consequences of adult franchise, which made the vote of the poorest and the lowest caste, the valuable.

The standard of living of the Scheduled Caste has improved because of the distribution of land, and by removing the stigma of landlessness. According to the new innovative scheme started in Andhra Pradesh, the Scheduled Castes could purchase land on the market with the help of grants and loans provided by the government. The alienation of the caste from the traditional occupation, and the breakdown of the jajmani system, has also been critical.

Thus, due to all these processes, in the urban areas, untouchability has virtually disappeared and it has drastically declined in the rural areas. Where in the most prosperous rural areas, the employment opportunities for low castes have expanded sharply, it has decreased sharply. The higher castes flaunt their status whenever the employers have to seek out labour. Though old casteist prejudices still prevail, the caste-based discrimination in the factories and offices is rare. The atrocities on the Scheduled Caste still prevail. They are the reaction to defiance of upper caste norms. For instance: eloping of upper-caste girl with lower caste boy, alignment of lower caste with extremist political groups, to challenge upper caste authority. Thus, these atrocities are a proof of increasing assertion by lower caste.

However, still there are great inequalities in access to education, employment, and other social and economic opportunities. There is a strong link between literacy and caste. Several studies show that for several decades, upper caste in the villages had near-universal adult literacy but the lower caste, particularly the women, had zero rates. In India in 1991, where literacy rate for men and were 64 percent, but for women it was 39 percent. For Scheduled Caste men, they were 46 percent and only 19 percent for SC women. The comparable figures in U.P. were 56/25 and 39/8. However, in Kerala, the gap is much narrower, with figures being 94/86 for general and 85/73 for SC. The contrast between the regions shows that inequality can be reduced through positive measures like provision of elementary education. Without education, the benefits of reservation policy cannot be utilized, as the general category shows their inability to fill quotas for SCs at every level.

The emphasis on promoting anti-poverty strategies like rapid economic development and employment, and to raise income by employment guarantee scheme and other similar schemes should be continued in future. The emphasis should also be laid on primary and secondary education, especially for women, as it is a major vehicle for social mobility. Its direct impact can be observed on the fertility rates. Education is the critical vehicle for the social mobility, so equal opportunities should be given for quality education from the primary level.

With the Mandal report in the anti-Mandal agitation in 1990, the issue of the Backward Classes or Castes arose, which is quite different from the Scheduled Caste. To equate

or collapse the two castes, at the political level many efforts are made. Being an intermediate caste, the position of the Backward Castes in the ritual hierarchy was above the untouchables and below the Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The BCs suffer from several ritual disadvantages as compared to the upper castes. But they were incomparable to the Scheduled Castes, as the Backward Castes had access to land and other economic resources. They did not suffer from untouchability. The Backward castes has great inequalities economically and socially with some castes or sections of castes and others are disadvantaged with a ritual position just above that of the SCs.

According to Sociologists, the Backward Castes such as Ahirs, Yadavs, Kurmis, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Lodhas, have considerably gained economic advantage. This happened by land reforms made after independence that gave land rights to ex-tenants of zamindars. This strengthens their political power and representation. They now want to use this power to secure their positions in education, jobs and many more. The agricultural labourers are the biggest exploiters of the Scheduled Castes in the rural areas. The scholars showed the Mandal report and according to them, it was based on the wrong methodology and a weak database. Sociologists have criticized the Mandal judgements that since independence, caste has undergone a drastic change. But still the judiciary is working on the outdated and ill-informed western notions of caste. The politics of Backward Castes is more interested in the reservations and sharing the benefits and powers than struggle for social justice.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. When was the Untouchability (Offences) Act passed?

2. Write few sentences on Civil Rights (Amendment) Act 1976?

3. Who was Kanshi Ram?

SUMMARY

Students, in this unit we have analyzed the issues related to caste, class and creed in political sphere. Before independence, socio-religious reformers like Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra and Sri Narayana Guru in Kerala took up the question of caste system and caste inequality. Gandhiji also integrated the issue of abolition of untouchability into the national movement. With independence, major initiatives in this area of removing caste injustice and inequality were to be attempted. The Constitution extended political rights to all citizens. The reservations were made. Dr. B.R Ambedkar played an active role in this sphere. After him, a new trend identified in the

political sphere as Dalit Panthers emerged in Maharashtra as part of the country-wide wave of radical politics. On similar lines, another party emerged in North India, Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) for the Dalits, backward classes and minorities.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipan Chandra, *India After Independence 1947-2000*, India: Penguin Books, 2000.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write a detailed note on the issues related to caste, class and creed in political sphere?
2. Describe the issues related with the Depressed classes in India in post-independence period?

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. When was the Republican Party founded?
2. Write few sentences on Dalit Panthers?
3. What do you know about the Mandal Report?
4. Who was the main leader of the Depressed Classes?
5. Write few sentences on the Article 17.
6. When was the Scheduled Castes Federation formed?
7. In which year Punjab Land Alienation Act was passed?

SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 7: STATE'S REORGANIZATION

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Linguistic Reorganization of the States

Pre-Independence Period

Post Independence Period

Analysis

Check Your Progress I

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students, after reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the reasons and processes related to the reorganization of States in India.
- Analyze the issues concerning the delimitation of the boundaries of a state.
- Know the way new states are created, and state boundaries are altered in India.

INTRODUCTION

Students, the constitution of India empowers the Union government to create new states out of existing states or to merge one state with the other. The process is called reorganization of the states. The basis of reorganization could be linguistic, religious, ethnic, administrative. India was reorganized on the basis of the States Reorganization Committee report in 1956. But it was not able to prevent the demand for new states from coming up. The linguistic basis of reorganization

was not sufficient, as new statehoods have been granted on other bases as well. As a result, there have been many new additions and manifold new demands for states in India. In this unit, the main focus will be given to analyze the basis of these new additions and the process of reorganization of states.

LINGUISTIC REORGANISATION OF THE STATES

PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Before 1947, the boundaries of the provinces of India were drawn haphazardly. Most of the provinces were multilingual and multicultural because no attention was paid on linguistic and cultural cohesion. These scattered princely states added an element of heterogeneity. The argument for linguistic states as administrative units was very strong. Language is closely related to culture and to customs of the people. Education and growth of mass literacy can occur through the medium of the mother tongue. For the common people, democracy can become real only if the politics and administration are conducted in the language they understand. But the mother tongue cannot become the medium of education, administration or judicial activity unless a state is formed on the basis of predominant language.

The idea of linguistic reorganization of the provinces can be traced back to 1903 when Sir Herbert Risely, then Home Secretary in the Government of India, first raised the issue in conjunction with the proposed partition of Bengal. Congress's first evidence of support to the principle came in its opposition to the partition of Bengal in 1905. The official recognition, however, took place in the Congress session of 1917 where the principle was opposed by a group led by Annie Besant who felt that the issue could wait till the imminent 1919 reforms. It was only in 1920, that, under the leadership of Gandhi, Congress voiced the concerns of the linguistic reorganization of the Provincial Congress Committees to make the Congress regionally more democratic and plural. This new development immediately got reflected in the resolution made in the Nagpur session of 1920 with a scheme to reorganize 20 Provincial Congress Committees. Gradually, contestations over hierarchies of language, regions and culture and castes and classes began to be drawn into the national movement. With the movement for provincial autonomy becoming intense, the idea of the linguistic organization of provinces, which would make a province more homogenous and hence could effectively enhance its autonomy, began to gain ground. In 1927, a resolution was sent to the Simon Commission for the linguistic reorganization of provinces. The Motilal Nehru Report of 1928 also examined this demand in detail and recommended that factors such as administrative convenience and financial viability along with people's wishes and linguistic unity of the area concerned should be taken in account.

POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

After independence, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration was the reorganization of the states on the basis of language. Immediately after independence, the

national leadership had second thoughts on the subject. There were various reasons for this: The Partition of 1947 created serious dislocation of administration, politics and economy. There was a serious problem of law and order after the independence. Moreover, there was a war like situation with Pakistan and Kashmir problem. But the leaders felt that there was an urgent need to consolidate national unity. They also felt that any immediate step taken to redraw the internal boundaries would lead to dislocation of the administrative and the economic development. It might intensify the linguistic and regional rivalries and destroy the unity of the country. Nehru on 27 November 1947 said that the first thing was to secure and stable India. Nehru and other leaders felt that the task of redrawing of the map could wait for some years, as their main task was to create the linguistic states.

In 1948, the government appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission, under Justice S.K. Dhar, to examine the case for the reorganization of the states on the linguistic basis. The Dar Commission was against the step to be taken because it might threaten the national unity and effect the administration of the states. As a result, the Constituent Assembly decided not to incorporate the linguistic principle in the constitution. But in the South, the problem remained politically alive. In December 1948, Congress appointed a committee under Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of Congress, to examine the issue afresh. This committee dismissed the idea of the reorganization on the linguistic basis for the time being. They paid heed to national unity, security and economic development as it was the need of the hour.

The Congress did not let down the public demand. So, the government decided that a state could be created where there was a determined demand for the linguistic state and the language groups were involved and agreeable to it. For instance, the demand for the separate Andhra state for the Telugu people. It also had full political support. Andhra state was created from the part of the Madras Presidency, as the government of Tamil Nadu agreed to it. But the demand was not conceded immediately because there was a dilemma between two states that who should take Madras city. The government of Andhra did not concede Madras neither on linguistic nor geographical grounds. So, it belonged to Tamil Nadu. On 19 October in 1952, Patti Sriramalu, a prominent freedom fighter, died after fifty-eight days of fast over the demand for a separate Andhra state. There were riots, demonstrations, strikes all over Andhra. The Congress immediately conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra and in October 1953 the first separate linguistic state came into being. Tamil Nadu was also created as a Tamil-speaking state.

The creation of Andhra state intensified the demand from the other linguistic groups for the creation of the states on the linguistic basis. Nehru was against the redrawing of India's internal administrative boundaries. But he was a true democrat and could not sternly and consistently oppose the demands. S. Gopal stated that:

‘he felt that it would be undemocratic to smother this sentiment which, on general grounds, he did not find objectionable. Indeed, a linguistic mosaic might well provide a firmer base for national unity. What concerned him were the timing, the agitation and violence with

which linguistic provinces were being demanded and the harsh antagonism between various sections of the Indian people which underlay these demands'.¹

In August 1953, Nehru appointed the States Reorganization Commission (SRC), with Justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar and Hridaynath Kunzru as members, to examine the entire question of the reorganization of the states of the union. In two years of its work, the Commission faced meetings, demonstrations, agitations and hunger strikes. There were physical as well as verbal clashes between different linguistic groups. As the Commissioners reported in sorrow:

'It has been most distressing to us to witness....a kind of border warfare in certain areas in which old comrades-in-arms in the battle for freedom have pitted against one another in acrimonious controversy.....Deliberate attempts to whip up popular frenzy by an appeal to parochial and communal sentiments; threats of large-scale migration; assertions such as that if a certain language group is not allowed to have an administrative unit of its own, its moral, material and even physical extinction would follow as an inevitable consequence;.....all point to an acute lack of perspective and balance'.²

In October 1955, the SRC submitted its report. It accepted the reorganization of the states, and also recommended redrawing the state boundaries on the basis of the language. It also laid emphasis on administrative and economic factors. However, the Commission was against the splitting of Bombay and the Punjab. There were strong reactions to the report, but the recommendations of the SRC Commission were conceded with the modifications, and were implemented quickly.

In November 1956, the Parliament passed the States Reorganization Act. It divided the country in fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. Kerala was established by merging the Travancore Cochin with the Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency. The Telangana area of Hyderabad state was transferred to Andhra. The Kannada-speaking areas of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg were added to the Mysore state. It also merged Saurashtra and the Kutch state into that of the Bombay state to enlarge it and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad with it.

The strongest reactions against the SRC's report have been seen at different places. In January 1956, riots broke out in Maharashtra to strongly oppose the SRC Commission and the States Reorganization Act. Eighty people were killed in Bombay city in police firings. The students, farmers, workers, artists, businessmen with the support of the opposition parties organized the protest movement. As a result of agitation and violence, Maharashtra and Gujarat state were created by reorganizing Bombay state on the linguistic basis. But Maharashtrians strongly opposed this move too. Then Nehru in July decided to form the bilingual, greater Bombay. Both Maharashtra and Gujarat opposed the decision of Nehru. The two movements were led by the broad-based Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad in the two parts of the state. A large section of Congressmen in Maharashtra joined the demand for

¹ S. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru-A Biography*, Vol.2, London: Oxford University Press, 1979, pp.259-60.

² Geoffrey Tyson, *Nehru-The Years of Power*, London: Pall Mall Press, 1966, p.149.

a unilingual Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital. C.D. Deshmukh, the Finance Minister in the Central Cabinet, resigned from his office on this question. The Gujaratis were not in favour to give up Bombay city to Maharashtra because they felt that they would be minority in a new state. There was a spread of violence and arson in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat. In the police firings, sixteen persons were killed, and two hundred were injured.

The government stick to its decision and passed the States Reorganization Act in November 1956. But the matter could not rest there. In the elections of 1957, Bombay Congress won with a slender majority. There were agitations for over five years. Indira Gandhi, as the President of Congress, reopened the question and was supported by the President, S. Radhakrishnan. Finally, in May 1960, the government agreed in bifurcating Bombay state into Maharashtra and Gujarat. As a result, Bombay city was included in Maharashtra, and Ahmedabad was made the capital of Gujarat.

Punjab was an exception to the linguistic principle. The states of PEPSU were merged with Punjab in 1956. However, it remained a trilingual state, having three language speakers within its borders. The languages were: Punjabi, Hindi and Pahari. There was a strong demand of separate Punjabi Suba for the Punjabi-speaking areas population. As a result, communal disputes arose. Akali Dal and the Jan Sangh lead the Sikh Communalists and the Hindu Communalists, and used the linguistic issue to promote communal politics. The Hindu Communalists opposed the demand for the Punjabi Suba and denied the fact that Punjabi was their mother tongue. But the Sikh Communalists demanded the separate Sikh state and claimed that Punjabi is written in Gurmukhi language and is a Sikh language. The Communist Party and a section of Congress supported the demand, but it got mixed up with the religion. Nehru also felt that the demand for a Punjabi state was basically a communal demand. Nehru and his government were against to create a state on the religious or communal basis. The SRC also rejected the demand of separate Punjabi state on the basis that the separation would lead the communal or the language problem in the Punjab. Finally, Indira Gandhi, in 1966, agreed to divide the Punjab into two parts- Punjab and Haryana. The Pahari-speaking district of Kangra and the parts of Hoshiarpur district were merged with Himachal Pradesh. The new city of Chandigarh was made the Union Territory to serve the provincial capital of both the Punjab and Haryana. Thus, continuous strife of more than ten years, led to the reorganization of India, and it opened the way for the greater political participation of the people.

In 2000, three new states were created Chhattisgarh, out of the hill areas of Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, out of the hill areas of Bihar and Uttarakhand, out of the hill areas of Uttar Pradesh. There was a time the hill areas of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh were dominated by people who are now called Scheduled Tribes. Industrialization and migration have turned them into minorities. Uttaranchal is almost entirely non-tribal.

