

HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY INDIA

STUDY MATERIAL

VI SEMESTER

CORE COURSE: HIS6B12

For

B.A. HISTORY

(2014 Admission onwards)



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT

SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

Calicut University P.O. Malappuram, Kerala, India 673 635



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HIS6B12: History of Contemporary India

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Layout: Computer Section, SDE

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MODULE-I

INDIA: THE REPUBLIC

Salient features of Indian Constitution

The Constitution of India has some distinct and unique features as compared to other constitutions to the world. As Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee puts it; the framers had tried to accumulate and accommodate the best features of other constitutions, keeping in view the peculiar problems and needs of our country. The following are the salient features of the Constitution of India.

1. Longest written constitution

Indian Constitution can be called the largest written constitution in the world because of its contents. In its original form, it consisted of 395 Articles and 8 Schedules to which additions have been made through subsequent amendments. At present it contains 395 Articles and 12 Schedules, and more than 80 amendments. There are various factors responsible for the long size of the constitution. One major factor was that the framers of the constitution borrowed provisions from several sources and several other constitutions of the world.

They have followed and reproduced the Government of India Act 1935 in providing matters of administrative detail. Secondly, it was necessary to make provisions for peculiar problems of India like scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward regions. Thirdly, provisions were made for elaborate centre-state relations in all aspects of their administrative and other activities. Fourthly, the size of the constitution became bulky, as provisions regarding the state administration were also included. Further, a detail list of individual rights, directive principles of state policy and the details of administration procedure were laid down to make the Constitution clear and unambiguous for the ordinary citizen. Thus, the Constitution of India became an exhaustive and lengthy one.

(2) Partly Rigid and Partly Flexible

The Constitution of India is neither purely rigid nor purely flexible. There is a harmonious blend of rigidity and flexibility. Some parts of the Constitution can be amended by the ordinary law-making process by Parliament. Certain provisions can be amended, only when a Bill for that purpose is passed in each house of Parliament by a majority of the total membership of that house and, by a majority of not less than two-third of the members of that house present and voting. Then there are certain other provisions which can be amended by the second method described above and are ratified by the legislatures of not less than one-half of the states before being presented to the President for his assent. It must also be noted that the power to initiate bills for amendment lies in Parliament alone, and not in the state legislatures.

Pundit Nehru expressed in the Constituent Assembly, "While we want the Constitution to be as solid and permanent as we can make it, there is no permanence in Constitution. There

should be certain flexibility. If you make anything rigid and permanent, you stop the nation's growth, the growth of a living, vital organic people."

3) A Democratic Republic

India is a democratic republic. It means that sovereignty rests with the people of India. They govern themselves through their representatives elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. The President of India, the highest official of the state is elected for a fixed term. Although, India is a sovereign republic, yet it continues to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations with the British Monarch as its head. Her membership of the Commonwealth does not compromise her position as a sovereign republic. The commonwealth is an association of free and independent nations. The British Monarch is only a symbolic head of that association.

4) Parliamentary System of Government

India has adopted the Parliamentary system as found in Britain. In this system, the executive is responsible to the legislature, and remains in power only as long as it enjoys the confidence of the legislature. The president of India, who remains in office for five years, is the nominal titular or constitutional head. The Union Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister as its head is drawn from the legislature. It is collectively responsible to the House of People (Lok Sabha), and has to resign as soon as it loses the confidence of that house. The President, the nominal executive shall exercise his powers according to the advice of the Union Council of Ministers, the real executive. In the states also, the government is Parliamentary in nature.

5) A Federation

Article 1 of the Constitution of India says: - "India that is Bharat shall be a Union of States." Though the word 'Federation' is not used, the government is federal. A state is federal when (a) there are two sets of governments and there is distribution of powers between the two, (b) there is a written constitution, which is the supreme law of the land and (c) there is an independent judiciary to interpret the constitution and settle disputes between the centre and the states. All these features are present in India. There are two sets of government, one at the centre, the other at state level and the distribution of powers between them is quite detailed in our Constitution. The Constitution of India is written and the supreme law of the land. At the apex of single integrated judicial system, stands the Supreme Court which is independent from the control of the executive and the legislature.

But in spite of all these essential features of a federation, Indian Constitution has an unmistakable unitary tendency. While other federations like U.S.A. provide for dual citizenship, the India Constitution provides for single citizenship. There is also a single integrated judiciary for the whole country. The provision of All India Services, like the Indian Administrative Service, the India Police Service, and Indian Forest Service prove another unitary feature. Members of these services are recruited by the Union Public Service Commission on an All-India basis. Because these services are controlled by Union Government, to some extent this constitutes a constraint on the autonomy of states.

A significant unitary feature is the Emergency provisions in the Indian constitution. During the time of emergency, the Union Government becomes most powerful and the Union Parliament acquires the power of making laws for the states. The Governor placed as the constitutional head of the state, acts as the agent of the centre and is intended to safeguard the interests of the centre. These provisions reveal the centralising tendency of our federation.

Prof: K.C.Wheare has rightly remarked that Indian Constitution provides, "a system of government which is quasi-federal, a unitary state with the subsidiary unitary features". The framers of the constitution expressed clearly that there exists the harmony of federalism and the unitarism. Dr.Ambedkar said, "The political system adopted in the Constitution could be both unitary as well as federal according to the requirement of time and circumstances". We can say that India has a "Cooperative federalism" with central guidance and state compliance.

6) Fundamental Rights

"A state is known by the rights it maintains", remarked Prof. H.J. Laski. The constitution of India affirms the basic principle that every individual is entitled to enjoy certain basic rights and part III of the Constitution deals with those rights which are known as fundamental rights. Originally there were seven categories of rights, but now they are six in number. They are (i) Right to equality, (ii) Right to freedom, (iii) Right against exploitation, (iv) Right to freedom of Religion, v) Cultural and Educational rights and vi) Right to constitutional remedies. Right to property (Article-31) originally a fundamental right has been omitted by the 44th Amendment Act. 1978. It is now a legal right.

These fundamental rights are justifiable and the individual can move the higher judiciary that is the Supreme Court or the High Courts, if there is an encroachment on any of these rights. The right to move to the Supreme Court straight for the enforcement of fundamental rights has been guaranteed under Article 32 (Right to Constitutional Remedies). However, fundamental rights in India are not absolute. Reasonable restrictions can be imposed keeping in view the security-requirements of the state.

7) Directive Principles of State Policy

A novel feature of the Constitution is that it contains a chapter in the Directive Principles of State Policy. These principles are in the nature of directives to the government to implement them for establishing social and economic democracy in the country.

It embodies important principles like adequate means to livelihood, equal pay for both men and women, distribution of wealth so as to sub serve the common good, free and compulsory primary education, right to work, public assistance in case of old age, unemployment, sickness and disablement, the organisation of village Panchayats, special care to the economically back ward sections of the people etc. Most of these principles could help in making India welfare state. Though not justifiable; these principles have been stated as "fundamental in the governance of the country".

8) Fundamental Duties

A new part IV (A) after the Directive Principles of State Policy was incorporated in the constitution by the 42nd Amendment, 1976 for fundamental duties. These duties are:

- i) To abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;
- ii) To cherish and follow the noble ideals, which inspired our national struggle for freedom;
- iii) To uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;
- iv) To defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;
- v) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic, regional or sectional diversities, to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of woman;
- vi) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;
- vii) to protect and improve the natural environments including forests, lakes, rivers and wild life and to have compassion for living creatures;
- viii) to develop scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;
- ix) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;
- x) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of Endeavour and achievement.

The purpose of incorporating these duties in the Constitution is just to remind the people that while enjoying their right as citizens, should also perform their duties for rights and duties are correlative.