In North-East India, autonomy movements became powerful among people of several hills. In 1960, an Interim Government was set up for the Naga hills. In 1963, the state of Nagaland was created. In 1969 Meghalaya became an autonomous state within Assam. In 1972, Meghalaya became a full-fledged state. Two Union territories – Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram

– were created out of the territories of Assam, while Manipur and Tripura were promoted to full statehood. All the new political entities had populations with large proportions of scheduled tribes. The scheduled tribes themselves are, however, many.

Sikkim joined India in 1974. In 1986, Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram became full-fledged states. In 1987, Goa was administratively detached from Daman and Diu and made a state, while Daman and Diu remained a Union territory.

ANALYSIS

Students, it's clearly shown in the events discussed above that the loyalty to a language was quite consistent with, and was rather complimentary to, loyalty to the nation. The national leadership removed a major grievance which could have led to fissiparous tendencies by reorganizing the states on linguistic lines. States reorganization is, therefore, 'best regarded as clearing the ground for national integration. Also, even though during the agitation for states reorganization the language of warring camps was used, language has not subsequently defined the politics of the states.

The linguistic reorganization of the states has not in any manner adversely affected the federal structure of the Union or weakened or paralyzed the Centre, as many had feared. The central government wields as much authority as it did before. The states have also been cooperating with the Centre in planning and economic development. No one complains of discrimination in the raising or expending of resources on grounds of language. If anything, the national government has been strengthened by the creation of coherent state units. W.H. Morris-Jones rightly said, 'the newly fashioned units, it is true, have a self-conscious coherence, but they are willing, thus equipped, to do business with the centre, to work as parts of a whole that is India.

Thus, the reorganization of the states did not weaken the unity of India, but strengthened as a whole by disappointing 'the prophets of gloom' and removing the apprehensions of the friendly. To quote the political scientist, Rajni Kothari quotes, 'In spite of the leadership's earlier reservations and ominous forebodings by sympathetic observers, the reorganization resulted in rationalizing the political map of India without seriously weakening its unity. If anything, its result has been functional, in as much as it removed what had been a major source of discord, and created homogenous political units which could be administered through a medium that the vast majority of the population understood. Indeed, it can be said with the benefit of hindsight that language, rather than being a force for division, has proved a cementing and integrating influence'.

However, all the linguistic disputes were not resolved by the reorganization. Still there are conflicts over boundaries between different states, linguistic minorities and economic issues. Nevertheless, the reorganization has removed a major factor affecting cohesion of India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Who was Sir Herbert Risely?

2. Write a few sentences on the Nagpur session of Congress in 1920.

3. What was the result of State Reorganization Act 1956?

SUMMARY

Students, in this unit the attention has been given to the linguistic reorganization of India. In 1948, the Linguistic Provinces Commission was appointed, which was headed by Justice S.K. Dar to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. The Dar Commission advised against the step at the time, for it might threaten national unity. Then, Congress appointed a committee (JYP) in December 1948 to look into the linguistic question again. The committee advised against the creation of linguistic states. It resulted in popular movements for states reorganization all over the country. The first demand for a linguistic province was raised by the Telugu speaking people of Andhra. The JVP accepted that a strong case for the formation of Andhra out of the Madras Presidency existed, particularly as the leadership of Tamil Nadu was agreeable to it. The government conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence on 1st October 1953. The success of the Andhra struggle encouraged other linguistic groups to agitate for their own state or for rectification of their boundaries on a linguistic basis. With a passage of time, the State Reorganization Act was passed by Parliament in November 1956. It provided for fourteen states and six centrally administered territories. The Telangana area of Hyderabad state was transferred to Andhra. Kerala was created by merging the Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency with Travancore-Cochin. Certain Kannada – speaking areas of the states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and Coorg were added to the Mysore state. Bombay state was enlarged by merging the states of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad with it. The strongest reaction against the SRC's report and the States Reorganization Act came from Maharashtra, where widespread rioting broke out. The government finally bifurcate the state of Bombay in Maharashtra and Ahmedabad being made the capital of Gujrat. Punjab also divided on language basis Hindi and Punjabi. Chandigarh was made the newly built city and capital of Punjab and Haryana. Thus, after more than yen years of continuous strife and popular struggles, linguistic reorganization of India was largely completed.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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Bipan Chandra, *India After Independence 1947-2000*, India: Penguin Books, 2000.

Geoffrey Tyson, *Nehru-The Years of Power*, London: Pall Mall Press, 1966.

Paul R. Brass, *Language, Religion and Politics in India*, New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1975.

S. Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru-A Biography*, Vol.2, London: Oxford University Press, 1979.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG QUESTION ANSWERS

1. Discuss the factors which led to the formation of linguistic states in India?
2. Summarise the process of reorganization of the States in India.

SHORT QUESTION ANSWERS

1. Write a few sentences on State Reorganization Act 1956.
2. What do you know about PEPSU?
3. Who were appointed as members of State Reorganization Commission?
4. Who was Justice S.K.Dhar?
5. Who was Patti Sriramalu?

SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 8: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: ANTI CASTE, FEMINIST, MINORITIES

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

Social Movements

Anti Caste Movements

8.2.2. Check Your

Progress I

Feminist Movements

Check Your Progress II

Movements Among Minorities

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students, after reading this unit you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of social movements and factors which led to them.
- Analyze various types of social movements and issues involved in the movements.
- Know the phases through which the anti-caste movements has passed.
- Identify the role of women and their organizations in the country during post-independence period.

INTRODUCTION

Students, this unit discuss the emerging social movements in the country during post-independence period. Social movements in recent years have attracted the attention of not only social anthropologists, but also of political scientists, historians and public administrators. Social movements caused change in multiple ways in the past as well as in the present. They occur due to certain societal conditions and aims at improving it by bringing transformation in the social structure. Broadly any organized and sustained collective action with shared ideology and objectives aiming to bring change in society. In Post Independent India, movements demanding social justice and equal distribution of power in the past, social and economic in equality, marginalization of women and weaker sections, issues related to community and religious identity, cultural and also social problems have existed. Some of the famous movements like Dalit movement, women movement and movement among minorities.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The term ‘social movement’ was introduced by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book, *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* (1850). Social movement is carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change. A social movement mainly aims to bring in reforms or changes in the social structure. It is born out of conditions of exploitation in the society. Graham Wallace, defines social movement as ‘it develops out a deliberate, organized and conscious effort on the part of members of society to construct a more satisfying culture for themselves’. Social movements refer to a collective action or behavior to achieve better conditions in society. It can be said that social movements defined as a voluntary association of people engaged in a concerned effort to change behavior and social relationships in a larger society. The social movements aim at bringing radical changes against the unjust, unlawful and in human actions in society.

The postmodern researches, social scientists and academia have developed their interest to study social movements. There are various types of social movements like Peasant movements, Tribal movements, Dalit movements, Backward caste movements, Women movements and many more. Students, this unit only discuss anti caste, feminist and minority social movements in the country. Let’s discuss them one by one:

ANTI CASTE MOVEMENTS

The anti-caste movements began as a protest movement to bring socio-political transformation in the country. Dalits have been ruthlessly exploited and inhumanly subjugated by the upper castes for centuries. There were number of movements launched to protect their rights.

a.B.R. AMBEDKAR AND BUDDHIST DALIT MOVEMENT

Bhimrao Ambedkar was a pioneer figure in the anti-caste movement. Throughout his life,

he struggled for the upliftment of the Dalits. On 15th August 1947, he became India's first Law minister. On 29 August 1947, Ambedkar was appointed as the Chairman of the Constitution Drafting Committee and appointed by the Assembly to write India's constitution. He provided constitutional guarantees and protection of civil liberties for individual citizens. He also provided freedom of religion, abolished untouchability and outlawed all forms of discrimination. Ambedkar fought for socio-economic rights of the women. He was successful in reserving the seats in the civil services, schools and colleges for the SCs and STs. Many law-makers in India tried to eradicate the socio-economic differences for depressed classes.

Around 1950, Ambedkar began devoting his interest into Buddhism and travelled to Ceylon (now in Sri Lanka). There he attended the meeting of the *World Fellowship of Buddhists*. He decided to convert to Buddhism. In 1954, he visited Burma twice. He went a second time to attend the third conference of *World Fellowship of Buddhists* in Rangoon. Ambedkar formed the *Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha* in 1955. On 14 October 1956, he organized a formal public ceremony for himself and his followers in Nagpur. Ambedkar, along with his wife, completed a conversion to Buddhism. He also converted his 500,000 supporters to Buddhism. Then he went to Kathmandu in Nepal to attend the fourth meeting of the World Buddhist Conference. Ambedkar believed that Buddhism possessed a moral doctrine and will help the Dalits to improve their social status and will gain identity and dignity. Ambedkar was convinced during the Mahar Conference at Bombay Presidency in 1936 that conversion could be beneficial for Dalits to gain dignity and identity. He realized that Hindu religion is based on caste system, and Dalits would always struggle for food and water, if they follow Hinduism. In 1956, Ambedkar embraced Buddhism in Nagpur. Under his leadership, about four lakh Dalits converted themselves into Buddhism. In 1981, to protest against the arrest of the activists from Bhim Army, a Dalit organization, 180 Dalits converted to Buddhism in Uttar Pradesh. Dr. Ambedkar was the chief architect of the Dalit movement. Without being influenced by the socialist approach of the Marxist theory, Ambedkar consolidated the economic development plan to describe the depressed classes in India. Ambedkar was concerned about the empowerment of the depressed classes in India. In State and Minorities, without closing private enterprise, Ambedkar laid down the strategy of the economic development of India and provide equal distribution of wealth. According to the census of 2001, currently there are 7.95 million Buddhists, out of whom 5.83 million are Buddhists in Maharashtra. In India, Buddhism became the fifth-largest religion with 6% of population of Maharashtra, but less than 1% of the overall India. The revival of Buddhism mainly remained concentrated in Maharashtra, the native of Ambedkar and Uttar Pradesh, the land of Acharya Medharthi and their associates. In 1968, Bhoj Dev Mudit converted to Buddhism and opened his own school. In Kanpur, Rajendranath Aherwar emerged as the important Dalit leader. In 1961, he joined the Republican Party of India and converted to Buddhism with his whole family and founded a branch of "Bharatiya Buddh Mahasabha" in Kanpur in 1967. In 1980, in Kanpur,

the Dalit Buddhist movement gained impetus with the arrival of Dipankar, a Chamar Bhikkhu. He made his first public appearance during the Buddhist mission in Kanpur and in 1981, and a large number of people were converted to Buddhism. Rahulan Ambawadekar, an RPI Dalit leader, organized the event. Inspired by the Maharashtrian Dalit Panthers, Ambawadekar in 1981 founded the U.P. branch of Dalit Panthers.

b. DALIT PANTHERS

The Dalit Panthers was a social organization to fight against the caste discrimination. The organization was founded on 29 May 1972, by Namdeo Dhasal and J.V. Pawar in Maharashtra. The Dalit Panther movement was a neo-social movement and followed Ambedkar's policy to find theoretical framework for the movement. The Dalit Panthers were inspired from the Black Panther Party, a socialist movement that fought racial discrimination against African-Americans in mid 20th century during the Civil Rights Movement in the USA. In Bombay the Dalit Movement was initiated by Namdeo Dhasal, J.V. Pawar, and Arun Kamble. The Dalit movement laid emphasis on militancy and revolutionary attitudes. The members of the Dalit Movement were mostly young men and some Neo-Buddhists. They fused the ideologies of Karl Marx, Ambedkar and Jyotibha Phule and practiced radical politics. The Dalit Panthers used the term *Dalit* for the lower-caste communities. The use of arms and threats made the movement revolutionary. They struggled for all the oppressed people in the world. For bringing a revolutionary change, Marxism provided a scientific framework. Both Dalit and non-Dalit wanted fundamental change, but the former adhered to the Ambedkarian methods of socio-political change. The Dalit Panther lacked the anger and ideology to achieve the goal as Black Panthers Party. The Dalit Panthers reflected self defence, mass organizing techniques, propaganda techniques and radical orientation, the positive aspects of BPP. They also reflected dogmatism, neglect of economic foundation needed for the organization, lack of struggle, corruption among the leaders.

c. CONTRIBUTION OF KANSHI RAM

In 1984 Kanshi Ram founded Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), a popular national political party on the birth anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar to represent Bahujans means "People in minority." It comprises Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Castes (OBC), and religious minorities. They were influenced by the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Jyotibha Phule, Narayana Guru, Gautam Buddha, Periyar E.V. Ramasamy and Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj. BSP's primary motive was to uplift the Dalits by the ideology of "Social Transformation and Economic Emancipation" of the Bahujan Samaj. The champion of lower caste rights, Dr. Ambedkar became the ideological guru and the icon of the BSP cadres. The BSP's political strategy is to narrate stories, build memorials and organize celebrations for the Dalit heroes.

Kanshi Ram established the Backward and Minority Communities Employee

Federation (BAMCEF) in 1973. The motto of the organization is to “Educate-Organise and Agitate.” Kanshi Ram kept on making people aware of the realities and functions of the caste system and ideologies of B.R. Ambedkar in India. He organized a road show as “Ambedkar Mela” in 1980 to spread the views of Ambedkar through narrations and pictures. Then in 1981, Kanshi Ram founded Dalit Soshit Samaj Sangharsh Samiti.

d.MAYAWATI’S CONTRIBUTION TO DALIT MOVEMENT

Mayawati Prabhu Das served four separate terms as Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. She is the national President of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP), which focuses on the platform of social change for the Bahujans commonly known as Scheduled Castes, Other Backward Castes, and religious minorities. P.V. Narsimha Rao, former Prime Minister of India, called Mayawati’s government as “miracle of democracy.” During her tenure, Mayawati issued directives to all the Commissioners and the District Magistrates to undertake a special drive for the allotment of 3-acre land pieces or pattas to Dalits. It was also said to look into the illegal possessions of pattas and dispose them to the eligible poor by regular monitoring of pattas. Through the verification of different development and public welfare programmes, strict action against the mafias and musclemen must be taken. 5596 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people were allotted 1054.879 hectares of agricultural land in 2010. 88 people were arrested and 74 FIRs were filed in a special drive, for illegal occupation of agricultural land.

Mayawati’s government has taken several decisions from March 2007 to May 2008, for the weaker section of the society. The decisions are: (1) Special Recruitment Drive (2) Reservation of SC/ST in Private Sector (3) Transparency in scholarship distribution (4) Mahamaya Housing Scheme (5) Kanshi Ram Shahri Garib Niwas Yojna (6) Building of Community Halls for Dalits (7) Janani Suraksha Yojna under which Rs. 1400/- is provided to the eligible pregnant women. Mayawati’s contribution to the Indian polity is the empowerment of the Dalits. She gave self-confidence to the Dalits that Kanshi Ram and Ambedkar could never give.

e.DALIT WOMEN’S MOVEMENT

Dr. Ambedkar’s wife, Ramabai as a President founded a women’s association in January 1928 in Bombay. On 20th July 1942, 25,000 women attended All India Depressed Classes Women Conference. Thus, because of their oppression, Dalit movement considered even the highest caste women as Dalits. In 1993, Ruth Manorma founded The National Federation of Dalit Women (NFDW), which encouraged Indian women’s movements to take the question of caste seriously and raise voice against the violence on Dalit women. Dalit women founded Dalit Mahila Sanghatana in Maharashtra in 1995. It represented the question of Dalit women at the International Women Conference in Beijing. The Dalit women represented themselves in 1993 in Durban Conference on Racism and International Women’s Conference in Beijing in 1995. These events were the turning points in the history

of the politics of the Dalit Women. The Chief supporters of the Dalit women were Ramabai Ambedkar, Mrs. Anjinibai Deshbhratar, Mrs. Gitabai Gaikwad, Mrs. Kirtibai Patil and Sulochanabai Dongre.

According to Dalit Feminists, Dalit Women face three-fold oppressions such as:

1. Oppression of Dalits by upper castes.
2. Upper caste land owners oppress the agricultural workers.
3. Patriarchal oppression faced by the women.

The present-day goals of Dalit Women's Movement are as follows:

1. To change caste equations at the working place.
2. Promotion of leadership of local women.
3. Protest against the violence against men and women.
4. Negotiation of terms with upper castes during elections.
5. Ensuring the benefits of governmental schemes for Dalits.

A Dalit woman has to face gender discrimination, economic and caste exploitation, and patriarchy oppression. She also suffers from the lack of the cultural capital. Ambedkar spoke not only for the rights of Dalits but also for the rights of Dalit women. He argued that Brahminism regulated sati system, widowhood and child marriage to control the transgression of boundaries that laid the fact that women are the gateways to the caste system and it can be maintained by the control on women's sexuality.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Define a social movement.

2. Mention two reasons for the rise of anti-caste movements in India.

3. Comment on Bhim army.

4. Who were Dalit panthers?

FEMINIST MOVEMENTS

Indian women's legal, political, educational and social status of women has undergone drastic changes since independence. This was expected since the beginning of the 19th century, the improvement of status of women had been a burning topic of the social reform movement, when Raja Ram Mohan Roy questioned of social orthodoxy. Political participation of the Indian women in the massive freedom struggle from 1920s and especially in the 1930s. The

participation of women in national movement, their capability of struggle and sacrifice than men, proved their desirability in the public sphere. If the women defy the laws, march in processions and go to jail without any support of male member, then they could take up jobs, have right to vote and might inherit parental property. In the 19th century, the image of women changed from a recipient of justice to an ardent supporter of nationalist men, in the 20th century and comrade by 1930s and 40s. From Gandhian to Socialist, from Communist to revolutionary terrorism, Indian women had participated in all. Be it a trade union movement or peasant struggle, Indian women were always active. Indian women founded the 'All India Women's Conference' in 1926.

After independence, the attention turned to secure the legal and constitutional rights for women. The Constitution raised the age of consent and marriage, gave a right to divorce, upheld monogamy, maintenance and inheritance and treat the dowry as women's property. The conservative societies opposed the rights provided by the constitution. Some senior Congress leaders, including President Rajendra Prasad, despite strong support from majority Congressmen, women activists and social reformers, postponed the bill. Sections of the Bill were passed as four acts: The Hindu Marriage Act, the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act, and the Adoption and Maintenance Act.

The legal rights extended to the women were not enough, but it was a big initiation. The government stiffly opposed and attempted to extend the legal rights in the other religious communities. About forty years of reformation of Hindu law, in 1985, the Supreme Court granted a pittance as maintenance to Shah Bano, a divorced Muslim woman. There was an extreme pressure from the Muslims on the government to introduce a bill to nullify the judgement of the Supreme Court. The Government of India took many steps to protect the interests of the women. Many legal rights have been exercised, but others remained on paper. The right to vote was taken very seriously. The women are the keen voters and acutely conscious of power of vote, especially the rural women. But on the other hand, legal rights are not claimed on the right to inherit parental property. The tradition of patrilocal residence (residence of husband's home), is responsible to forgo the rights of women in parental property, both in rural and urban areas. This might be reason that the women do not refuse to give up dowry as it is only the chance of getting their share in the parental property. The legal right of divorce is much more prevalent in the urban areas.

In the post-independence period, the women's movement has concerned itself with a large number of issues such as dowry deaths, rape, and alcohol related domestic violence. The women issues have been taken up by the women's organizations, mainstream political parties as well as grassroot movements. From the 1970s to 90s, various movements such as localized and bigger spatial reach have been launched. Therefore, it heightened the public awareness on these issues. Post-independence, with the political forces in the national movement, the women's movement also diversified. Most of the women leaders involved themselves with the government-initiated and other institutional activities for the welfare, rehabilitation and recovery of the women who were lost or abandoned during the partition and mass migration. They set up

the hostels, women's vocational centres in the cities. In 1954, the Communist women left All India Women's Conference and founded the National Federation of Indian Women. It became a party forum and not a broad united platform for women. Perhaps, there was not much evidence of women struggle in the 1950s and 60s. Resurgence of women's movements and emergence of new groups and organizations occurred in the late 1970s. Women played a crucial role in peasant, tribal, farmers, trade union and environment movements. In 1946-47 in the Tebhaga movement in Bengal, women formed Nari Bahini and ran shelters and maintained lines of communication. Mahila Atma Raksha Samitis (women's self defence committees) were formed at village level took up the issue of domestic violence. Communist women activists mobilized the rural women on the issues of finance and property. Another major Communist peasant struggle was in Telangana area of Hyderabad State from 1946-1950. Women played a significant role and paid attention to the women issues like wife beating. Women were discouraged to join the guerilla movement, but when they joined successfully they were not totally accepted. The Communist women complained about encouragement of marrying the men comrades and working on the women's front.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s the new political trends and movements emerged such as Chipko movement, Naxalite movement, the JP movement and the anti-price rise movement. Communist and Socialist women organised anti-price rise movement in 1973-75 in the urban areas of Maharashtra. Thousands of women joined rallies and those who were unable to join the rallies, beat thalis (metal plates), with lathas (rolling pins). The anti-price rise movement spread to Gujarat where it meshed into the Nav Nirman movement which was influenced by Jayaprakash Narayan's "Total Revolution." There was a liberating effect of mass participation of women. It enabled them to gain self-confidence that was needed for the complex issues of patriarchy and women's oppression. SEWA or Self-Employed Women's Association founded as a Women's wing of the TLA (Textile Labour Association), an old Gandhian organization. Its aim was to pick up the women from the unorganized sector and organize them into a union, which provide training, credit and technical help. SEWA spread to Indore, Delhi, Bhopal and Lucknow. Even today, SEWA is led by Ela Bhatt, a successful Indian woman. In 1972, a different movement emerged in the Shahada tribal area of Dhulia district in Maharashtra. Initially it was led by Gandhian Sarvodya workers and later by Maoist activists. The prominent Bhil tribe women initiated a militant anti-liquor campaign. The women saw liquor the main cause of domestic violence or wife beating. They broke liquor pots in drinking dens and marched to punish the men who beat their wives in public. In the early 1960s, in the hilly areas of U.P. similar movement took place under the influence of Gandhians such as Vinobha Bhave, Gandhi's followers Sarla Bhen and Mira Ben. After independence, they set up ashrams in Kumaon. Sunderlal Bahuguna, the local Gandhian leader, became famous in the Chipko agitation. Women in large number demanded prohibition of sale of liquor. In the mid 1990s, the powerful anti-liquor protest by poor rural women took place in Andhra Pradesh. It led to a policy of prohibition and later restriction of liquor sales. Gandhi made liquor boycott an integral part of the nationalist movement and entrusted its implementation to the women.

From 1974, women again became active in the Chipko movement in Uttarakhand. The women hugged the trees in order to save the trees and prevent timber contractors from felling them. It was the first major movement to save the environment. It showed that women had special nurturing role towards nature. The environment issues were the women. Because of the disappearance of the forests, women had to walk miles to collect fuel wood, fodder and water.

The women in the Chhattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh were very militant that was set up in 1977 in the tribal belt. They protested against the mechanization policy of the Bhilai Steel plant because it was detrimental for the women employment. The Mahila Mukti Morcha also developed as a new platform. In 1979, the Chhatra Yuva Sang harsh Vahini organization was formed, which was influenced by the ideas of Jayaprakash Narayan. The organization led the struggle of the agricultural laborers against the temple priests in Bodh Gaya in Bihar. The women played a major role and raised demand that land should be registered in the names of women also. In the later years, in some states the women were given the pattas or title deeds for land distributed by government and even tree pattas were given. The Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan made an effort to secure justice for the victims of the Bhopal gas leak tragedy in the Union Carbide factory in 1984. In the mid 80s, the Samagra Mahila Aghadi was the women's wing of Shetkari Sangathana. From 1980 it was spearheading the farmer's movement in Maharashtra. In November 1986, over one lakh women attended its session and took a stand against the cruelty of the politics against the women more than other sections of the society. They also decided to put up women in zila parishad and panchayat elections. The autonomous women groups emerged in the urban areas in the mid 70s. Many of the women were influenced by the Maoist and Naxalite movement. The issues of gender relations and the women's position in political organizations were prominent in the decline in the early 1970s. Some of these organizations are: the Progressive Women's Organization in Osmania University in Hyderabad in 1974, the Purogami Stree Sangathana in Pune and the Stree Mukti Sanagathana in Bombay in 1975. International Women's Year was a name given to 1975 by UN. Since that day 8 March is celebrated as the International Women's Day. The women belonged to Maoist groups, the Socialist and republican parties, CPM, and Lal Nishan Party attended women's conference in Pune in October. After the emergency in 1977, in Delhi, a women's group turned out to be one of the most enduring institutions of the women's movement. Manushi is a journal, which has documented and analyzed the women's movement, told its history, presented women's literature under the leadership of Madhu Kishwar, one of the self-reflective and fearless voices in the women's movement. Mainly Socialist women formed the Mahila Dakshata Samiti and initiate the campaign against the dowry. Delhi based Stri Sangarsh also played a very active role in it. From 1979, the campaign launched street rallies and plays, against the dowry deaths. The Janwadi Mahila Samiti, All India Democratic Women's Association, set up in 1981, conducted door-to-door campaign on the issue. The Dowry Prohibition Act was passed in 1961 and sent to a Joint Select Committee of the Parliament. After strengthening amendments, the law against perpetrators of dowry related crimes were passed in 1984. Several women's organizations

introduced a bill in 1980 to make amendments in the existing laws. In 1983, the bill was passed with a main change that custodial rape was considered as more heinous crime than other forms of rapes. The burden of proof was shifted to the accused from the victim. For some time, the anti-dowry and anti-rape agitations campaigns were active and energetic, but the unity and enthusiasm for Shah Bano case in 1985-86 was not the same. The issue was all complicated by the communal atmosphere. It left the Hindu women activists helpless and confused to protect the rights of the Muslim women.

The agitation against the sati, wherein a young woman Roop Kanwar was burned to death in Deorala in Rajasthan. It created much havoc. Many Hindu communal groups portrayed it as an attack on Indian tradition and deployed women on to the streets to defend their right to sati. Arya Samajists like Swami Agnivesh stood against the sati system in rural areas of Rajasthan and Haryana and challenged the head priests of Benares and Puri to debate on the claim for a scriptural sanction for sati. In the 1980s, the mass campaigns were shifted to work like setting up women's centres for legal aid, counselling, research, documentation, publication. The women group like Saheli in Delhi, felt that it was not important to focus only on the problems of the women but also on their joys and encourage them to express themselves through music, dance and art. Other magazines raised issues related to women's health, campaign against feticide, rights of girl child, and water and housing for women in the slums. Many organizations working for women welfare focused on the issues into their work. Similarly, 'Anveshi' was set up in Hyderabad for theoretical studies of women's issues. In Delhi the Centre for Women's Development Studies promoted research and documentation and launched a famous journal "Journal for Gender Studies." In the 1990s, many more university-based centres came up with research and writings on Women's Studies and appeared in university curriculum.

The women's movement entered the institutionalization and consolidation phase because of the diffusion of ideas in wider society and sharp ideological content. The movement also lacked unity, strategies and methods, from sectarianism which was probably a contribution and reacting on the immediate crises rather than building a consensus on an agenda for action. Many foreign organizations donated but had little relevance to the movement in India. The gap between the educated urban and rural or poor women groups always remained, though it has become narrow to some extent.

The Indian Government launched National Perspective Plan for Women in 1988, for detailed plans for women's health, education and political participation. The Panchayati Raj Bill was introduced in 1989, passed in 1993, according to which one-third seats were reserved for the women in the panchayats. The government of India also introduced a scheme DWACRA, Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas. It sponsored Mahila Mandals or Sanghams in the rural areas. This scheme enabled the rural women to organize and express themselves and get support from local voluntary and political groups. The Mahila Kosh scheme was also started to improve the skills and standards of living. The working of these schemes depended upon the capacity of their utilization at the local level, politicization and awareness of women's issues. To help poor rural women, many groups used legitimate or protective cover of a

government. The women's role have increased in national politics. The women pradhan are given special training to perform the new roles. The one-third reserved seats for women received support from politicians, women's groups, some political parties.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Write down the full form of DWACRA.