9) Secular State

A secular state is neither religious nor irreligious, or anti-religious. Rather it is quite neutral in matters of religion. India being a land of many religions, the founding fathers of the Constitution thought it proper to make it a secular state. India is a secular state, because it makes no discrimination between individuals on the basis of religion. It neither encourages nor discourages any religion. On the contrary, right to freedom of religion is ensured in the Constitution and people belonging to any religious group have the right to profess, practice or propagate any religion they like.

10) An Independent Judiciary

The judiciary occupies an important place in our Constitution and it is also made independent of the legislature and the executive. The Supreme Court of India stands at the apex of single integrated judicial system. It acts as protector of fundamental rights of Indian citizens and guardian of the Constitution. If any law passed by the legislature or action taken by the executive contravenes the provisions of the Constitution, they can be declared as null and void by the Supreme Court. Thus, it has the power of judicial review. But judicial review in India

constitutes a middle path between the American judicial supremacy in one hand and British Parliamentary supremacy in the other.

11) Single Citizenship

The Constitution of India recognises only single citizenship. In the United States, there is provision of dual citizenship. In India, we are citizens of India only, not of the respective states to which we belong. This provision would help in promoting unity and integrity of the nation.

PATEL (1875-1950) AND INTEGRATION PROCESS

Vallabhbhai Patel was one of the great social leaders of India. He played a crucial role during the freedom struggle of India and was instrumental in the integration of over 500 princely states into the Indian Union. Despite the choice of the people, on the request of Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Patel stepped down from the candidacy of Congress president. The election on that occasion eventually meant for the election of the first Prime Minister of independent India.

Life

Vallabhbhai Patel was born on October 31, 1875 in Gujarat to Zaverbhai and Ladbai. Vallabhbhai, His father had served in the army of the Queen of Jhansi while his mother was a very spiritual man. Starting his academic career in a Gujarati medium school Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and shifted to an English medium school. In 1897, Vallabhbhai passed his high school examination and started preparing for law examination. 1910, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel went to England to study law. He completed his law studies in 1913 and came back to India and started his law practice. For his Excellencies in Law, Vallabhbhai was offered many lucrative posts by the British Government but he rejected all. He was a staunch opponent of the British government and its laws and therefore decided not to work for the British.

He later started practicing at Ahmedabad. After a meeting with Mahatma Gandhi, at the Gujarat Club, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel got influenced by Gandhi's words. Later, inspired by Gandhi's work and philosophy Patel became a staunch follower of him.

Indian National Movement

In 1917, Sardar Vallabhbhai was elected as the Secretary of the Gujarat Sabha. The next year, when there was a flood in Kaira, the British insisted on collecting tax from the farmers. Sardar Vallabhbhai led a massive "No Tax campaign" that urged the farmers not to pay their land. The peaceful movement forced the British authority to return then land taken away from the farmers His effort to bring together the farmers of his area brought him the title of 'Sardar' to his name.

In 1928, the farmers of Bardoli faced a similar problem of "tax-hike". After prolonged summons, when the farmers refused to pay the extra tax, the government in retaliation seized their lands. Vallabhbhai Patel. The agitation took on for more than six months and after a deal

struck between the government and farmer's representatives, the lands were returned. In 1930 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was imprisoned for participating in the famous Salt Satyagraha called by Mahatma Gandhi. His inspiring speeches during the "Salt Movement" transformed the lives of numerous people, who later played a major role in making the movement successful.

Sardar Patel was freed in 1931 following an agreement signed between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the then Viceroy of India. The treaty was popularly known as the Gandhi-Irwin pact. The same year, Patel was elected as the president of Indian National Congress Party for its Karachi session. In the Karachi session, the Indian National Congress Party committed itself to the defence of fundamental rights and human rights and a dream of a secular nation. An agreement regarding this was also sanctioned.

In 1934, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel led the all-India election campaign for the Indian National Congress. Though he did not contest a seat for himself, Sardar Patel helped his fellow party mates during the election. Sardar Patel was annoyed at Jawaharlal Nehru for the latter's declarations of the adoption of socialism in 1936. Patel also considered Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose a "keen of more power within the party."

Influence of Gandhi

While senior leaders including Jawaharlal Nehru, Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari and Maulana Azad criticized Mahatma Gandhi's concept that the civil disobedience movement would compel the British to leave the nation, Patel extended his support to Gandhi. Despite the unwillingness of the Congress High Command, Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel strongly forced the All India Congress Committee to ratify the civil disobedience movement and launch it without delaying further. Acting under the pressure, the All India Congress Committee sanctioned the drive on 7 August 1942.

One important episode that could change the political lines of the country had shaped up just a year of attaining independence. During the election for the Congress presidency in 1946, thirteen of the sixteen states proposed Sardar Patel's name for the post. It was a very crucial election, as the elected president of the congress party would be later considered as the first Prime Minister of independent India. Just a few days, before the all important election, Mahatma Gandhi request Sardar Patel to leave the candidacy and support Jawaharlal Nehru. Sardar Patel, without pondering twice, stepped down.

Integration of princely states

At the time of independence, Indian Territory was divided into three parts. First, the territories under the direct control of the British government second were the territories over which the hereditary rulers had suzerainty. The regions, which had been colonized by France and Portugal, formed the last. India, without the integration of these different territories under one roof, could not be considered as a unified and total country. It was a stupendous task for the ruling party, to persuade the rulers of these states to join. According to British government, the province rulers had the liberty to choose how they wanted to be ruled. They were given two choices. They could join either of India and Pakistan or stay independently. The stance of the

British government had made the task much difficult for India. At this point many leaders of the congress approached the rulers but they failed to convince. At last, they all made a request Vallabhbhai Patel to think some other options to bring the princely rulers under Indian control. Sardar Patel eventually dealt with the tough-situation and came out successfully.

Sardar Patel handled effectively the integration of the princely states with his diplomatic skills and foresightedness. The problem of amalgamating 562 independent states with a democratic self-governing India was difficult and delicate. But it was essential to save India from balkanization, once the Paramountcy of British crown would lapse.

Sardar Patel took charge of the states department in July 1947. He sensed the urgent and imperative need of the integration of princely states. He followed an iron handed policy. He made it clear that he did not recognize the right of any state to remain independent and in isolation, within India.

Patel also appealed to the patriotic and national sentiments of the Princes and invited them to join the forming of a democratic constitution in the national interest. He persuaded them to surrender defence, foreign affairs and communication to the government of India. He, by his tactics, broke the union of separatist princes. By August 15, 1947 all except Hyderabad, Junagarh and Kashmir acceded to India. He thereafter carried three fold processes of assimilation, centralization and unification of states. The states were amalgamated to form a union and that union was merged with the Union of India.

He handled the Junagarh and Hyderabad crisis as a seasoned statesman. Nawab of Junagarh wanted to accede to Pakistan. When the people revolted, Patel intervened. Indian Government took over the administration. Patel merged it with India by holding a plebiscite.

Patel with an iron fisted hand subdued the Nizam. When the Nizam boasted anti-India feelings and let loose a blood both by the Razakars, Patel decided upon police action. He ordered the army to March into Hyderabad. The Nizam surrendered and Hyderabad was acceded to India. Thus Sardar Patel ensured, by his calculated methods, the absorption of a multitude of princely states into the Indian Union. Without a civil war, he secured the solidarity of the nation. (Puja Mondal) Therefore, the state of India we see today was a result of the efforts put in by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Death

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's health declined in 1950. He, himself realized that he was not going to live much longer. On 2 November his health deteriorated further and was confined to bed. After suffering a massive heart attack, on 15 December 1950, the great soul left the world.