2. Write few sentences on the Chipko movement.

3. Who was Sunderlal Bahuguna?

MOVEMENT AMONG MINORITIES

India has its share of minorities – generally defined in religious terms - though the Constitution does acknowledge the existence of linguistic minorities. Indeed, the Constitution of India has taken the identification of Indian minority from the report prepared by the Advisory Committee on minorities submitted to the Constituent Assembly in August 1947. As the report records, till this stage, the seven minorities communities as officially accepted were: Sikhs, Muslims, Christians, Parsees, Anglo-Indian, Plain tribesman in Assam and Scheduled caste. Later, amendments and modifications in it were suggested from time to time. The country has a total area of approximately 1.3 million square miles and a population of slightly more than one billion. According to the 2001 Indian census, Hindus constitute 80 percent of the population, Muslims 13 percent, Christians 2.3 percent, Sikhs 1.9 percent and others, including Buddhist, Jains, Parsis (Zoroastrians), Jews and Baha'is less than 2 percent. Hindus are in majority and spread throughout the country. Minority communities like Muslims are found in the states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, Jammu and Kashmir. Christian concentrations are found in the north-eastern states as well as in the southern states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Goa, Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya. Sikhs are a majority in the state of Punjab. India has a diverse religious configuration, it is but natural that people of this land are bound to get influenced in their public or private activities by religious sentiments. In order to assert their religious identity in social and political life, all the communities have tried to influence the masses by raising emotive issues more often resulting in destructive tendencies, affecting the nation building process and causing embitterment in the social harmony.

a.MUSLIMS

Islam is one of the largest minority faiths in India. and is perceived by Sangh Parivar as actively engaging a pan-Islamic ideology in order to recover the past glory and constantly is the cause of

the Hindu sense of insecurity. Muslims have constantly raised the issue of Urdu as a part of their religio-cultural heritage. Urdu has also acquired a religious color. With the passage of time, Urdu is losing its glory. The communal color associated with this language. Urdu has become largely confined to Muslim minority educational institutions and religious seminaries called Madrasas. Though it has survived, yet the learners now belong to the lower strata of the Muslim community which is not only economically backward but socially fragmented too, which consequently renders it as one of the educationally backward and deprived communities in the country. Islamization of communal violence, separatism and terrorism issues too have come up as the special feature of religious communalism of Muslims in India, especially in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The Government officially banned the Students Islamic Movement of India (SIMI) in September 2001 under the Unlawful Activities Prevention for 'communal tension' and actions 'prejudicial to India's security'. The Government claimed that the SIMI had links with terrorist groups such as the Lashkar-e-Tayyeba and the Hizbul Mujahideen. The police in three different states arrested eight members which included their president Khalid Naeem. Apart from this, Government banned the Muslim group Deendar Anjuman for spreading communal tension. State prosecutors claimed that members of the group Deendar Channabasaveshwara Siddique (DCS) and its parent organization, Deendar Anjuman, were responsible for the Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh church bombings in 2000.

b. CHRISTIANS

Christianity is India's religion after Hinduism and Islam. Christian population is concentrated in three major centres: South India, Konkan Coast and North East. In South India, the major Christian centers are Kerala, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh. Majority of the Christians in Kerala constituting about 19 percent of the population of the state, trace their origins to the first phase, the first century missionary activity of Thomas, the disciple of Christ. After that many missionaries from different parts of the world preached Christian faith in the country. The States of Arunachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Jarkhand, Orissa and Tamil Nadu have passed laws restricting or prohibiting conversion. In 1977, the Supreme Court of India ruled in *Rev. Stansilaus vs. Madhya Pradesh* that the right to propagate religion did not include the right to convert others to one's own religion. In other words, Article 25(1) granted the right to evangelize, but not to proselytize. In 2003, ruling on certain provisions of the Orissa Freedom of Religious Act (1967), the Supreme Court observed: "What Article 25(1) grants is not the right to convert another person to one's own religion, but to transmit or spread one's religions by an exposition of its tenets". But main question what is the freedom to practice and propagate with restrictions- how does one spread his religion if not through conversion?

Church in India have released document indicating that violence against Christian has been more since 1998 to the present than between 1950 to 1997. In states of Gujarat, Orissa, Punjab, Karnataka, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Andhra violence against the Christian have increased. The conspiracy begins by fanning hatred, creating Mythology of Hate through disinformation and by repeating falsehood. The conspiracy is to brand the Christian

community aliens. By propounding a thesis “One people, One Nation and One Culture,” effort of this group is to denounce the pluralistic traditions of Indian culture, the richness of its diversity and the spiritual contribution of its varied faiths. Anyone who is different is branded as enemy and attacked coerced and assaulted.

Foreign Christian missionaries have been also targets of attacks. In a well-publicized case, Graham Staines, an Australian Missionary working among lepers, was burnt to death while he was sleeping with his two small sons in his station wagon in Orissa village in January 1999. Such violence on foreign missionary continue on other parts of India too. In its annual human rights report of 1999, the United States Department of State criticized India for “increasing societal violence against Christians.” The report listed over 90 incidents of anti-Christian violence ranging from damage of religious property to violence against Christian pilgrims. Between July 2000 to December 2007, there has more than 263 attacks on Christians in Orissa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Uttar Pradesh. In some of the act’s violence include forcible conversion of converted Christians back to Hinduism, distribution of threatening literature and destruction of Christian cemeteries.

c. SIKHS

The Sikh religion dates back to the end of the fifteenth century and was founded by Guru Nanak. Sikhs are a religious minority in the north-western state of Punjab, where they form a majority. Before independence, the Shiromani Akali Dal and Shiromani Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee (SGPC) were two principal organizations which mobilized Sikhs on the religious lines during the 20th century. The Shiromani Akali Dal launched socio-religious movement in the 1920s to liberate the Gurudwaras from the control of Mahants and landed aristocracy. They were successful in their mission and British government gave the SGPC a statutory status. After independence, the Akali Dal continued to mix religion with politics. In order to maintain their Sikh identity and to make their minority community powerful, Master Tara Singh, the most prominent leader of the Akali Dal up to 1962, viewed it exclusively in terms of political interest of the community. He felt the then existing situation as a serious threat to the existence of Sikh community.

The Congress was defeated in the elections and the Akali Dal formed the government in coalition with the BJS and the Communist parties in 1967. During 1967-71, the Akali ministry fell thrice and there was constant instability due to the intra-factionalism in the Akali Dal. But the ruling leadership managed to maintain ascendancy of secular material consensus and considerations of power in the secular political domain of the state. Even in that process, it had to reconcile with Tara Singh faction. The Batala Resolution of 1968, and the Anandpur Sahib Resolution of 1973, which meant in substance the adoption of Master Tara Singh’s groups ‘Sikh Homeland’ as the goal of Akali Dal. The Akali Dal enjoyed effective power in the secular political domain of the state along with control over the SGPC from 1977-80. Akali Dal challenged the Congress in Punjab. In return, Congress took the help of Sant Jarnail Singh Bhinderanwale, Sikh religious leader in 1980 assembly elections. The Sikh religious leaders

asserted their autonomy and demanded their share in arena of political power. There was competition among the political parties Congress, Akali and religions and militant leaders to use religion on the one hand, and movement for Khalistan, a Sikh home land on the other. This movement received fillip from the involvement of the people settled in other countries and from the changing religious, cultural and economic situation. The large-scale violence began which included operation Blue Star and assassination of political leaders and activists, anti-Sikh riots in Delhi in 1984.

SUMMARY

Students, this unit discuss the emerging social movements in the country during post-independence period. Social movements in recent years have attracted the attention of not only social anthropologists, but also of political scientists, historians and public administrators. Social movements caused change in multiple ways in the past as well as in the present. They occur due to certain societal conditions and aims at improving it by bringing transformation in the social structure. Broadly any organized and sustained collective action with shared ideology and objectives aiming to bring change in society can be called as social movement. In colonial period, movements demanded reform in existing social practices, expressed assertions of indigenous culture over the western, community rights and identity and freedom from colonialism. In Post Independent India, movements demanding social justice and equal distribution of power in the past, social and economic in equality, marginalization of women and weaker sections, issues related to community and religious identity, cultural and also social problems have existed. Some of the famous movements like Dalit movement, women movement and movement among minorities.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Ghanshyam Shah, *Social Movements and the State*, New Delhi: Sage, 2002.

Maitrayee Chaudhuri, *The Indian Women's Movement: Reform and Revival*, New Delhi: Radiant, 1993.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Do you think anti caste movements have contributed to social growth in any way?
2. What do you understand by the social movements? Discuss different types of social movements in India?

3. Write short notes on:
 - a. dalit panthers
 - b. minority movements
4. Describe in detail major feminist movements in post – independence period?
5. Write a detailed note on minority movements in India.

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Name any two anti-caste movements in India?
2. Mention any two basic features of social movements.
3. Trace the emergence of Dalit Panthers.
4. Comment on the dalit movement among the women.
5. Comment on Chipko movement.

SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 9: ISSUES IN NORTHEAST, PUNJAB, KASHMIR

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

North East

Nagaland

Mizoram

Check Your Progress I

Punjab

Check Your Progress II

Kashmir

Check Your Progress III

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the issues in North-East, particularly Nagaland and Mizoram.
- Know about the condition in which terrorism made its appearance in Punjab.
- Analyse the situations in Kashmir after independence.

INTRODUCTION

Students, this unit will be analyzing the issues in North East, Punjab and Kashmir. The issues in the North East, particularly Nagaland and Mizoram tribal, will be highlighted. The unit will also be looking at the issues around which communal politics in Punjab revolved till 1966. After the creation of Punjabi Suba, terrorism made its appearance in Punjab in 1981 which led to Operation Blue Star. The last section will examine the issues emerged in Kashmir after the partition of the country. The state of Jammu and Kashmir granted a temporary status under Article 370 which led to powerful movement in the region. There emerged a number of issues under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah.

NORTH EAST

The tribes of north-eastern India, living in the hill tracts of Assam, consists of a hundred groups, and speak a wide variety of languages. They shared a different culture and features of other tribes in other parts of the country. But, the situation of the north-eastern tribes was different in many respects. First, the majority of population in the inhabited areas. Secondly, because of the introduction of the British Policy in the 19th century, there is non-penetration of the non-tribal in these areas to any significant extent, even though the economic contacts between tribal and non-tribal areas have developed with passage of time. The British occupied the tribal areas and formed Assam province and gave separate administrative status. Their socio-political structure remained undisturbed. They followed a deliberate policy of excluding the outsiders from the plains. So, the tribal suffered little loss of land, as no outsider was allowed to acquire land in the tribal areas. During that time, the British government permitted the Christian missionaries to establish schools, hospitals and churches in the tribal areas of north-east and also introduce the modern ideas and change among the tribal youth. The missionaries agreed and collaborated with the British government and managed to keep the tribal areas aloof of nationalist movements. They encouraged them to be isolated from the rest of the population of Assam in India. Some missionaries and foreigners, immediately after the independence, promoted the sentiment of separate and independent states in north-east India among the tribal people. The virtual absence of the tribal in the North-East in any political or cultural contact of the rest of India, was a striking difference. The tribal areas of north-east never got influenced by the freedom struggle or the other movements in India. Generally, the Britishers and the Christian missionaries tried to make them an anti-Indian.

The Government of India, inspired by Jawaharlal Nehru, made a tribal policy of the which more relevant to the tribal people of North-East. In October 1952, Nehru said that all the North-East border area deserves the special attention. The contact with them will benefit all the Indians. They also add to the strength, variety and cultural richness of India. The tribal policy applied only to the tribal areas of Assam, Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The Sixth Scheduled granted setting up of autonomous district councils for the tribal people. These

councils had some judicial and legislative powers in the areas under the jurisdiction of the legislature and the parliament of Assam. The Sixth Schedule aimed to enable tribal to live according to their own ways. Further, to promote the autonomy, the Government of India was willing for the amendments in the constitutional provisions related to the tribal people if it was found necessary to do so. But Nehru clarified, that the government would neither countenance secession from India or independence by any area or region nor would tolerate violence in the promotion of any demands.

The North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA was created in 1948, out of the borders of Assam. All the Nehru's and Verrier Elwin's policies were implemented in NEFA. Outside the jurisdiction, NEFA was established as a union territory of Assam, and it was placed under a special administration. From the beginning, a special cadre of officers manned the administration. Without disturbing the social and cultural pattern of the life of the people, the cadre were asked to implement specially designed developmental policies. In 1987, NEFA was named Arunachal Pradesh and was granted a status of separate state. In the administrative tribal areas of Assam, the problems arose because the hill tribes of Assam did not have cultural affinity with the Assamese and Bengali residents of the plains. The tribal felt that because of the policy of Assamization, they would lose their identities and assimilated, with some justification. The tribal were not satisfied with the attitude of the superiors. They were often dominated by the non-tribal those who were working as teachers, government officials, doctors, traders. The tribal also felt that the Assamese government was neglecting their interests, and it failed to understand them. The political leadership of Assam failed to redress the grievances of tribal in time and with deep concern.

In the mid-fifties, there was resentment against the Assam government. The tribal demanded for a separate hill state. Neither the demand was pressed with vigor, nor the Government of India encouraged it. The government felt that the autonomy in the tribal areas could be envisaged. In 1960, when the Assamese leaders demanded Assamese as their sole official language, the demand for the separate hill state also became serious. Various political parties of hilly areas merged with All Party Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) and again demanded for the separate state within the Indian union. Under the Assam Official Act, the government agreed to make the Assamese the official language of the state. But the government refused to use the tribal language in the administration. As a result, major agitations occur in the state and there were hartals and demonstrations in the tribal districts. In the elections of 1962, the majority of the seats from the tribal areas were won by the advocates of the separate state. Moreover, they decided to boycott from the State Assembly.

The issue was followed by prolonged discussions and negotiations, and was examined by various committees and commissions. Within Assam, in 1969, through the constitutional amendment, Meghalaya was given a status of an autonomous state. But the law and order remained a function of the Assam government. Meghalaya shared a common High Court, Public Service Commission and Governor of Assam. After the reorganization of the North-East in 1972, Meghalaya became a separate state. Meghalaya comprised of the Garo,

Khasi and Jaintia tribes. The Union Territories of Manipur and Tripura also attained their statehood. The attainment of statehood in Meghalaya, Manipur, Tripura and Arunachal Pradesh was done smoothly. But in Nagaland and Mizoram, the secessionist and insurrectionary movements developed.

NAGALAND

The Naga hills were inhabited by the Nagas along the North-East frontier on the Assam-Burma border. In 1961, their number was 500,000, 0.1 percent of India's total population. It also consisted of many tribes speaking different languages. The Britishers made it an excluded area, and activities of the Christian missionary were permitted. However, it led to the growth of education on a small stratum. Soon after the independence, Indian government, following the integration policy, integrated the Naga areas with Assam. However, under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, the rebellion broke out in the opposition of the integration. He demanded a complete freedom and a separate state from India. The Christian missionaries and the British officials encouraged them to do so. In 1955, the separatist Nagas launched a violent insurrection and declared the formation of an independent government. The Indian government responded with two-track policy. On the one hand, Nehru refused to accept the secessionist demand for the independence of Naga areas, and also not to tolerate any recourse to violence. In case of any violent secessionist movement, the government would follow the policy of suppression and non-negotiations. When in 1956, Nagas organized an armed struggle for independence, the government of India sent its army to Nagaland to restore peace and order in the state. On the other hand, Nehru was over the friendly approach. He realized that for conciliation and to win the Naga people, there was no need of total physical suppression. The rebels would understand that strong and quick military action would make them in a no-win situation. He favored to maintain their cultural autonomy, in the process of the Nagas integration. Nehru also wanted to make Naga an autonomous state. Phizo and his supporters did not give the idea of an independent state. But, Nehru refused to negotiate with them. Prolong negotiations were carried on with the non-secessionist and the non-violent Naga leaders. The Naga leaders realized that they could not get high degree of autonomy and more sympathetic leader than Nehru for the settlement. In the middle of 1957, the armed rebellion broke out. Dr. Imkongliba Ao led the moderate Naga leaders. The negotiated to create the Naga state within the Indian Union. Consequently, in 1963 through the immediate steps of the Indian government, Nagaland state came into existence. Further, the steps were taken to integrate the Indian nations. Since then, the politics in Nagaland followed the pattern of politics in the other states of the union. As the rebels lost much of the support, they rebelled with the formation of Nagaland as a state. Though the insurgency has been controlled, but Naga rebels trained in China, Pakistan and Burma continue with the sporadic guerrilla activity and terrorist attacks till date. Many innocent people have suffered due to the guerrilla attacks. The behavior of Nagas are sometimes brutal and improper. Nagas have also paid a heavy price with the loss of soldiers and officers in the guerrilla attacks.