NEHRUVIAN ERA-CONCEPT OF DEVELOPMENT

The economic policies of Jawaharlal Nehru have been subject to much controversy in the past few decades. However, it is important to place Nehru's economic policies in context for a proper appreciation of his policies.

Nehru's commitment to the cause of India's development remains unquestioned, and it is no doubt that much of his plans and speculations were jeopardized by the unexpected partition that came along with the independence of India, which brought about an unprecedented fissure in the economic resources of the Indian mainland. Nehru himself confessed that the partition brought about a large share of problems, including a great rift in the agricultural and the industrial sectors. A large portion of the most productive agricultural lands fell in Pakistan whereas the corresponding industries remained in Indian dominion. The problem faced by the Jute industry soon after Independence can be stated as a case in the point. The jute producing areas were in Pakistan whereas the Jute processing factories remained in India, thereby affecting jute productions on both sides of the border.

Early Economic Reforms of Nehru:

Nehru started his career as the Prime Minister of independent India in 1947, and immediately launched a number of economic reforms. Nehru was a firm believer in state control over the economic sectors. His socialist ideals revealed themselves in the way he introduced laws for land redistribution, in order to curtail the economic disparity in India among the landed and the land-less classes. One of Nehru's key economic reforms was the **introduction of the Five Years Plan in 1951**. It was introduced to determine the mode of government expenditure and grants in important development sectors like agriculture, industries and education.

The Ideology guiding Nehru's Economic Policies:

Nehru's economic policies have often been considered to be Socialist in nature. It is no doubt that Socialism did play a very important role in Nehru's ideological make-up. But at the same time, it is also important to consider that Nehru himself denied any kind of overt Socialist tendencies in the economic policies adopted by him. Nehru advocated a kind of **mixed economy**. Any kind of unquestioned ideological adherence to any form of economic tenet, or 'ism', he realized, would be detrimental to India's growth. He wanted a practical approach in framing the Indian economy, which would suit best the country's needs. On the one hand, as a devoted Gandhian he had strong belief in the betterment of rural economy. On the other hand, he had a strong belief that heavy industrial development would be the best way to serve India's economic interests.

Nehru's Industrial Policies:

Nehru wanted to create a balance between the rural and the urban sectors in his economic policies. He stated there was no contradiction between the two and that both could go hand in hand. He denied to carry forward the age old city versus village controversy and hoped

that in India, both could go hand in hand. Nehru was intent to harness and fully exploit the natural resources of India for the benefit of his countrymen. The main sector he identified was hydroelectricity, and he constructed a number of dams to achieve that end. The dams would not only harness energy, but would also support irrigation to a great degree. Nehru considered dams to be the very symbol of India's collective growth, as they were the platforms where industrial engineering and agriculture met on a common platform. Nehru also considered the possibility of nuclear growth during his tenure as the prime minister of India.

Nehru and Foreign Investment:

Nehru inspired the industrialists to provide a fillip to India's economy. However, he had strict reservations on the question of foreign investment. Nehru was wary of foreign investment. Nehru's nationalist ideals confirmed in him the belief that India was self-sufficient to bolster her own growth. Although he did not officially decry the possibility of foreign investment in direct terms, he did stress that the sectors of foreign investment would be regularized, and the terms and conditions of investment and employment would be strictly controlled by government rules in case there were possibilities of a foreign investment. Nehru, moreover, emphasized that the key sectors will always be in government hand. This step of Nehru is much criticized now. Yet, it cannot be denied that Nehru aptly looked forward to long term investments for which he banked more on Indian industries. It is also often suggested that his endeavour to harness international support to develop India's infra-structural profile between 1947 and 1955 did not meet with much success. It, however, remains a fact that Nehru's regime was not one of great economic growth for India. Although his economic policies are blamed for the failure of India to turn into a major economic force in the aftermath of independence, yet Nehru was probably thinking on a more long term basis. It is often inferred that the economic liberation of the later years was possible only because of Nehru's policies in the initial stages.

The State Control in Nehru's Economic Policies:

The most distinctive, and often debated feature of Nehru's economic policies, was the high level of state and central control that was exercised on the industrial and business sectors of the country. Nehru emphasized that the state would control almost all key areas of the country's economy, either centrally or on a state-wise basis. His Socialist emphasis on state control somehow seemed to undermine his stress on industrial policies. The rigorous state laws and License rules put a great degree of restraint on the free execution of industrial policies. Even the farmers, along with the business personnel, found themselves to be at the receiving end of rigorous state control policies and high taxation. Poverty and unemployment were widespread throughout Nehru's governance.

Nehru's Views on Rural Economy:

Nehru's policy towards the rural economy of India was also significant. Nehru felt for the rural self-development of India very strongly. He tried to boost India's cottage industries. Much on the lines of Gandhi, Nehru believed that the rural and cottage industries of India

played a major role in the economic fabric of the country. But most of his cottage industry development programs were meant as a part of community development. He was also of the belief that small scale industries and cottage industries were effective solutions to the massive employment problems that remained a perpetual issue of concern throughout his tenure.

The economic policies of Nehru are often blamed for the poor economy of India in the subsequent years. However, it cannot be denied that his decisions were necessitated by the needs of the times. India needed to effectively harness its domestic means as well as strengthen its governmental control to lay the base for future privatization. It is often speculated that Nehru would have embraced the economic reforms and economic liberalization of the late twentieth century if he was alive.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU AND MIXED ECONOMY

It was precisely to avoid a violent eruption of class struggle in the country that Jawaharlal Nehru opted for a mixed economy. He repeatedly pointed out that acquisitive society and the “free enterprise system” had outlived their relevance and were controlled and restrained even in the countries in which they first came up. He emphasised that the “strongest urge today is for social justice and equality”, and unless the state responded to it “it might well become a police state”. But he also saw that fully controlled economies led to authoritarianism and totalitarianism which he regarded as irrational growths. He was faced with another dilemma.

From the historical point of view he saw that the ‘shell’ of the Indian system was capitalistic while its ‘essence’ remained feudal; in this context the slow pace of growth that would take place without the state taking on certain economic responsibilities would lead to “monopolies and aggregations of economic power”.

At the same time, he realised, as he told the Lok Sabha once, “the price paid for rapid industrialisation has been terrific in some socialist countries. I am certain no country with any kind of parliamentary democracy can possibly pay it”. He wanted India to be a parliamentary democracy for various reasons, but he knew that “if there is economic inequality in the country all the political democracy and all the adult suffrage in the world cannot bring about real democracy”.

At one stage he was even prepared for adjustments in the political system to meet the demands of the task of building a non-acquisitive and egalitarian society, but he emphasised that “political democracy will only justify itself if ultimately succeeded in producing these results”—by ‘these’ he meant economic advance in a manner that social tensions (including class war) were reduced and finally defused.

Mixed economy was his answer to the problem of planning economic advance in a democratic set-up. Besides, he believed that “change is essential, but continuity is also essential. The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and the present. To deny

the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and, sapless, dry up". Mixed economy was to be his instrument of change without a break with continuity.

Transition from feudalism had not been accomplished anywhere without a break caused by industrial revolution which had taken place in western countries before they took to democracy and in socialist countries in conditions in which civil liberties were not available to their citizens.

It was an uncharted path that he took, and he made it clear that, for India, planning was to be a method of trial and error; he had no ready-made model before him but he was sure that India would learn from the mistakes of others. But mixed economy was not an end in itself.

As early as 1948 when he was not even sure of how to describe it ("call it what you like—mixed economy or something else"), he was clear that it was to be a "transitional stage of economy". He also felt that the transition was not to be smooth. "I rather doubt myself whether it is possible without a conflict or repeated conflicts to bring about these changes because people who are used to possessing certain interests or certain ideas do not easily accept new ideas, and nobody likes to give up what he has, at least no groups like it; individuals sometimes do". His doubts were not unjustified; during the years since he spoke, the conflicts which, he thought, would arise did come to the fore resulting in distortion in the path he sought to pursue.

MIXED ECONOMY

Mixed Economy is neither pure capitalism nor pure socialism but a mixture of the two system. In this system we find characteristics of both capitalism and socialism. Mixed economy is operated by both, private enterprise and public enterprise. That is private enterprise is not permitted to function freely and controlled through price mechanism. On the other side, the government intervenes to control and regulate private enterprise in several ways. It has been realised that a free functioning of private enterprise results in several types of problems.

According to J. W Grove, "One of the presuppositions of a mixed economy is that private firms are less free to control major decisions about production and consumption than they would be under capitalist- free enterprise, and that public industry is free from government restraints than it would be under centrally directed socialist enterprise."

Characteristics of Mixed Economy:

The important characteristics of mixed economy are as follows:

1. Co-existence of the public and Private Sectors:

The important characteristics of mixed economy are that in this economy both private sector and public sector function together. The heavy industries such as defence equipment, atomic energy, heavy engineering industries etc., come under the control of public sector, on the other hand, the consumer goods, small and cottage industries, agriculture, etc., are assigned to the private sector. The government helps the private sector by providing several facilities, of their development.

2. Economic Welfare:

It is the most important criterion of the success of a mixed economy. Public Sector seeks to avoid regional inequalities, provides large employment opportunities and often its price policy is guided by considerations of economic welfare rather than by profit motive. Private activities are influenced through monetary and fiscal policies to make them contribute to economic welfare of the society at large level.

3. Economic Planning:

In Mixed economy, the Government adopts the instrument of economic planning. This is necessary for the public sector enterprises which have to work according to some plan and to achieve certain pre-determined objectives. In the same way, the Private Sector cannot be left to develop in its own way. To ensure a co-ordinated and fast economic development the programmes of both the sector are drawn in such a way that growth in one complements the growth in the other.

4. Free and Controlled Economic Development:

The Mixed Economic System considered to be more appropriate to remove the demerits of the capitalist and communist economic systems. Encouragement is given to free economic activities and at the same time steps are also taken to control economic activities.

Merits of Mixed Economy:

The merits of mixed economic system are discussed below:

1. Adequate Freedom:

Mixed economy also permits adequate freedom to different economic units: (a) Consumers are free to dispose of their incomes in a manner they want, although the government does try to influence these decisions through monetary, fiscal and commercial policies, (b) Factors of production are free to choose their own occupations although again the Government may strive to create conditions favourable for the growth of chosen occupations. (c) Private initiative is always encouraged to find its best possible use.

2. Maximum Welfare:

In mixed economic system, the state makes efforts to provide maximum welfare to workers and other citizens. The government makes provision for the employees for housing, education, minimum wages, good working conditions, etc.

3. Modern Technology:

In mixed economy, the modern technology and capital saving method is used, with the result large-scale production and profit could be possible. Reserve fund is created to meet any undesired situation in future. It produces more at the time of trade boom and utilise the reserve capital when there is recession.

4. Best Allocation of Resources:

The resources are utilised in the best possible manner in the Mixed Economic System. The Central Government makes economic planning for optimum use of the resources. Thus shortage is avoided; productive efficiency increases and cyclical fluctuations are eliminated.

Demerits of Mixed Economy:

The major disadvantages of mixed economy are:

1. Low inflow of Foreign Capital:

Because of the government policy and the fear of nationalisation there is less possibility of inflow of foreign capital which is very essential of the development of private sector.

2. Inefficiency of Public Sector:

In comparison to private sector, public sector efficiency is lacking and corruption, discrimination and red-tapism are the evils spread in the public sector.

3. Maximum Control on Private Sector:

On one side, opportunity is given to private sector for development but, on the other side stringent controlling is exercised by the government to regulate the functioning of private enterprises. This has an adverse impact on the development of private sector.

4. Fear of Nationalisation:

The private entrepreneurs are much worried about the government policy to nationalise private enterprises in certain situations.

5. Problem of Concentration of Economic Power:

Although it is said that the mixed sector minimises economic concentration but in practice the private-entrepreneurs take the advantage of government policy and accumulate wealth since both the private and public sectors co-exist, the government will not be in a position to impose any stringent steps to prevent economic concentration.

6. Presence of Imbalance in the Economy:

The mixed economy cannot provide faster development as the government simply wants to maintain a balance between the private and public sectors. The policies of the government are not so clear or it facilitates to give any direction with the result, there exists non-clarity of objectives and presence of imbalance in the economy. (Puja Mondal)

LARGE SCALE INDUSTRIALISATION-BIG DAMS

The most outspoken advocate of industrialization in the early years of Indian independence was Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, an ardent believer in modern science and socialism. Nehru believed that industrialization held the key to India's success as an independent nation. In particular, the Prime Minister focused on two types of projects, both of which required large-scale mobilizations of capital and labour and the importation of foreign

technical expertise: steel mills and dams. To guide India through its rapid industrialization, Nehru inaugurated the first of India's Soviet-style Five Year Plans in 1951.

In promoting industrialization, Nehru departed from the course taken by his predecessor, Mohandas Gandhi. In Gandhi's vision for independent India, the village would serve as the basis for Indian life. Indian society would have none of the dehumanizing bigness of industrialization. Nehru disagreed with the central tenets of Gandhian economics. In one respect, though, Gandhian and Nehruvian economics in principle. This was in regards to economic self-sufficiency. Beginning in the 1920s, the dominant strain of Indian nationalism called for an end to not only political but also economic imperialism. In the colonial relationship between India and the West, Indian raw materials were exported from the country, processed in mills in factories in England, and sold back to India as finished goods. Gandhi believed that Indians should re-develop their own indigenous industries. The symbolic Indian product that Gandhi promoted was cotton, which he spun and wove into his own simple clothing. His disciples both in the Indian National Congress followed his example.

Nehru also believed that India should be economically self-sufficient, although his approach to self-sufficiency led through large-scale industrialization rather than village industries. Industrialization required the importation of technical expertise from the industrialized nations. India received technology transfer from both western- and eastern-bloc countries.

Nehru participated in the ceremonies marking construction milestones for several of the dam projects initiated during his term as Prime Minister. After the 1948 groundbreaking for the Hirakud Dam in Orissa, Nehru wrote: "As I threw in some concrete, which was to form the base of the great Hirakud Dam, a sense of adventure seized me and I forgot for a while the many troubles that beset us. I felt that these troubles will pass, but that the great dam and all that follow from it will endure for ages to come." The Prime Minister often compared the dams with temples or mosques. At Bhakra Dam in the Himalayan foothills, Nehru even compared the project with the greatest Indian monument of all: "The Taj Mahal is for the dead; Bhakra is for the living."

The Nagarjuna Sagar Dam in Andhra Pradesh provides an example of the creative use of Indian resources for industrialization. Begun in 1955 and completed in 1967, the dam was a combined hydroelectric and irrigation project meant to irrigate the arid Deccan with the waters of the Krishna River. To save foreign exchange capital, the dam was built largely by hand with a minimum of machinery. The May 1963 issue of *National Geographic* carried a fold-out spread of a panoramic photo of the dam's construction. In the image, hundreds of workers carry stones and mortar up ramps zigzagging up the face of the dam. The photo caption declared that 125,000 workers were employed in the construction of the dam; a more recent article in *The Hindu Magazine* stated that at no time in the construction of the project was the workforce ever small than 50,000. Compare this to the Grand Coulee Dam, another combined

irrigation and hydro-electric make-work project of a different era; the labour force never exceeded 11,000.