MIZORAM

A few years later, in the autonomous Mizo district of the north-east, the secessionist demand for a separate state arose in 1947 with the backup of British officials. But, the demand failed to get much support of the Mizo youth. Instead, it focused on the issues of democratization of Mizo society, economic development and adequate representation of Mizos in the Assam legislature. However, the poor handling of the famine of 1959 and making Assamese the official language of the state as per the Act of 1961, made the Mizos unhappy and consequently, it led to the formation of the Mizo National Front (MNF) with Laldenga as President. MNF formed a special armed wing, while participating in electoral politics. East Pakistan and China offered arms, ammunition and military training to the army. MNF declared independence from India in March 1966. It launched military attacks on Government of India and also targeted civilians. The Government of India retaliated with immediate massive counter insurgency measures by the army. Though guerilla attacks continued, but the Government of India restored its control after crushing the insurrection. The extremist Mizo leaders escaped to East Pakistan. In 1973, the moderate Mizo leaders lessen their demand for the separate Mizoram state within Indian Union. It resulted in Mizo district gaining separation from Assam and the status of Union Territory. In the late seventies, the Mizo insurgency gained some strength again, but again effectively dealt with by Indian armed forces. The Government of India continued to follow the Nehru's tribal policy and decimating the ranks of the separatist insurgency. In consideration, the Indian government offered freedom of the rebel forces and agreed for negotiations and peace. In 1986, Laldenga and MNF agreed to surrender before the Indian government with their arms. They also agreed to abandon violent activities, and re-enter the constitutional political stream. The Government of India guaranteed statehood and full autonomy to Mizoram, in regard to culture, tradition, and land laws. As a result, in February 1987, a government with Laldenga as Chief Minister was formed in the new State of Mizoram.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Write few sentences on MNF.

2. Who was Laldenga?

3. Who was A.Z.Phizo?

4. When was the Nagaland state was created?

PUNJAB

During the 1980s, the separatist movement engulfed Punjab, which later transformed into a terror campaign. Some described it as a low intensity war and dangerous crises for India. The origin of the problem in Punjab was the communalism in the state since 1947, and after 1980, extremism, separatism and terrorism also erupted in Punjab. Before 1947, Hindu, Muslim and Sikh opposed each other and the latter joined forces against each other. After 1947, Muslim communalism left Punjab and Hindu and Sikh fought against each other. The Akalis adopted certain communal themes, which became the constitutive elements of Sikh communalism since the reorganization of the state in 1966. The Akalis denied the secular polity and claimed that politics and religion are essentially combined to the Sikhism and are inseparable. It also claimed to be a sole representative of the Sikh Panthi's religious, political and secular interests.

Akalis also put forth that Sikhs were discriminated, oppressed, humiliated and victimized and there all sorts of conspiracies were against them. Punjab was accompanied by anti-Hindu rhetoric. Hindus were discriminating the Sikhs, igniting communal tensions and threatening their 'Sikh identity.' Nehru and the Congress were made the targets of Akali's anger for conspiring against the Sikhs. Overall, the Akalis raised a voice that Sikh religion was in danger. Not only the extremist Akalis were more virulent, but the moderate Akalis were more aggressive in articulation of the communal tensions. Moreover, as time passed by, the influence of the extremists grew, and sometimes they also faced the criticism of the moderate Akalis. For instance: While addressing All India Akali Conference in 1953, Master Tara Singh, leader of Akali Dal and the Sikh Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) said that The Britishers have gone, but there was no liberty, only the masters changed from white to black. He also said that under the name of democracy and secularism, Sikh Panth, their religion and liberty was crushed.

The Punjabi Suba was disregarded by the government of India. In 1961, the commission, appointed by Jawaharlal Nehru, found the concrete allegation baseless, regarding discrimination of Sikhs in government services. In 1966, the political scientist Baldev Raj Nayar pointed out that though the population of Sikhs in India is just 2 percent, but in Indian army they constitute 20 percent. Their proportionate share in the administration of India have also doubled. In legislature, the cabinet, and the National Party organization the share of the Sikhs is higher than their proportion in the population of the state. During the same period, in order to appeal to communalism and harness religious sentiments in Punjab, the Akalis used a method of manipulation of institutions and symbols of Sikh religion. Akalis used SGPC to promote the politics of Akalis and organize the Akali movements, as SGPC controlled over 700 gurudwaras and the Golden Temple at Amritsar was particularly used for the purpose. With the regard to communal extremism and the control of the gurudwaras and the Golden Temple, there was intense rivalry and competition among the different Akali groups. As a result, there was escalation of the demands and moderate Akalis were consistently pursuing the extremist and emerging groups. During the years of Nehru, the Hindu communalism was also active in the

Punjab. They were not very serious towards their religion as the Sikhs but, continuously acted as a counter-point to the Sikhs.

a. SECULAR RESPONSE TO THE PUNJAB PROBLEM

Jawaharlal Nehru adopted three basic rules to deal with the militant agitations and their demands. They were: no negotiations and political transactions with the leaders of the movements, not accepting any secessionist demands, any recourse to violence based on their movement, religion or communalism. Nehru was much aware of the fascism of the extreme communalism. He also knew the Akalis variety under the leadership of Master Tara Singh. Keeping in mind the minorities, Nehru tried to conciliate the Akalis by accommodating some secular demands. The communal character of the Sikhs forced Nehru to sign two pacts with the Akali Dal in 1948 and 1956. Nehru's accommodating strategy failed to stop the spread of communalism in Punjab. The new leaders of Akali Dal resurrected more extreme ideology, polity and put forward the new demands and grievances. Hence, the accommodation of Akalis in Congress strengthened Hindu communal forces. Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, got full support of Nehru to deal with both Hindu and Sikh communalism. However, both Nehru and Kairon did not put a check on the spread of the communalism through mass ideological campaign in the Punjab at time when it was easy to do so. In Punjab, CPI was quite strong and a strong force for secularism. Throughout the fifties, CPI politically and ideologically opposed the Hindu and Sikh communalisms. The CPI and the CPM formed alliances with the Akalis in 1964. Thus, it gave a certain legitimacy to Akali politics.

b. ROOTS OF POST-1947 COMMUNALISM

There were two linguistic issues that dominated politics of Punjab till 1966. Both Hindu and Sikh communalists communalized it. First, the Sikh community demanded Punjabi to be an official language of the state. The Hindus demanded Hindi as their mother tongue and Sikh demanded Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script. So, the government divided Punjab into two Punjabi and Hindi linguistic zones. The Hindu communalists opposed the decision of the government of making Hindi a compulsory language in schools along with Punjabi and making Punjabi an official language for district administration in the Punjabi linguistic zone. The more serious problem was of the script for Punjabi. For centuries, Punjabi was written in Gurmukhi, Devanagri (Hindi) and Urdu scripts. However, the Akalis demanded that Gurmukhi script should be used for Punjabi. But the Hindus insisted that for Punjabi, Devanagri should also be used along with the Gurmukhi script. Both Sikh and Hindu laid strong communal complexion on this issue.

The second issue was the demand of the Punjabi Suba proved to be more emotive and divisive. After the set-up of the State Reorganization Commission (SRC), in 1955, the Akali Dal, the CPI, many Congressmen and Punjabi intellectuals in the wake of the reorganization of the state on linguistic lines, demanded a Punjabi-speaking state, Punjab and a Hindi-speaking state, Haryana. The SRC refused to accept the demand on the basis that there was not much

difference between Hindi and Punjabi. Moreover, for making a change, a measure of agreement among the people of Punjab was minimum. In 1956, there was an agreement between Akalis and the Government of India which led to the integration of Punjab and PEPSU.

After the merger of Punjab with PEPSU, the Akali leaders commenced a powerful agitation for the creation of the Punjabi Suba under the leadership of Master Tara Singh. The Congress did not accept the demand and Akali Dal complained that it was a discrimination against Sikhs. Akalis argued that the Sikhs needed an independent, separate state where they could dominate religiously and politically. But, the Hindu communal organizations such as Jan Sangh, opposed the demand because they thought that it would impose Sikh domination and Sikh theocracy in Punjab. They did not accept Punjabi as mother tongue in Punjabi zone and asked Punjab to register itself as Hindi-speaking in the Census of 1961. Interestingly, the Harijan Sikhs also known as Mazhabi Sikhs, mostly the landless laborer's, also opposed the demand of the formation of the Punjabi Suba as they were afraid of the fact that the rich peasants such as Jat Sikhs, and their class opponents would dominate them and moreover they were the supporters of the Akali Dal.

Nehru refused the demand for the formation of the Punjabi Suba because he felt that it might put a threat to secularism in India. Nor the people were serious for the demand of a separate state. The Congress Sikh leaders Pratap Singh Kairon and Darbara Singh bitterly opposed the communal demand. Perhaps, Nehru should have accepted the demand as it was supported on the secular basis by the CPI, PSP and the numerous wise men. By 1960, the rest of India was reorganized on a linguistic basis.

However, the two later developments cleared Nehru's criteria in agreement with the formation of the Punjabi Suba. First, Sant Fateh Singh succeeded Master Tara Singh from the leadership of the SGPC and the Akali Dal. He also declared that the demand for the Punjabi Suba was entirely based on language. Secondly, the Hindu organizations in Haryana demanded for a separate Hindi-speaking state and the organizations in Kangra demanded for its merger with Himachal Pradesh. In 1966, Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister announced to split Punjab in two states: Punjabi-speaking Punjab and Hindi-speaking Haryana and merger of Kangra with Himachal Pradesh.

Indira Gandhi appointed the Punjab Boundary Commissions and both the states accepted the terms. The Commissions awarded Chandigarh to Haryana, along with the surrounding areas. However, Akalis refused to accept the award. So, Indira Gandhi declared Chandigarh as a Union Territory and the capital of both Punjab and Haryana. Akalis were not satisfied with the formation of the new state and launched an agitation for the inclusion of Chandigarh with Punjab in November in 1966. After sometimes the leaders abided the decision of Indira Gandhi. Under the pressure of Akalis, in 1970, Indira Gandhi awarded Chandigarh to Punjab with two tehsils (subdivisions) Fazilka and Abohar. The Hindu majority was transferred to Haryana. But, the decision was not implemented because Akali Dal refused to accept the transfer of the two tehsils. The root problem was the communalism in Punjab. So, the Punjab

Suba demanded to solve the root problem and should be eradicated otherwise it might take the new forms.

c. AKALI POLITICS AND MILITANCY

The Punjabi Suba movement was a long-term political agitation launched by Sikhs demanding a Punjabi-speaking state. Akali Dal led the movement, and it resulted in the formation of Punjab state. All the demands of the Akalis were accepted and implemented. But, they did not know where to go politically. Akali leaders while committing political hara-kiri appealed all the Punjabis that there was only option to give up communal politics and become purely religious, social or secular party. Therefore, Akali communalism also moved towards separatism like Muslim league after 1937. The logic of minority communalism is separatism, and the logic of communalism is fascism.

Another problem that Akalis faced was to acquire power democratically and electorally. In the 1967 elections, for the newly configured Punjab state, Akali Dal failed to win the majority seats. The reason was that the population did not favour it, as the population of the Sikhs in Punjab was less than 60 percent. Secondly, the Schedule Caste Sikhs, such as agricultural labourers, class conflicts with rich and middle peasants were the social base of the Akalis. They constituted 25 to 30 percent of the Sikh population. But till 1980 they voted for Congress and the Communists. Third, most importantly, Sikhs did not vote on the basis of communalism. Majority of them voted for the Congress and the Communists. From 1952 to 1980 Akali hovered between 35 and 45 percent of Sikh votes. In 1967, with the coalition with Jan Sangh, a Hindu communal party, Akalis were able to form the government in Punjab. In 1977, due to the alliance with the Janta Party, whose major constituent was Jan Sangh in Punjab. Jan Sangh was the communal party which bitterly opposed the demand of formation of Punjab state. Before launching militant and communal movement, in the general assembly elections of 1980, Akali Dal won only 26.9 percent votes. This meant that most of the Sikhs rejected the ideology and politics of the Akalis and less than 50 percent of the Sikhs voted in the elections.

After losing the elections in 1980, and in order to win the support of Sikhs, the Akalis began to escalate the communalism in their politics. In 1981, Sant Longowal, head of the main Akali Dal, submitted a memorandum of forty-five religious, political, economic and social demands and grievances to the Punjab. It also included the issue of sharing Punjab's river water between Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and the quest for the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab. Sant Longowal launched virulent campaign around them. Then in 1973, the demand of the implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution (ASR) became the most prominent. The resolution was totally communal and separatist in all its versions. The main focal points of the Akalis were the Gurudwaras.

Since 1947, the Akalis communal ideology and politics was separatism and the demand for a sovereign theocratic state. But, after 1981, terrorists followed the communal ideology. The Akalis believed that after the failure of their continuous efforts for over thirty years, if mass violence and militant mass movement was not possible, then terrorism was the

only way out. Akali also viewed that any agreement with them would be a temporary and short-lived. After the fulfilment of their demands, they would launch a new agitation and new set of demands before the government. Punjab, being a Sikh state and Akali Dal a Sikh political party, was above all the political norms and structure of the country. Punjab was also above the democratic, interests of the other neighboring states, federal mechanism for the resolution of interstate disputes of the country.

d. TERRORISM IN PUNJAB

The insurgency in Punjab, that started in 1981, was campaigned by the Sikh orthodox, Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale. In this movement he was supported by Giani Zail Singh, leader of the Punjab Congress. Giani used Bhindrawale to cut the roots of the Akalis in Punjab. On 24 April 1980, All India Sikh Students Federation (AISSF), led by Amrik Singh and the terrorist campaign led by Bhindrawale started with the clash and assassination of the head of the Nirankari sect, followed by killing of numerous Nirankari followers, dissident Akalis and Congress workers. The editor of a popular newspaper and the critic of Bhindrawale, Lala Jagat Narain, was murdered in September 1981. Giani Zail Singh shielded Bhindrawale and in 1980, he became the Home Minister at the Centre. In July 1982, in order to protect himself, Bhindrawale moved to the sanctuary of Guru Nanak Niwas, a building within the Golden Temple complex. He led the campaign from Golden Temple and became a central figure in the politics of Punjab. The terrorist killings were confined to Nirankaris and the government officials, till September 1983, who did not agree with Bhindrawale. However, since 1981, he was carrying a verbal campaign of hatred against Hindus through the circulated audio-cassettes.

From September 1983, Bhindrawale targeted Hindus on a large scale and murdered numerous Hindus. The administration of Punjab and the police were in a run-down condition, and the Government of India hesitated to take any action against terrorism. He also looted banks, jewellery shops and home guard armouries. He killed numerous Nirankaris and government officials, and also exploded bombs randomly. A Sikh Deputy Inspector general of police, A.S. Atwal was murdered in April 1983, when he was coming out of Golden Temple after offering his prayers. There was a rapid increase in the terrorist and communal activities among Hindus and Sikhs. Bhindrawale also demanded for a sovereign and separatist state for Sikhs. To escape his arrest in December 1983, Bhindrawale moved into the Golden Temple and made it his military headquarters. Most of his followers were criminals and smugglers. He smuggled arms and weapons on a large scale like hand grenades, sten-guns and pill boxes in and around the buildings of the Golden Temple. He also drilled his new recruits for bombing and looting. Many other gurdwaras were also used for bases for terrorist operations.