Green Revolution

The dramatic transformation in agriculture practices that involves the use of new methods of cultivation and inputs refers to as Green Revolution in India. The green revolution consists of technological improvements which were mainly adopted to increase agriculture productivity. The green revolution occurs as a result of adoption of new agriculture strategy during mid 60's by Government of India to achieve self-sufficiency in the food grains production. These changes bring about a substantial increase in agriculture production in a short period of time.

Components of Green Revolution

The core components of new agriculture strategy are:

- (i) **Use of High-Yielding Variety(HYV) seeds** that matures in short period of time.
- (ii) **Application of fertilizers, manures and chemicals** in the agriculture production.
- (iii) **Multiple Cropping Patterns** that allows farmers to grow two or more crops on the same land as HYV seeds matures quickly. This helped the increase of total production.
- (iv) **Mechanization of farming** with the use of machines like tractors, harvesters pump sets etc in the agriculture occur in a big way.
- (v) **Better Infrastructure facilities** in terms of better transportation, irrigation, warehousing, marketing facilities, rural electrification were developed during the period of green revolution.
- (vi) **Price Incentives** involving provision of the minimum support prices for various crops so as to allow reasonable price to farmers for their produce. This offers incentive to the farmers to adopt new practices.
- (vii) **Better financial assistance** through spread of credit facilities with the development of wide network of commercial banks, cooperative banks and establishment of National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) as an apex bank to coordinate the rural finance in India.

Impact of Green Revolution

The green revolution resulted quantitative and qualitative development in the agriculture in India. The quantitative improvement occurs as a result of steep increase in the production of agriculture output. The qualitative improvement resulted into adoption of modernized technology in the agriculture. The impact of green revolution can be discussed as follows:

1. Spectacular increase in agriculture production

The dependence on food imports is eliminated with the increase in agriculture production. The country becomes self-sufficient in food grains. In fact India was the second

largest importer in 1966 and it imported no food grain in subsequent decades except during late 80's and early 90's mainly due to failure of monsoons or untimely rains or floods in different regions. However, it may be noted that in recent years annual growth in the food grain production is losing its momentum.

2. Improvement in productivity

The tremendous increase in agriculture production occurred as a result of improvements in productivity. The productivity was quite low in the pre-green revolution period. The substantial increase in the productivity occurred in wheat and rice in the earlier periods but later on it spread to other crops also.

3. Increase in Employment

Green revolution generated employment opportunities into diverse activities which were created as a result of multiple cropping and mechanization of farming. It helped to stimulate non-farm economy that generated newer employment in various services such as warehousing, marketing, milling, etc.

4. Food grain Price Stability

The adoption of new agricultural technology has led to the increased production and marketable surplus of crops especially food grains that have resulted into price stability of food items.

5. Strengthening of forward and backward linkages with industry

The increase in agriculture production has strengthened the forward linkage of agriculture sector with industry in the sense of supplying inputs to the industry. The backward linkage with the industry has also received a boost as agricultural modernization created larger demand for inputs produced by industry.

Problems with Green Revolution

The new agriculture strategy has resulted into increased productivity and returns for farmers. This has resulted in decline in rural poverty to an extent. However, the revolution resulted into increased income, wide interpersonal and regional inequality and inequitable asset distribution. The major problems associated with green revolution are as follows:

(1) Increase in personal inequalities in rural areas

The income inequality between rich and poor increases due to:

- (i) The owners of large farms were the main adopters' of new technology because of their better access to irrigation water, fertilizers, seeds and credit. In other words, given the need for complex agricultural techniques and inputs, the green revolution benefits the large farmers. The small farmers lagged behind the larger farmer as small farmers had to depend upon traditional production method. Since the rich farmers were already better equipped, the green revolution accentuate the income inequalities between rich and poor.

- (ii) Green revolution resulted into lower product price and higher input prices which also encouraged landlords to increase rents or force tenants to evict the land.
- (iii) The mechanization pushed down the wages of and employment opportunities for unskilled labour in the rural areas thereby further widening the income disparities.

(2) Increased Regional disparities

Green revolution spread only in irrigated and high-potential rain fed areas. The villages or regions without the access of sufficient water were left out that widened the regional disparities between adopters and non-adopters. Since, the HYV seeds technically can be applied only in land with assured water supply and availability of other inputs like chemicals, fertilizers etc. The application of the new technology in the dry-land areas is simply ruled out. The states like Punjab, Haryana, Western UP etc. having good irrigation and other infrastructure facilities were able to derive the benefits of green revolution and achieve faster economic development while other states have recorded slow growth in agriculture production.

(3) Environmental Damage

Excessive and inappropriate use of fertilizers and pesticides has polluted waterway, killed beneficial insects and wild life. It has caused over-use of soil and rapidly depleted its nutrients. The rampant irrigation practices have led to eventually soil degradation. Groundwater practices have fallen dramatically. Further, heavy dependence on few major crops has led to loss of biodiversity of farmers. These problems were aggravated due to absence of training to use modern technology and vast illiteracy leading to excessive use of chemicals.

(4) Restrictive Crop Coverage

The new agriculture strategy involving use of HYV seeds was initially limited to bajra, maize and wheat. The other major crop i.e. rice responded much later. The progress of developing and application of HYV seeds in other crops especially commercial crops like oilseeds, jute etc has been very slow. In fact, in certain period a decline in the output of commercial crops is witnessed because of diversion of area under commercial crop to food crop production. The basic factor for non-spread of green revolution to many crops was that in the early 1960's the severe shortage in food grains existed and imports were resorted to overcome the shortage. Government initiated green revolution to increase food grain productivity and non-food grain crops were not covered. The substantial rise in one or two food grain crop cannot make big difference in the total agricultural production. Thus new technology contributed insignificantly in raising the overall agricultural production due to limited crop coverage. So it is important that the revolutionary efforts should be made in all major crops.

It can be concluded that green revolution is a major achievement for India which has given it a food-security. It has involved the adaptation of scientific practices in the agriculture to improve its production and productivity. It has provided benefits to poor in the form of lower food prices, increased migration opportunities and greater employment in the rural non-farm

economy. However, the inequalities between region and individuals that adopted green revolution and those who failed to adopt has worsened. Further, green revolution has led to many negative environmental impacts. The policy makers and scientists are urged to develop and encourage the new technologies that are environmentally and socially sustainable.

Role of Technology in Indian Agriculture

The important reason of low agricultural productivity in India is the unsatisfactory spread of new technological practices, including cultivation of HYV seeds. The adoption of new technology mainly the cultivation of HYV seeds requires intensive use of fertilizers and pesticides under adequate and often assured water supply. The use of HYV seeds involves higher yield risk as compared to the traditional seeds in the absence of proper irrigation facilities. The inadequate irrigation facilities in most part of the country explain the limited regional spread of modern technology. Nearly 64% of total cultivated area is rain fed. Further, the irrigated area is generally used for growing rice and wheat while other crops are grown mostly in the rain fed and un-irrigated area. In this scenario the technological development in terms of adoption of HYV seeds with chemical and fertilizers is only limited to few regions having irrigation coverage and that too for wheat and rice. Thus the adoption of new technology requires the development of irrigation facilities at first place so as to increase its regional and crop spread.

Another, factor that inhibits the dissemination of modern technology is the small and marginal land holdings and slow progress of tenancy reforms. The lack of ownership rights on land provide no incentive to adopt improved technology as the production is shared with the land owners and cost of adoption of new technology will be borne by the tenant cultivators. Thus institutional reforms in terms of land reforms have to be strengthened to improve adoption of modern technology.