The Khalistanis, the extremists, led by Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindrawale, transformed terrorism into general insurgency and uprising of the arms. Their purpose was to fight for the political and ideological hegemony of the Punjabis. They wanted to prove that the Central Government was not capable to rule over Punjab, and their main objective was to separate Punjab from India. Their objective of the activities such as bullying press and judiciary, killing of

police officials, silencing the political and intellectual workers random killings and many more were to convince the people of Punjab to challenge the Indian Government as they were the rulers of the future. They made no distinctions between Hindus and Sikhs to achieve their goal. From 1981 to 3 June 1984, 55 percent of the Sikhs were killed.

e. TERRORISTS AND THE AKALIS

The attitude of Akalis towards the Khalistanis was ambivalent. They did not join or supported them out of fear. They did not back up politically, with statements and authority. Akalis did not openly stand against the terrorists, nor unequivocally condemned their activities and senseless killings or violent propagandas of Bhindrawale. Nevertheless, the moderate Akalis directly, indirectly defended the accused of terrorist acts. They even condemned any concrete actions of police and the government against terrorists and Bhindrawale. For instance: In 1981 Longowal said that entire Sikh community would Bhindrawale. The Akali leaders, condemning violence and individual killing on rare occasions, to tarnish the image of the Sikhs, put blame on the Congress and the government for accusing them of organizing violence and assassinations. Akalis did not take any action to vacate the gurudwaras and the Golden Temple from the activities of the terrorists. Instead, they tried to keep up with Bhindrawale to protect their leadership among the Sikhs. The Akalis compete with Bhindrawale in demands and aggressive political ideology. Though the Akalis and extremists had strategic and political differences, the Akalis could not oppose Bhindrawale because of their common political ideology.

f. INDIRA GANDHI AND TERRORISTS

Indira Gandhi did not confront the communal and separatist tensions in the politics of India. She refused to take a strong action against the terrorism in Punjab and fight against extreme communalism, ideologically and politically, from 1981 to 1984. She had endless negotiations with G.S. Tohra, Prakash Singh Badal and H.S. Longowal. Under the threats of the Akalis and the terrorists, Indira Gandhi failed to combat communalism, terrorism and secessionism in Punjab. In all this, she ignored the strong unanimous opinions of the people and political parties of Haryana and Rajasthan. Indira Gandhis's attitude outraged the people, secessionist and terrorists in Punjab. The people of Punjab were outraged at the failure of government to act at the time of the murder of Atwal in April 1983 in the Golden Temple. In 1984, the situation in Punjab deteriorated rapidly. From 3 June the fresh militant agitation was called upon by the leaders. Pakistan's involvement in the Punjab affairs was a dangerous feature. Pakistan started to prepare for a low intensity war against India and started to provide training, weapons, ideological indoctrination, safe areas for hiding and military guidance to the terrorist organizations. The extremist's group in abroad also encouraged the secessionist and helped them with money and weapons.

In 1984, the violent activities of the terrorists were intensified. The peace and unity of Punjab and the whole country was in danger. The Hindus panic ridden in Punjab left the state. Numerous gurudwaras were turned into arsenals. There was a situation of insurgency in Punjab

and moreover, the government was also losing its prestige and was discredited. The division of Hindus and Sikhs in Punjab was a more dangerous situation. Hindu communalism in India, especially in the North India, was spreading. In February, the anti-Sikh riots broke out in Haryana. By the end of May, the Government of India carried out a military operation, codenamed 'Operation Blue Star' with an objective of flushing out the militants out of the Golden Temple and other gurudwaras. The Operation was poorly executed, hastily conceived without adequate information, which resulted in high politics and emotions that its planners had anticipated.

The Indian military surrounded the Golden Temple on 3 June 1984 and entered the Temple on 5 June 1984. There were numerous militants with the modern arms than the government would assume. The two hours surgical operation turned into a full-scale battle, and in the end the tanks were deployed. The fierce battle that raged inside the Temple resulted in the significant loss of life and extensive destruction of the Akal Takht. Harmandir Sahib, the most sacred place of Sikhs, was riddled with the bullet marks. In the battle, Bhindrawale and his other followers were killed. The Operation Blue Star exhibited tremendous anger and anguish in the Sikhs all over the country. Later in 1988, once again the militants occupied the Golden Temple and to oust them from the Temple, Operation Black Thunder was executed to surrender to police in bloodless manner.

Despite its negative repercussions, Operation Blue Star had some positive side also. It dealt with terrorism and proved that Indian state could deal with secession and terrorism. It put an end to Bhindrawale and his followers. Furthermore, it enabled the secular parties such as CPI, Congress and CPM to calm the people and explain to them the real responsibility for the situation of Punjab under Bhinderawale and Akali communalists.

g. OPERATION BLUE STAR AND AFTER

The Operation Blue Star was criticized by many Sikh bodies. On 31 October 1984, Indira Gandhi was assassinated in vengeance by her two Sikh bodyguards. After the assassination of Indira Gandhi, there was horror, fear, anger, and communal outrage in India. As a consequence, anti-Sikh riots broke out in North India and Delhi. The Sikhs were targeted, killed, their property was destructed by armed crowds of Delhi. There was a complete failure of law and order to protect Sikhs and their property. More than 2,500 people, mostly Sikhs and slums, were killed in the anti-Sikh riots in Delhi. Numerous Sikhs were alienated from the government in November riots.

On 1 November 1984, Rajiv Gandhi succeeded Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister. After the general elections in December 1984, Rajiv Gandhi immediately moved towards Punjab. He released the major jailed leaders, including Akali Dal President H.S. Longowal in January 1985. Later, an independent judicial enquiry was ordered by Rajiv Gandhi for the November riots. Gradually, the situation in Punjab was also taking positive directions. With the dismissal of the terrorists, Akalis also lost their credibility in Punjab. To resolve all the problems of Punjab, Rajiv Gandhi initiated the negotiations with the Akalis, which gave Punjab a new lease of life.

The Akalis after their release from the jail were divided, confused and disoriented. On the one hand, Longowal and others, tried to consolidate their position by taking recourse to militant rhetoric. On the other hand, most of the Akali leaders knew that they could not carry or revive mass agitation and military politics. Therefore, in August 1985, Longowal and Rajiv Gandhi signed the Punjab Accord. The government promised to review the major demands of Akalis. The agreement was made that Chandigarh would be transferred to Punjab, transfer of Hindi-speaking territories to Haryana from Punjab, the Punjab water disputes would be adjudicated by an independent tribunal. In September 1985, the state assembly elections were to be held. The day when Longowal announced the participation of Akalis in the state assembly elections, he was gunned down by the terrorists on 20 August. However, the elections were held on time. This time, over 66 percent electorate voted, as compared to 64 percent in 1977 and 1984. For the first time, Akalis secured majority in the state assembly. Surjit Singh Barnala, head of Akali ministry, was factionist and immobilized from the beginning. He released many people accused of terrorist crimes, who gave terrorism a major fill up. The situation under Surjit Singh Barnala proved not only helpless but deteriorated. The major terms of the Rajiv Gandhi and Longowal Accord, became under dispute as it was prepared without analyzing its feasibility. The militants took advantage of the Barnala government and resumed the terrorist activities in the Punjab. As a result, the Central dismissed Barnala government in May 1987, and imposed President rule over the state.

The Akali government was incapable to confront or fight communalism and separatism. Therefore, it was the strategic fault of Rajiv Gandhi's government to trust Barnala and his supporters. He thought that they would separate religion from politics in Punjab, and they would be front runners to end communalism in Punjab. Rajiv Gandhi also regarded Punjab Accord a solution to terrorist problem in Punjab. He did not see it as opening gambit, opportunity for implementing it, struggle for political ideology against communalism. The moderate communalists had to be protected first so that they could not pursue the communalism. The Punjab Accord destroyed the myth of invincibility of the terrorism. Akalis boycotted the general elections of 1992, when terrorism was still ravaging in Punjab. But Akalis again took part in the 1997 general elections, when terrorism came to an end.

h. RESOLVING TERRORISM

Though President rule was imposed in Punjab in 1985, but the terrorism grew, went through different phases of waning and resurgence. Moreover, Pakistan also supported, trained and funded the terrorists in Punjab. The terrorist groups in Punjab took violent measures. They also began to acquire political hegemony over the people from 1987. K.P.S. Gill, in his *Punjab-the Knights of Falsehood*, has discussed the growth of terrorism and despoliations after 1985. The Khalistanis put ban on the consumption of meat, liquor, tobacco, restricted to wear sarees, and made efforts to determine the dress of the school children. The restrictions were also imposed on the marriage rites and practices. The Khalistani hoisted Khalistani flags on public buildings, collected parallel taxes, show prove themselves the rulers of the future. Periodic statements,

negotiations, between Central Government and the terrorist organizations had the same impact on them.

In 1987, the President's Rule was imposed in Punjab for a short period to control the deteriorating situation of the state. But it should have been a long-term strategy based on the understandings that, first since 1982, there were no soft options in Punjab when communalism entered Punjab and when it was neither conceded nor defeated. Secondly, moderate communalists could not depend upon to fight with extreme communalists or terrorism. Lastly, the policy of firmness and political ideology would bear the results only if they got sufficient time and non-interference of others to appease terrorists or communalists. The Rajiv Gandhi government after 1986, tried to suppress the terrorism in Punjab, but it lacked the determination and misguided the weak advisors, and negotiated with one or the other secessionist groups. Therefore, the government lost its advantage and led to state violence and terrorism at high level in the state. During 1990 and 1991, the governments of V.P. Singh and Chandra Shekhar vigorously followed the policy of 'solving' Punjab problem through negotiations and appeasement of terrorists and extreme communalism. Though, the number of terrorists increased in Punjab. In May 1988, Punjab police and paramilitary forces launched Operation Black Thunder and succeeded to neutralize terrorists in the Golden Temple.

From mid 1991 onwards, Narasimha Rao's government at the centre, adopted strict policy against the terrorism. After the elections of February 1992 by the Congress, Beant Singh came into power in Punjab. From 1988 to 1992, numerous policemen lost their lives in the operations. Many leaders of Communist Party: the CPI and CPM and Congressmen played an active role to fight terrorism and sacrificed lives and property. Finally, in 1993, Punjab became independent of terrorism.

i. AN ASSESSMENT

There were several redeeming features in the situation of Punjab between the depredations of the terrorists for over ten years. There was division between Hindu and Sikhs in the urban areas, and incidents of clashes between the two, but there was no major communal riot in Punjab throughout the terrorism in the state. However, the people of Punjab remained secular. The Hindus did not support Shiv Sena and other Hindu communal organizations to fight against terrorism in Punjab. Similarly, the Sikhs also resisted the terrorism for many years. The people of Punjab refused to follow the values and ideology of the terrorists and the extreme communalists because of their strong faith in secularism. The Ghadr Party, Bhagat Singh and his comrades, Kirti Kisan groups, the Communists and the Socialists, the militant peasant movement and the Congress and the national movement had a great influence on the people of Punjab.

The Sikhs did not believe that the separatists and the terrorists were fighting for Sikh religion and their interests. Sikhs believed that the terrorists were abusing and defiling the teachings of the Sikh gurus and the gurudwaras. About 11,700 people killed by the terrorists during 1981-1993 in Punjab. Among them, 61 percent were the Sikhs. The country could learn lessons from the experience of Punjab. First, confrontation of communalism politically and

ideologically; enforcement of separation of religion from the politics. The major problem in Punjab was the communalism, not terrorism. The Akali communal ideology led to the extremism and terrorism in Punjab to meet their political ends. Instead of appeasing, placating and assuaging the communalism, it has to be opposed and defeated. Appeasing the communal forces can lead to the temporary respite. Thus, the communalism has to be countered in time among people, otherwise it gets strengthened and gets extreme. Secondly, communal violence including terrorism has to be firmly and decisively handled. It should be timely suppressed with the use of law and order machinery of the state. To suppress the communal violence, the support and supplement of the state and security forces is needed, as few leaders and opposition cannot defeat the violence on its own. Lastly, the moderate communalists, despite having real political differences, cannot fight the extremism or communal terrorism because both of them share a common communal ideology.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Why President Rule was imposed in Punjab in 1987?

2. Who was H.S. Longowal?

3. When was Indira Gandhi assassinated?

KASHMIR

The Indo-Pak always had problematic relations over Kashmir. Constantly, it has been posing an internal problem for India, with the integral forces and secession from it being in continuous struggle. Over the years, Kashmir has become a symbol as well as a test of secularism in India. In October 1947, immediately after the accession of Kashmir, India offered a plebiscite for the Kashmiris under the international auspicious to take a final decision on it. But there was a condition that before a plebiscite, the Pakistani troops must vacate Kashmir. In proper conditions in Kashmir, the Government of India agreed to abide by the results of the plebiscite till the end of 1953. Due to Pakistan not withdrawing its army from Pakistan occupied Kashmir (POK), the plebiscite could not be held. Thus, the Indo-Pak relations got enmeshed in the Cold War. When Pakistan entered into a defence agreement with the U.S.A. during 1953-54, it encouraged Pakistan to take non-conciliatory and aggressive measures against India based on the policy of hatred and animosity. The Indian Government announced that Indo-Pak relations had changed completely and Kashmir's accession to India was final. Since then, Kashmir has been an

irrevocable part of India. Nehru and his successors accepted the ceasefire line or Line of Control (LoC).

a. SPECIAL STATUS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR

In October 1947, the Instrument of Accession was signed. Under which, Article 370, of the Indian Constitution gave special autonomous status to Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union. It has its own Constitution, separate flag and to elect its own Sadr-e-Riyasat, a head of the state. Foreign affairs, defence and communications would be ceded to the Indian Union. The Chief Minister of the state would be designated as a Prime Minister. The fundamental rights, Supreme Court, the Election Commission and Auditor-General would not have any jurisdiction in Jammu and Kashmir. However, Article 370 only deals with relation of the state with the Centre, but not its accession to the Union. In 1956, the Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir ratified the state's accession to India. The extension was made in the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the Auditor-General and the Election Commission, and the fundamental rights in the state. The jurisdiction of union institutions such as the Supreme Court, the Auditor-General and the Election Commission and the constitutional provinces regarding fundamental rights had extended to the state. In addition to this, the Presidential orders were issued over the state government, and parliamentary authority also extended. The services of the state with the central and all-India services were also integrated. Sadr-e-Riyasat was changed to Governor and the state Prime Minister was called as Chief Minister. After erosion of the state's autonomy and its special status, the Kashmiris resented India's rule over Jammu and Kashmir. The Article 370, gave birth to the powerful movement in Jammu and Kashmir over the accession of the state to India, a greater share of government services for Jammu and even for suppression of Jammu from Kashmir. Soon, the movement divided the state on the religious basis. It acquired the communal colours. Kashmir being Muslim majority and Jammu being Hindu majority. In Jammu, the agitation was led by Jammu Praja Parishad which later merged with the Jan Sangh, and raised the agitation to all-India level. The death of the leader of Jan Sangh, President Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, was an unfortunate event. On 23 June 1951, he died in a Srinagar jail due to heart attack. He violated the orders of the government and went to the state. The Pakistani elements took benefits of the communal agitation and weakened the India's case on Kashmir. It also made Sheikh Abdullah to doubt Indian secularism.

b. THE POLITICS OF ABDULLAH

Sheikh Abdullah was a man of courage and integrity, having a mass appeal, but he was also autocratic, arbiter and wayward. The internal problems of India in regard to Kashmir began with Sheikh Abdullah. Because of the communal pressure in Jammu and demanding its merger with India and Kashmir demanding its merger with Pakistan, Abdullah veered for separation. He talked about Kashmir's accession to India and Kashmir being an autonomous state. He also exaggerated the communal strength and weak Secularism in India. Abdullah also appealed to communal sentiments among Kashmiri Muslims. Nehru pleaded for the refrainment, but of no

use. In mid-July 1953, Abdullah publicly demanded for independent Kashmir. His cabinet opposed his political ideas and asked Sadr-e-Riyasat to dismiss him for the anti-national activities. Sheikh Abdullah was dismissed and Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad was appointed as a Prime Minister. Abdullah was immediately arrested by the new government. Nehru was taken aback, but could not interfere in the state government. Abdullah remained a martyr and a hero for the Kashmiris. On 8 January 1958, under the pressure of Nehru, Abdullah was released. But again three months later he was rearrested for allegedly promoting the communal sentiments. Again in 1964, Nehru got Abdullah released. However, Abdullah continued to claim that accession of Kashmir to India was not final and would continue to fight for the free state and the right of self-determination. Abdullah was also against the merger of Kashmir with Pakistan. He was opposed by the pro-Pakistani political groups led by Moulavi Farooq and the Awami Action Committee. In May 1965, Abdullah was again put under house arrest and was deprived of his liberty and in 1968, the restrictions were removed. During the rule in Jammu and Kashmir, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad faced numerous challenges such as corruption, misuse of patronage and government machinery. G.M. Sadiq and Mir Qasim were his successors. They were the men of integrity, but not effective administrators or skilful politicians. Though the pro-Pakistan forces remained weak, the state government could never acquire wide popularity under these leaders. In 1971, the break-up of Pakistan and the Bangladesh war, greatly affected Kashmir. The pro-Pakistani Awami Action Committee and the secessionist Plebiscite Front also suffered a severe political jolt. Abdullah after thinking thoroughly adopted a more conciliatory approach towards the central government. In turn, Indira Gandhi, allied with him, lifted all restrictions and had an open talk with him. He agreed to give the demand of the plebiscite or self-determination and to limit the autonomous demand within the Indian union. Finally, in February 1975, he again assumed the position of the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. In July 1977, he became the leader of the National Conference and won an overwhelming majority in the midterm elections. After his death in 1982, his son Farooq Abdullah succeeded him.

c. FAROOQ ABDULLAH INSURGENCY AND TERRORISM

Since 1982, Jammu and Kashmir has been ruled mostly either by Farooq Abdullah or being under President's rule. In June 1983 elections, Farooq won a comfortable majority; but soon the resentment developed between him and the Central government. In July 1984, G.M. Shah, Farooq's brother-in-law, split the National Conference in coupe with him. On the orders of the Central Government, Jagmohan, the Governor, dismissed Farooq and appointed G.M. Shah as the Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir. G.M. Shah was a corrupt and inept leader. Because he failed to control the attacks on Kashmiri Pandits, in March 1986, he was dismissed from his positions and the President rule was imposed in the Valley. In early 1987, Rajiv Gandhi made a political alliance with Farooq Abdullah for the assembly elections. But after winning the elections, Farooq Abdullah failed to manage the state politically and administratively. Thus, the secession movement arose in the Valley. The pro-Pakistan groups such as Hizbul Mujahadeen and other groups took to violent agitations in an armed insurgency. These groups were led by

Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Initially, Pakistan provided training and financing to the pro-Pakistani groups. They kidnapped, murdered, tortured the political opponents, attacked the police stations, government and other public buildings. They forced Kashmiri Pandits to leave the Valley and moved to refugee camps in Jammu and Delhi. V.P. Singh at the Centre dismissed Farooq's government and declared President's rule in Kashmir. In 1996, after winning the elections, Farooq Abdullah made a political comeback. The pro-Pakistan groups who stood for Kashmir's independence, such as JKLF, Mujahadeen, All Party Hurriyat (Liberation) lost its steam in recent years. The main reason was its terrorists depredations against people of Kashmir. But, the terrorist activities still continue and affects the normal lives of the people of Kashmir.

Since early 50s till date, Kashmir has gone through many major ills which led to the alienation of Jammu and Kashmir's people from the Valley's rulers and India. The general absence of good and sound administration with allegations of corruption and nepotism and also electoral frauds in the initial years lead to a loss of faith in the legitimacy of the constitutional measures. The failure of democracy, authoritarian of political system and administration and violence of human rights have contributed in increasing anger of the people against the state. The army plays a large role in Kashmir according to Pakistani military threat and subversion. But it highly costs in terms of functioning of a civil libertarian polity. Kashmir has been suffering from intermediating instability since independence. This instability has led to repeated central intervention and political manipulation, dismissal and replacement of corrupt and incompetent government officials and ministers and also the imposition of the President rule in the state. Consequently, the people of Kashmir regard the rulers as puppets and governors as agents of the Central government. Though, India cannot regain the control on Pak-occupied Kashmir (POK), the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India is irreversible. It is necessary to take strict action against the terrorism and insurgency in the state so that the civil liberties and human rights can be protected. The Indo-Pak relations will always affect Jammu and Kashmir, but there is clean and sound democratic government, free excess to police and paramilitary forces in Kashmir. For better working of the state and the federal constitutional structure of India, the issue of local autonomy has to be resolved. The people could participate in the democratic process of the state. Then it would be easy to resolve the problem of Kashmir if the two parameters are followed. No democratic country will permit secession in any of its parts and will work for the betterment of its citizens.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. When was the instrument of accession signed?

2. Which article of the Indian Constitution granted the temporary status to the state of Jammu and Kashmir?

3. Who was Farooq Abdullah?

4. What do you know about JKLF?

SUMMARY

Students, in this unit, we have discussed about the issues in North East, Punjab and Kashmir. The issues in the North East particularly Nagaland and Mizoram tribal have been highlighted. The unit looked at the issues around which communal politics in Punjab revolved till 1966. After the creation of Punjabi Suba, terrorism made its appearance in Punjab in 1981 which led to Operation Blue Star. The last section examined the issues emerged in Kashmir after the partition of the country. The state of Jammu and Kashmir granted a temporary status under Article 370 which led to powerful movement in the region. There emerged a number of issues under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Bipan Chandra, *India After Independence 1947-2000*, India: Penguin Books, 2000.

Geoffrey Tyson, *Nehru-The Years of Power*, London: Pall Mall Press, 1966.

QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss in detail the tribal issues in North east of India?
2. Write a detailed note on the issues in Nagaland and Mizoram.
3. What do you know about terrorism in Punjab during post-independence period.
4. Write a detailed note on the Punjab crisis during post 1947?
5. Examine the issue of Kashmir with special reference to Sheikh Abdullah?

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write few sentences on Article 370?
2. Who was Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed?
3. Who was G.M. Sadiq?
4. Write a few sentences on India's internal problems in regard to Kashmir.
5. Who put under house arrest in 1965?
6. Write a few sentences on NEFA.
7. What is the full form of APHLC.
8. Write a few sentences on Operation Blue Star.
9. Who was Master Tara Singh?

SEMESTER IV
CONTEMPORARY INDIA

UNIT 10: INDIA IN THE 21ST CENTURY

STRUCTURE

Learning Objectives

Introduction

India in the 21st Century

Economic Issues

Check Your Progress I

Political Issues

Check Your Progress II

Social Issues

Summary

Suggested Readings

Questions for Practice

Long Answer Questions

Short Answer Questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the emerging challenges and issues of development in the 21st century.
- Know about the major economic issues of the country.
- Analyze the technological challenges in the country.
- Know about the major social issues of the country.

INTRODUCTION

Students, India is poised to become the fastest growing economy in the world in 2015 yet it continues to face key challenges. This unit lists some of the key issues that India faces in different fields economic, political and social. Poverty, unemployment, inequality etc. were the issues that need to be addressed in the 21st century. The path towards development to be followed to solve these issues and to promote the welfare of the people. This unit will discuss the economic concerns like poverty, globalization, sustainable development and technological challenges. The political issues like decentralization, governance and many more will also be highlighted. The social issues like education, population and family welfare will be examined.

ECONOMIC ISSUES

There are number of economic issues which everyone needs to understand which are poverty, globalization, sustainable development.

a.POVERTY

Poverty is the condition or state in which people lack the basic resources and essentials required for the survival. A family is said to be poor when it cannot meet the requirements such as education, food, shelter, cereals, medicines, fuels, clothes. Poverty has many severe effects on education. Poverty restricts the people to get education. Poverty is considered as the main cause of child labour, which deprives children from attaining education. In low-income families, children are more prone to malnutrition, sickness and other health problems. In India, more than 250 million—25 crore people were poor. In urban areas, number of poor is less than the rural areas. In urban areas, about 50 million—5 crore people are unable to meet their basic needs. 60% of people in early 1970s were poor in India. In 2011-12, it came down by 25%. There was a stable decline in the year 2004-5. The levels of the rural area are always higher compared to the urban levels.

Poverty in Indian States, 2011-12

POVERTY LEVELS (in %)	STATES
Less than 10	Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Puducherry, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Daman and Diu, Lakshadweep, Goa, Kerala, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh
10-20	Jammu and Kashmir, Haryana, Uttarakhand, Tamil Nadu, Meghalaya, Tripura, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra,

	Nagaland, West Bengal
20-30	Mizoram, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh
30-40	Madhya Pradesh, Assam, Odisha, Bihar, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Dadra and Nagar Haveli

The poverty line is based on the minimum calorie requirement of 2400 and 2100 kcal per capita in rural and urban areas. The consumer intake in 2011-12, on an average (food and non-food), of Rs. 816 per capita per month is associated with the intake of 2400 calories per day in rural areas and in urban areas it was Rs. 1000 per capita per month, equivalent to 2100 calorie intake per day. The Government of India recognize the monthly per capita expenditure (MPCE) as poverty line. It was Rs. 50 and Rs. 57 in 1973-74 in rural and urban areas respectively. About 26% of the people in rural areas and 14% of people in urban areas in India are not able to buy the basic necessities worth Rs. 816-1000 per month per person. The government uses the numbers of poverty line to understand the purchasing and deprivation capacity of its citizens.

b. GLOBALIZATION

Globalization as removal of trade barriers, close integration with other countries and people of the world brought together by reduction of transportation and communication costs. The goods and the services are produced and consumed in different countries in the globalized world. Globalization is not necessarily associated with production, consumption and distribution. People willingly or unwillingly adopt socio-cultural practices and consume goods and services. They can also adopt the lifestyle of their choice which are not related to their native or culture. Globalization is a never-ending process. The scholars also see it differently. Globalization resulted in bringing technologies, railways, telecommunications, and factory-based production technologies. After 1947, India did not develop economically as it followed protectionist policies to come out of the colonial impact. The economic policies encouraged ICT in India post 1991. This led to India's foreign investments. Various foreign investors invested in India's economic activities. This is known as Foreign Investment. These investments are of two types: Foreign Direct Investment and Foreign Institutional Investment. When an investor establishes an enterprise in India by bringing his own capital, and produce goods and services, it is called foreign direct investment, and if the investor puts the capital in bonds and securities and invest in stock market it is called foreign institutional investment. Nearly Rs. 80,000 crore of FDI came to India during 1991-2000. Nowadays, Indian companies are changing their technologies, leaving their business and selling themselves to the MNCs. The Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) are also facing the same situations. The Indian government every year sell the shares of PSU of Rs.

15-25,000 crores. This is called disinvestment. Every year the government set the target and therefore, leads to privatization.

The metropolitans are more benefited from globalization rather than the other parts of the country. The urban people get more technical facilities than the rural people such as mobile phones, electrical gadgets, televisions, tablets, computers and cars at low prices with the latest technologies in developing countries. Banks and other institutions work digitally. MNCs locate the factories where there is availability of cheap production. The MNCs earn profits in hundreds and thousands of crores. The labour working in the developing countries are the victims of the profit war of the MNCs. The private sector creates high skill jobs such as managerial jobs, computer programming. In the public sector, the loss of job is high. The globalization has created the environmental damage and the government has taken some alternative measures to economic development. This is called sustainable development.

c. SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

According to The World Commission on Environment and Development, sustainable development means to use the present resources judiciously without compromising the need of the present and future generations. In the magazine Down to Earth, sustainable development is defined as the society which learns faster from its mistakes in the use of natural resources and rectifies its behavior with the knowledge it has gained. In Down to Earth magazine, sustainable development demands two aspects: first, the maximum extent of the natural resources is possible with the local communities dependent upon those resources, if there is political order. Second, within the communities there should be decision-making as participatory, open and democratic. There should also a governance system in the sustainable development which gives freedom to the community, punishments for harming other community or nation, control and management of the natural resources to determining its way for economic and social development.

Pollution means presence of harmful substances into the environment which has adverse effects on human beings. For the use of the natural resources and regulating the forests, industries now require the clearance from the government officials. Nowadays, new industries set up effluent treatment plants and factories are relocated to non-residential areas to reduce the pollution. Sustainable development is required for the economic growth of the nation. The prolong increase in the value of GDP signifies the development of the country. During the last two decades India reported 7-8%, the high levels of economic growth. The employment requirement does not increase with the economic growth in India. In 1970s the concept of sustainable development originated to balance economic growth and better utilization of the natural resources.

The United Nations Organization initiated the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) where the concept of sustainable development started to gain attention. Initially, this idea was to conserve the environment. According to UNEP there are three dimensions of sustainable development.

a. Sustainable Environment refers to the conservation of the natural resources and the ecosystem. It aims to bring the value of the environment and the importance and assurance of preservation and renewal of the natural resources. Its aim is also to improve the standard of living, afforestation to reduce the pollution and protect the environment.

b. Economic Sustenance is an economic system which use the natural resources in such a way that it helps to generate income, provide employment to the people of India, so that they can also improve their standard of living.

c. Social Sustainability is the development which guarantees the security, health, education to the rich and poor, Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste, religious groups and gender. This helps in efficient interaction and development of the country.

Sustainable development is not only concerned with the government or international organizations. Every individual has a major role to play. It is hierarchical and every individual's contribution leads to development of the country. The Prime Minister of India, in January 2015, launched a National Programme for LED-based Home and Street Lighting. The LED bulbs consume less electricity, are less hazardous and have a long life. In India, about 25 crore people use 2-4 bulbs in each home. The use of the LED bulbs may save electricity, which is a scarce resource in India. Indian Government in the past introduced laws such as Water (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1974, Air (Prevention and Control of Pollution) Act, 1981 and the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986. These laws led to the establishment of Pollution Control Boards (PCBs) in all the states. The PCBs asked the industries to follow and promote the sustainable development practices. For the promotion of the sustainable development, several steps were taken in the daily lives: (i) less use of conventional sources of energy (ii) instead of kerosene and firewood, use of Gobar gas and LPG in rural areas (iii) use of CNG Compressed natural gas and PNG Piped Natural Gas (iv) use of non-conventional sources of energy (v) adopting organic farming by using bio-composting and bio-pest control measures. Some of require government support also. Today, sustainable development includes both social and economic dimensions to achieve its goals and to achieve its goals every individual has to put an effort, whether big or small engaged in production of goods and services and the consumer of the goods.