The use of new technology improves the agriculture productivity. However, it also adds to the instability in the output growth. The application of new technology raises the response of output to water. Thus if applied under the rain fed conditions then the instability in output will be greater. However, the increase in output would be stable if applied under assured irrigated conditions. This requires effective public distribution system to stabilize prices during uncertain conditions.

Thus both institutional and technological changes have played important role in agriculture growth in India. The technological changes by themselves could not bring revolutionary productivity growth in the agriculture without the institutional and infrastructural changes. The new technology cannot be used if the agrarian system suffers from gross inequalities of land ownership and cultivation is in the hands of landless cultivators. Thus land reforms are required to abolish intermediaries and to undertake the reorganization of land holding. Further, modern technique also requires higher amount of investments. Thus organizational reform in terms of better availability of agri-credit is also important. In nutshell, it can be concluded that though technical reforms provide modern inputs to increase agriculture

production but organizational and institutional reforms would provide suitable conditions to apply these modern inputs. (Dr. Anupama Rajput)

PRINCIPLE OF UNITY IN DIVERSITY

India is a land of “**Unity in diversity**”. The high mountain ranges, vast seas, large river-irrigated lands, countless rivers and streams, dark forests, sandy deserts, all these have adorned India with an exceptional diversity. Among the people there are numerous races, castes, creeds, religions and languages.

Meaning of “Unity in Diversity”

The term “**Unity in diversity**” refers to the state of togetherness or oneness in spite of presence of immense diversity. “Unity in diversity” is based on the concept where the individual or social differences in physical attributes, skin colour, castes, creed, cultural and religious practices, etc. are not looked upon as a conflict. Rather, these differences are looked upon as varieties that enrich the society and the nation as a whole. Diverse Races enriched the Indian Ethnicity and Culture

In India, there are a large number of ancient cultures prevailing or still practicing today. Though there are several numbers of diverse cultures in India, still it has unity in diversity. The modern Indian civilization has been nourished and developed by multiracial contributions. From times immemorial, diverse races migrated into India by via land and sea routes and get themselves settled here. In course of time they are absolutely absorbed in India’s social life.

The ancient ethno-linguistic groups, such as, the Aryans, the Austriacs, the Negritos the Dravidians, the Alpines and the Mongoloids, had combined to constitute the modern Indian race. In the historical period, diverse branches of the aforementioned unique ethnic groups – the Persians, the Pallavas, the Kushanas, the Greeks, the Sakas, the Huns, the Portuguese, the Arabs, the Turks, the English and the European races came to India, and enriched Indian ethnicity and culture by their contribution to the same.

India is a Place of Re-union of many Religions

In respect of religion in India, there is no end of its range. India is the place of reunion of many religions and languages of the world. People from around the world with different cultures are found living in a peaceful manner. Here, the Hindus, the Sikh, the Christians, the Muslims, the Jews, the Buddhists, the Jains and the Parsees (Parsi community) live abreast of each other. They all celebrate religious festivals with great enthusiasm.

Besides this, the aborigines living in the jungles or in the hill areas have various ancient religious customs which they carefully observe. Again, in different regions and among different races, social customs and usages assume different shape and character.

Diverse Languages and Unity in India

The Indian people composed of several racial elements have a range of languages among them. Official accounts confirm that more than two hundred languages are present in this country. Each region has its own language. The local people speak in their own language.

In North India, most people speak in Hindi language. While in South India, the languages for communication are the Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, etc. Further, in West Bengal, there is prominence of Bengali language. The people of Odisha mainly speak in Oriya language. Besides, Hindi and Dravidian languages and other regional languages, many tribal groups have their own language. In modern times, English language has played an important role in unifying the people of the country. English is one of the most popular inter-languages among educated class.

In different regions, the Hindus use diverse languages, but Sanskrit is widely acknowledged and honoured as the language of spiritual scriptures and literature. It was through Sanskrit that the learned community of many of the provinces exchanged their ideas and thoughts. Different languages that are currently used in different provinces owe their origin to Sanskrit. In spite of the fact that there are numerous languages among various races, there is a sense of national unity and oneness among all the Indians. It is this spirit of patriotism that binds us together as one nation.

Concept of Indivisible India

Ancient times: Since the ancient times, the powerful kings were inspired with the ideal of one, indivisible India. This prompted them to make conquests of lands stretching from the Himalayas to the seas. Chandragupta had tried to build one nation in Ancient time. Ancient India was known as 'Bharatvarsha'.

Modern India: Even in modern times, we all celebrate our National festivals, viz. Independence Day, Republic Day and Gandhi Jayanti, etc. with a sense of unity. These festivals are widely celebrated at schools, colleges, universities, offices, societies across all the states of India. Every Indian watches the Flag Hoisting ceremony at Red Fort and listens to the speech of the Prime Minister. In every state, similar event takes place in which the Chief Minister of the state addresses to the audience through a speech. The unity or oneness that we display during these National festivals displays the indivisible character of India.

Sense of Unity among diverse Cultures and Society

The social customs and traditions which the Indians observe irrespective of caste, race and creed in all parts of the country contain within them a sense of Unity. It has kept alive a message of Unity in Diversity in India. Following the different tradition and culture which diverse societies in India have developed, there lies a sense of unity which keeps the people of India bonded together. This fundamental unity can be observed among all the Indian tribes and races.

The Vedas, the Puranas, the Upanishads and the Gita are the holy treatise of all the Hindus, though many of them speak dissimilar languages. The Ramayana and the Mahabharata are the core epics of the Hindus. Places of pilgrimage lie at various different places in India, and the Hindus of all castes and creeds visit them. The basic rituals of worship are also similar in all places. The Water of the Ganges, Yamuna, Godavari (Dakshina Ganga), Sind and Brahmaputra are regarded holy by every Hindu. In fact, this link of fundamental unity grew up on the foundation of customary Hindu religion.

Buddhism and Jainism were, in their early stage, anti-Vedic in outlook and contents, but in course of time they were mostly amalgamated into the greater fold of Hindu religion.

Hindu-Muslim Unity in India

Though, there are differences between the Hindu and the Muslim communities in regard to their customs, ideology, and rituals. But since centuries, they were born in and brought up by the same mother-land. They live together and have deep respect for each other. The Hindus send greetings to their Muslim friend on the occasion of Muslim festivals such as Eid, Muharram, etc. Similarly, the Muslims also wish good luck on the occasion of Hindu festivals such as Diwali, Durga Puja, etc. This explains the growth unity between the Hindus and the Muslims in India. On many matter, they influence one another, and are inspired by the ideals of oriental civilization.

Conclusion

India is a large country. Different regions observe variations in climate. The spoken language of one state is quite different from that of another. They wear different types of garments. They celebrate different festivals and perform varied religious rites. People belonging to diverse cultures belong to different religious faiths. In spite of these diversities, Indians feel a sense of unity and oneness among them. Thus, we conclude that India is a land of Unity in Diversity.

INDIA IN THE ERA OF COLD WAR

In the Cold War, world was considered as three worlds. The first world was considered the United States. The second world was the Soviet Union, and all of its allies. Finally the third world was all the newly independent nations who did not have a side. India was considered as part of the third world and chose to remain neutral. In 1955, the leader of Indonesia hosted the Bandung Conference. The conference was for all the newly independent, nonaligned nations. At the conference the leaders from Africa and Asia were present. While others chose sides after the conference, India chose to remain neutral.

India was a newly emerging nation at that time, and also Nehru's always wanted India to keep distance from all type of global tensions. But then came a time, where India felt to be liberated from this policy. Jawaharlal's concept of nonalignment brought India considerable international prestige among newly independent states that shared India's concerns about the

military confrontation between the superpowers and the influence of the former colonial powers.