4. TEACHING LEARNING STRATEGY

The students can be taught the three economic issues by giving them daily life examples.

i. Inter-connectedness: The students should be taught the three economic issues separately and their interconnectedness. For example, poverty and its magnitude can be taught separately. The students should know the cause of poverty. They should also know the concept of sustainable development practices and how it can improve the lifestyle of the poor.

ii. Perspective building: Students should learn how to build perspective. They should show empathy towards the poor sections of the society. To learn sustainable development, they can ride bicycles or walk rather than using bikes or cars. The teachers should teach the students how they can raise the voice for the poor conditions of the poor, unnecessary use of the conventional sources of energy and avoid any type of wastage. Students should also know the impacts of being poor.

iii. Understanding of basic concepts and institutions: The students should be taught the (a) concepts of poverty line, foreign investment, MNCs (b) enable them to understand the functioning and working of the organizations in all three areas that are National Ones such as National Sample Survey Organization, NITI Aayog, Pollution Control Boards and International Organizations such as World Bank and World Trade Organization. Students should critically study the functions of MNREGA, and other laws used by the government to address poverty and promote sustainable development.

iv. Scientific Analysis: Students should be enabled to investigate the data given, interpret the statistics and find accurate explanations based on reading and analyzing. They should also learn to critically analyze the practices of the sustainable development, government's initiatives and non-government organizations. Teachers can teach the students the difference between the scientific sustainable development and the superstitions using science and reasoning.

v. Use of multimedia materials: The students can be taught the two issues of poverty and sustainable development using multimedia materials like movies, videos and documentaries. It can be seen on internet or by downloading it. The students can be helped by providing the links for the same.

vi. Discussion and debate: There can be a debate on the topics such as globalization led to income inequality and unemployment, no possibility of sustainable development in India, no initiative of government to solve the problem of poverty, do India need foreign investment for the economic development? Technology led to unemployment in India and many other proactive topics can be given to the students for encouraging the debates.

Government has taken necessary steps for the improvement of the conditions of the poor. First step is the capacity to purchase the essential goods and services. Under MNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, for 100 days in a year rural people are given the employment. Teachers and students can interact with the workers and government officials where the MNREGA activities take place. Through household surveys also, students can collect the details. The example of two students belonging to different families can be taken. One from the reasonable expenditure family and other one from the family who is trying hard to meet its need.

5. TECHNOLOGICAL CHALLENGES (ICT DEVELOPMENTS)

Information Technology (IT) is the General-Purpose Technology of the new era that enhance efficiency, competency and economic growth and helps to achieve the millennium development objectives by the developing countries. IT has contributed in the development, and has two different interrelated levels: first, the growth of IT industries which refers to the contribution in output, employment, exporting, earning in the production of IT goods and services. The second is the use or diffusion of IT. It means that the IT that is developed through enhanced productivity, competitiveness, growth and human welfare is the technology that can be used in the economy and society. The enhancement of diffusion in IT does not neglect the production of IT. Both need each other and work simultaneously. Every developing country of the world have developed the IT industries adopted new technology as a shortcut. But these initiatives are not distributed evenly. The production capabilities of IT are more focused in the developed countries. The Government on the recommendations of the Sondhi Committee and Menon Committee (Government of India, Department of Electronics, 1981) gradually in the 1980s moved towards a market-oriented policy regime through a series of policy changes. The policy changes provided both internal and external liberty through diluting the industrial licence, relaxing the provisions of MRTPA and FERA, greater access to technology and foreign capital and liberty of imports.

The main features of the new industrial policy of July 1991 was removing the restrictions on industrial licencing and greater outward orientation. This marked the beginning of the third phase of IT sector. There was liberalization on Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and technology import. Further, in 2005, import duties on all the ITA goods have been phased out. The policy was the link between trade and investment and was much powerful in the field of electronics rather than the other industries. If the production and the investment in IT takes place in any country, then there should be the input of trade regime and output of the economy is ensured. Over the years, the electronic industry evolved because of the evolution of the computer hardware industry. The first phase marked the foreign domination, followed by the public sector controlling the commanding heights. The private firms started to dominate in the third phase. In the final phase of globalization foreign firms again took the control over the IT industry.

Today, in the electronic industry of India there are over 3500 firms. It consists of 11 central public sector units with 31 manufacturing establishments, in the state public sector there are 46 units, and about 500 units in private sector. In small-scale sector there are 2900 units. Today's total output of public sector is 16%, as high as 35% of the total output in 1981. There was 10% increase in the total output of the small-scale industries, which was 38 % in 2002. In 1997 there was a separate ministry for IT and electronics, reorganizing and merging the DoE/DIT autonomous bodies, promotion of hardware, fiscal incentives. Up to 2002, during the first phase the output growth of total electronics output was higher (28.6%) as compared to the second phase (13.8%). With the policy reforms in 1997, there was a decline in the output growth (11.2%). During 1985-90 the export growth was 32.8%, higher than the output growth. But with the period of time, the export growth rate declined than the production growth. During 1985-90

the country exported large number of electronic hardware and reached the level of over 400 million dollars and afterwards it declined in the 1990s. There was a rise in the export rate during 2005-06.

The export service performance of the software an IT is remarkable and is doubling in almost every alternative year. In the 1990s, the annual compound growth rate has been more than 50% and 1997-98 it was 38%. Today the software and service exports is 20% of merchandise exports, higher than that of textile and textile products. But the exports of software and hardware have increased. However, software is exported more than that of the hardware. In 2007-08 the value terms of the IT and ITES industry estimated by NASSCOM reached US \$64 billion. It resulted in the increase of GDP of IT sector from 1.2 % in 1997-98 to 5.4% in 2006-07. 12% of the GDP exceeded from the gross revenue IT services. However, these estimates do not involve a gross underestimate as it did not include mass communication, telecommunication, T.V, and other electronic products of the IT sector. National Association of Software and Service Companies (NASSCOM) states that in 1999-00 the software industry employed 284,000 people as compared to 160,000 professionals in 1996-97. In 2006-07 it reached the level of 1.63 million and 35% enhancement of the compound growth rate annually. Since the last ten years, 0.1 millions of employment is given in the IT sector every year. The performance of the software and service sector is highly impressive.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. List five larger states which reported high levels of poverty.

2. Define Globalization.

3. Write two benefits of Globalization.

POLITICAL ISSUES

a. GOVERNANCE

Governance is a term which allows raising the capabilities of individuals and providing the opportunities for the realization of their potentialities and enlargement of the available choices. The processes to cover the political, socio-economic aspects of human lives be it individual, household, the village, region or the nation. The state, civil and the society is covered for sustaining the human development. The state is responsible to create the political, conductive, legal and economic environment to build the capabilities of an individual and encourage the private sector. The opportunities are created by the market to the people. The concept of governance is used at international level and national level. The governance at the international

organizations such as World Bank and the United Nations is used to provide and describe the ways the societies manage themselves.

A good governance should cover the following dimensions:

- A central feature of the good governance in the democratic country is fairly electing the government at various levels and to protect the constitutional rights.
- There should be transparency and accountability of the government. It should take account to eliminate corruption.
- The government must be effectively and efficiently deliver socio-economic public services. To design the programmes, constant attention and monitoring is required.
- Firm establishment of rule of law. The relations between government and individuals, enable them to demand their rights.
- There should be fair and inclusive environment for the smooth working of the entire system. The minorities such as STs and SCs also get equal opportunities and ensure the legitimacy of the state.

The government have taken the number of steps to improve the quality of the governance. In 2005, RTI came into force. The Union and local agencies, local governments and societies receive public funds empowers the citizens. All India Service Rules provides a fixed tenure for particular posts notified by the state and central government. The introduction of new value added tax regime simplifies the tax systems and brought the major reforms in the structure of tax. For the transparent and fair elections electoral funding reforms were introduced. It also created tax incentives to donors and disclosure of antecedents of candidates. An E-Governance Plan for 27 major areas was adopted to assist, deliver the services and digitalization of the information.

Some of the major challenges faced by the governance are:

- Provide education and health care services especially in the rural areas, girls, minorities, SCs, STs, OBCs, and BPL families. It also provides employment under the Rural Employment Guarantee Programme. Provision of clean water, sanitation, housing and electricity.
- Effective administrative and judiciary system and providing security and policing system to Naxalite and communally sensitive areas.
- It also provides new employment opportunities on private sector and create friendly environment and promote efficient business.
- Tackle the problem of corruption, which is the major hindrance in the quality of governance.

b. DECENTRALISATION

The two factors which encourage the centralization are to maintain the maximum control over the economy and economic development of the country. It is an argument against the decentralization. Second, some politicians find centralization handy and exploit the resources very easily. The decentralized government serves a part and disperse the political power. The government set the rules that govern the economic sector and only government has the authority, capacity and power to legitimate one's wealth, property, freedom and even life of an individual. The decentralized government has two manifestations. First is capacity to exercise power within the government and second, it serves to create more civic space. Decentralized government also create opportunities for the origin of opposition political groups and also create resources for the opposition political parties. It also provides an individual an option for seeking positive response from government. Decentralized government provides diversity in response to the demand of public. Different countries have different ethnic, regional and tribal groupings. Decentralized resources enhance the economic development.

The government develop various programmes to eradicate poverty rapidly and the local government provide the various services. There are some schemes such as State Sector Schemes (SSS), led by the state government, Central Sector Scheme (CSS) led by the central government. The following are the drawbacks of the CSS :-

1. The scheme is often rigid and there is no flexibility that provide development needs at the local level.
2. There is no consistency in the design of delivery mechanisms. The independent structures create multiplicity of the structures at the local level, and there is no coordination and interaction between them.
3. At the local, state and national levels, the professional support, implementation and monitoring of the schemes is quite weak.
4. The schemes are often monitored on the basis of expenditure.

c. THE ROLE OF CASTE IN POLITICS

Casteism has been dominating Indian politics for the last few years. In spite of many laws against casteism, India has experienced a great number of bad effects of casteism. Politicians use caste feelings to get maximum votes in the general elections. There are many caste-based political parties. The policy of reservation of seats for scheduled castes in legislatures and services also has increased the importance of caste factor in politics. Though in the 16th Lok Sabha elections parties based on caste has suffered heavy loss. But a political party being in favor of Hindus got thumping majority in the Lok Sabha.

d. ROLE OF RELIGION IN POLITICS

Religion is also a dominating factor in the Indian politics. There are many political parties which use the religious feelings of the people in elections. Religion based parties cannot lose their political shine with a single stroke. Religion is deeply inscribed in the minds of Indian people and the parties based on these factors shall lose their hold in politics very gradually, if the Indian people work seriously towards that direction.

e. CRIMINALIZATION OF POLITICS

Criminalization of the Indian politics is the only major responsible for bad condition of law and order in the country. Such persons are holding offices in political parties against whom there are several cases of criminal scams and rape etc pending in courts. The election commission suggested that person against whom there are criminal cases should not be permitted to contest elections. In spite of this no legal actions could be taken in this regard, because political parties are not unanimous on depriving criminals.

f. ALLIANCE POLITICS

Elections in 1989 led to the new trend in Indian politics and era of coalition government started with the elections of 1989, a long phase of coalition politics began in India. Since then, there have been many governments at the centre, all of which have been coalition governments.

g. POLITICAL FALLOUTS

1980 onwards the caste-based politics dominated Indian politics. In 1989 and 1991, this was the first time in independent India that a political party (BSP) supported by *Dalit* workers had achieved a landmark political success. In many parts of India, Dalit politics and OBC politics have developed independently and often in competition with each other.

h. EMERGENCE OF A NEW CONSENSUS

Analysis shows that since 1989 election, the votes polled by the two parties, congress and BJP were not more than 50 percent. The political competition during these days is divided between the coalition led by BJP and the coalition led by congress.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What do you mean by governance?

2. What features do good governance have?

3. What are the benefits of decentralization?

10.2.3 SOCIAL ISSUES

a. EDUCATION

India shows a rise from 18.3 percent in 1951 to 64.8 percent in 2001 in the educational sector. But it continues to lag behind several other developing countries in the country. The National Policy on Education (1986) provides a broad policy framework for eradication of illiteracy and in order to fulfill the goal of universal elementary education, the constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002, has been passed by Parliament. A comprehensive program called Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), launched in November 2000, aims to improve the performance of the school system through a community owned approach and to impart quality elementary education to all children in the age group of 6-14 by 2010. The National Program for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) has been launched in 2003-04 for providing additional components for education of girl's elementary level under SSA. The number of primary schools increased from 6.39 lakh in 2000-01 to 6.64 lakh in 2001-02. The National Literacy Mission was launched on May 5, 1988, as a Technology Mission to impart functional literacy to non-literates in the country in the age group of 15-35 years in a time-bound manner. The National Education Policy, 1986, as modified in 1992, also has recognized the National Literacy Mission as one of the three instruments to eradicate illiteracy from the country, the other two being universalization of Elementary Education and Non-formal Education. Still it is an issue for the country in the 21st century to education everyone.

b. POPULATION AND FAMILY WELFARE

India is going through the phase of 'high birth rate-low death rate. The population of India, according to the population census of India, 2001 was 1,027 million, with 531 million males and 496 million females. The crude birth rate declined from 33.9 per thousand persons in 1981 to 25 per thousand persons in 2002, the crude death rate also declined from 12.5 per thousand persons in 1981 to 8.1 per thousand in 2002. Providing good health condition (National Health Policy, 2002), safe drinking water and low-cost sanitation, are some of the aims of the policies and programmes of the Government. Another issue, which is central to the welfare of the family, is development of women and children. Though women constitute about 48 percent of the total population of the country, they suffer many disadvantages as compared to men. Various schemes have been introduced under the "National Policy for Empowerment of Women", 2001 to ensure the right place to women in society. The Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS) scheme was first launched in 33 selected blocks in 1975 to promote the overall development of the young children (0-6 years). At the same time, a number of schemes have been introduced to improve

the lot of socially disadvantaged groups- the Scheduled Castes (SCs), the Backward Classes (OBCs) and the Minorities. A lot need to done on this issue too.

SUMMARY

Students, as compared to the state of economic stagnation in the decades before independence India has come a long way ahead in terms of economic, social and human progress and a lot need to be done. India decided to go in the path of globalization with the adoption of New Economic Policy in 1991. A number of reforms in various economic and social sectors were conducted which lead to human and social development. India has to achieve a lot more in relation to economic, political and social progress of her people.

SUGGESTED READINGS

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QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Discuss in detail the emerging economic issues in the 21st century?
2. Examine the emerging social issues in the country during the 21st century?
3. Write a detailed note on the technological challenges in the country during 21st century.
4. Discuss in detail the emerging political issues in the country?

SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Mention two impacts of globalization.
2. Define Sustainable Development?
3. Throw light on the IT?
4. What do you know about Governance?
5. Write few sentences on Decentralization?