Under Indira Gandhi in the early 1980s, India attempted to reassert its prominent role in the Nonaligned Movement by focusing on the relationship between disarmament and economic development. Also, Soviet favoured India whereas USA favoured Pakistan. Naturally India was aligned with soviet, because of their generous help in providing military aid and also using veto in UNO in favour of India.

MODULE-II

CHANGES IN THE INDIAN ECONOMY

INDIRA GANDHI

Indira Gandhi was born on November 19, 1917, in Allahabad, India. Gandhi was born into the politically prominent Nehru family; her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, served as India's first prime minister. Gandhi served three consecutive terms as prime minister, between 1966 and 1977, and another term beginning in 1980. In 1984, Gandhi was assassinated by her Sikh bodyguards.

Early Life

The only child of Jawaharlal Nehru and the first prime minister of independent India, Indira Gandhi was born on November 19, 1917. A stubborn and highly intelligent young woman, she enjoyed an excellent education in Swiss schools and at Somerville College, Oxford. After her mother died, in 1936, Gandhi became something of her father's hostess, learning to navigate complex relationships of diplomacy with some of the great leaders of the world.

Political Career

Gandhi was elected president of the Indian National Congress in 1960. After her father's death, Gandhi was appointed minister of information and broadcasting. When her father's successor, Lal Bahadur Shastri, died abruptly in 1966, India's congress appointed her to the post of prime minister. She surprised her father's old colleagues when she led with a strong hand, sacking some of highest-ranking officials. Gandhi subsequently brought about great change in agricultural programs that improved the lot of her country's poor. For a time, she was hailed as a hero.

Diplomatic Success

Following the Indo-Pakistani War of 1971, in which the Pakistan army conducted violent acts against the people of East Pakistan, nearly 10 million people fled to India. Following the surrender of Pakistani forces, Gandhi invited the Pakistani president to Shimla for a weeklong summit. The two leaders eventually signed the Shimla Agreement, agreeing to resolve the dispute of Kashmir by peaceful means. Her work eventually led to the creation of the new and independent nation of Bangladesh.

Gandhi also led a movement that became known as the Green Revolution. In an effort to address the chronic food shortages that mainly affected the extremely poor Sikh farmers of the Punjab region, Gandhi decided to increase crop diversification and food exports as a way out of the problem, creating new jobs as well as food for her countrymen.

Authoritarian Leanings and Imprisonment

Despite these advancements, Gandhi ruled with an authoritarian hand, and corruption boiled within her congress and her national and state governments. In 1975, the high courts found her guilty of a minor infraction during the year's elections and her opponents called for her resignation. Gandhi responded by requesting that the president call for a state of emergency. Gandhi lost the next election and was later imprisoned. In 1980, the country responded differently and she won by a landslide majority. That same year, her son Sanjay Gandhi (b. 1946) who had been serving as her chief political adviser died in a plane crash in New Delhi. After Sanjay's death, Indira prepared her other son, Rajiv (b. 1944), for leadership.

Assassination

During the 1980s, a Sikh separatist movement developed in India, which Gandhi attempted to repress. Sikh extremists held a campaign inside the Golden Temple, and Gandhi ordered some 70,000 soldiers to purge the sacred space. Hundreds were killed in the raid. On October 31, 1984, a trusted bodyguard, who was a Sikh, pulled out a .38 revolver and shot her point-blank. Another bodyguard, also a Sikh, then took out an automatic weapon and shot 30 rounds into her body. Gandhi died on the way to the hospital. Anti-Sikh riots ignited after the assassination which ultimately left thousands dead as the violence escalated.

NATIONALISATION OF BANKS-CENTRAL PSUs (PUBLIC SECTURE UNDERTAKINGS)

The nationalisation of commercial banks increased the role of public sector banks. Various authorities have advocated many reasons for the nationalisation of major commercial bank. Let us see their views one by one.

A. The then Prime Minister, Smt. Indira Gandhi

In her broadcast to the nation on the eve of nationalisation of the fourteen leading Indian banks, she summed up the objectives of the nationalisation as, "The present decision to nationalise major banks is to accelerate the achievements of our objectives.

The purpose is to expand bank credit to priority areas which have hitherto been somewhat neglected. It also includes,

- (i) The removal of control by a few
- (ii) Provision of adequate credit facilities to agriculture, small industry and exports
- (iii) The giving of professional bent to bank management
- (iv) The encouragement of new classes of entrepreneurs, and
- (v) The provision of adequate training as well as reasonable terms of service for bank staff "

B. Prof. Sayers

Prof. Sayers supports the nationalisation and gives his views under the following four issues.

1. Efficiency issue:

According to Sayers, nationalisation will increase the efficiency of commercial banks as given below.

- (i) Deposits will increase because of increasing confidence in public sector bank. Increase in bank resources will lead to economics of scale.
- (ii) The government can appoint experienced personnel to run and manage the banks.
- (iii) Govt, has the countrywide administrative network. Hence, it can make suitable changes in the banking policies according to the prevailing trends in the economy.
- (iv) Nationalised banks can have the main motive of public service.
- (v) Public sector banks can give preference to priority sectors in advancing loans. Thus, nationalisation promotes efficiency.

2. Monetisation issue:

Commercial banks accumulate deposits from the public. Therefore, they are in a position to bring changes in the supply of money. Such an important power should not be in the private sector. It is the public sector that should have the control over money supply.

3. Integration issue:

Central Banks are established by the Govt, for overall monetary control in the economy and is not aiming at profit. But commercial banks are started mainly to earn profit. Thus, there are contradicting objectives between Central Bank and commercial banks. In this situation, the Central Bank may find it difficult to implement its policies when the commercial banks oppose them. Therefore, in the interest of co-ordination and cooperation between them, commercial banks should be nationalised.

4. Socialisation issue:

When a country aims at socialistic pattern of society, then the role of public sector undertaking should be extended in all spheres of the economy. To start and run the public sector undertaking Govt requires enormous financial requirements. Private commercial banks may obstruct such policies and may not finance public sector undertakings and above all they may discriminate against them. Therefore, the nationalisation of commercial banks will be necessary if the government wants to establish socialism.

C. Views given by others

1. Preventing concentration of economic power:

Initially, a few leading industrial and "business houses had close association with commercial banks. The directors of these banks happened to be the same industrialists who established monopoly control on the bank finance. They exploited the bank resources in such a way that the new business units cannot enter in any line of business in competition with these business houses. Nationalisation of banks, thus, prevents the spread of the monopoly enterprise.

2. Social control was not adequate:

The 'social control' measures of the government did not work well. Some banks did not follow the regulations given under social control. Thus, the nationalisation was necessitated by the failure of social control.

3. Channel the bank finance to plan - priority sectors:

Banks collect savings from the general public. If it is in the hand of private sector, the national interests may be neglected, besides, in Five-Year Plans, the government gives priority to some specified sectors like agriculture, small-industries etc. Thus, nationalisation of banks ensures the availability of resources to the plan-priority sectors.

4. Greater mobilisation of deposits:

The public sector banks open branches in rural areas where the private sector has failed. Because of such rapid branch expansion there is possibility to mobilise rural savings.

5. Help to agriculture:

If banks fail to assist the agriculture in many ways, agriculture cannot prosper, that too, a country like India where more than 70% of the population depends upon agriculture. Thus, for providing increased finance to agriculture banks have to be nationalised.

6. Balanced Regional development:

In a country, certain areas remained backward for lack of financial resource and credit facilities. Private Banks neglected the backward areas because of poor business potential and profit opportunities. Nationalisation helps to provide bank finance in such a way as to achieve balanced inter-regional development and remove regional disparities.

7. Greater control by the Reserve Bank:

In a developing country like India there is need for exercising strict control over credit created by banks. If banks are under the control of the Govt., it becomes easy for the Central Bank to bring about co-ordinated credit control. This necessitated the nationalisation of banks.

8. Small stake of shareholders:

The nationalised banks had deposits totalling Rs. 2742 crore at the end of December 1968. But the capital contributed by their shareholders was only Rs. 28.5 crore, which was just 1% of deposits. Even if we include the reserves, the amount comes to only 2.4% of the bank's deposits with such a small and insignificant stake, it is unjustifiable to allow the private shareholders to exercise control over such vital credit machinery with large resources.

9. Greater Stability of banking structure:

Nationalised banks are sure to command more confidence with the customers about the safety of their deposits. Besides this, the planned development of nationalised banks will impart greater stability for the banking structure.

10. March Forward towards Socialism:

India aims at socialism. This requires the financial institutions to run under the government's control and only through nationalisation, this objective can be effectively achieved.

11. Better service conditions to staff:

Nationalisation ensures the staff of banks to enjoy greater job security and higher emoluments. It can provide other benefits as well. In this way the banks can motivate their staff and thereby the operational efficiency of banks will be increased.

12. New schemes:

Through nationalised banks, new schemes like village adoption scheme, Lead Bank Scheme can be formulated and implemented. Besides, different types of financial facilities can be extended to persons like Doctors, Engineers, Self-employed persons like artisans etc.

Nationalisation of banks creates great interest among various sections of the public. Many hopes were raised in the middle class and poor people with regard to the financial assistance. The nationalised banks drew up a number of schemes to assist new types of customers and are plans to make each of these banks to adopt a few select districts and concentrate on their intensive development.

RAJIV GANDHI (20 August 1944- 21 May 1991)

Rajiv Gandhi was one of the popular Prime Ministers of India. The developmental projects launched by him include the national education policy and expansion of telecom sector. Besides his achievement and subsequent popularity, Rajiv Gandhi also emerged as one of India's controversial Prime Ministers. He was allegedly involved in the "Bofors scandal" worth Rs 640 million.

Early Life

Rajiv Gandhi was born on 20 August 1944, into the country's eminent political dynasty - the Nehru-Gandhi family. His mother Indira Gandhi was the first and the only woman Prime Minister of India. Feroze, a key member of the Indian National Congress became the editor of The National Herald newspaper founded by Motilal Nehru in Allahabad.

Rajiv Gandhi initially attended the Welham Boys' School and subsequently sent to the elite Doon School in Dehradun. Later, he went to the United Kingdom to study at the Cambridge University. It was here in Cambridge University, young Rajiv met Sonia Maino (later Sonia Gandhi) from Italy. After his return from the United Kingdom, Rajiv Gandhi exhibited least interest in the politics and focused onto becoming a professional pilot. He, later, worked for Indian Airlines, as a pilot.

His Brother

Unlike Rajiv, his younger brother had developed an interest and knowledge in the subjects of public administration and political developments. Although he had not been elected,

Sanjay began exercising his influence with police officers, high-level government officers and even the Cabinet Ministers. Many senior ministers, as a protest against Sanjay Gandhi, resigned from office. Sanjay gradually promoted as a close political advisor to Indira Gandhi. On June 23, 1980, Sanjay Gandhi died in an air crash in Delhi.

Entry into politics

After the death of his brother Sanjay, the senior members of the Indian National Congress party approached Rajiv Gandhi, in order to persuade him joining politics. But, Rajiv was reluctant about joining and said "no" to them. His wife, Sonia Gandhi, also stood by Rajiv's stand of not entering into politics. But after constant request from his mother Indira Gandhi, he decided to contest. His entry was criticized by many in the press, public and opposition political parties. They saw the entry of Nehru-Gandhi scion into politics as a forced-hereditary-participation. Within a few months of his election as a Member of Parliament, Rajiv Gandhi acquired significant party influence and became an important political advisor to his mother. He was also elected as the general secretary of the All-India Congress Committee and subsequently became the president of the Youth Congress.

Assassination

Following the assassination of his mother, on 31 October 1984, the Congress leaders and partisans favoured Rajiv as the immediate successor to the coveted throne. The decision was also supported by Zail Singh, the then President of India.

Achievements

As Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi endeavoured to eliminate the corrupt and criminal faces within the Indian National Congress party. To deal with the anti-Sikh agitation, that followed the death of his mother, Rajiv Gandhi signed an accord with Akali Dal president Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, on 24 July, 1985. The key points of the pact were:

Along with ex-gratia payment to those innocent killed in agitation or any action after 1-8-1982, compensation for property damaged will also be paid.

- All citizens of the country have the right to enrol in the Army and merit will remain the criterion for selection.
- For all those discharged, efforts will be made to rehabilitate and provide gainful employment.

Revived Policies

The economic policies adopted by Rajiv Gandhi were different from his precursors like Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. Going, against the traditional socialism, Rajiv Gandhi decided to improve the bilateral relationships with the United States of America and subsequently expanded the economic and scientific cooperation with it. A revived foreign policy, emphasizing on the economic liberalization and information and technology moved India closer to the West.

His introductory measures to reduce the "Red Tapsism" and allow business house to set up their establishments was remarkable. In 1986, Rajiv Gandhi announced a "national education policy" to modernize and expand higher education programs across India. Rajiv Gandhi brought a revolution in the field of information technology and telecom. The idea helped in originating the Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited, popularly known as MTNL. Rajiv Gandhi was the man to transcend telecom services to the rural India or "India in true sense".

Controversies

While commenting on the anti-Sikh riots, that followed the assassination of India Gandhi in Delhi, Rajiv Gandhi said, "' When a giant tree falls, the earth below shakes". The statement was widely criticized both within and outside the Congress Party. Many viewed the statement as "provocative" and demanded an apology from him. Beside, Rajiv Gandhi's name had also surfaced in the major controversies like Bofors and the formation of Indian Peace Keeping Force.

Bofors Case

The infamous Bofors scandal that still haunts the political walls of the country was exposed during Rajiv Gandhi's reign. A strong corruption racket involving many stalwarts of the Congress Party was unearthed in the 1980s. Rajiv Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India and several others prominent leaders were accused of receiving kickbacks from Bofors for winning a bid to supply India's 155 mm field howitzer (a type of artillery piece).

IPKF

In 1987, the Indian Peace Keeping Force was formed to end the Sri Lankan Civil War between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and the Sri Lankan military. The acts of the military contingent was opposed by the Opposition parties of Sri Lanka and as well as LTTE. But, Rajiv Gandhi refused to withdraw the IPKF. The idea also turned out to be unpopular in India, particularly in Tamil Nadu. The IPKF operation cost over 1100 Indian soldiers lives and cost over 2000 crores.

Death

On 21 May, 1991, on his way towards the dais, Rajiv Gandhi was garlanded by many Congress supporters and well wishers. At around 10 pm, the assassin greeted him and bent down to touch his feet. She then exploded an RDX explosive laden belt attached to her waist-belt. The act of violence was reportedly carried out by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, expressing their resentment over the formation Indian Peace-keeping Force.

NARASIMHA RAO (28 June 1921 – 23 December 2004)

Pamulaparthi Venkata Narasimha Raoa, who was commonly known as P. V. Narasimha Rao, served as the 10th Prime Minister of the Republic of India. He led one of the most important administrations in India's modern history, overseeing a major economic

transformation and several incidents affecting national security. Rao accelerated the dismantling of the license raj. Rao, also called the "Father of Indian Economic Reforms," is best remembered for launching India's free market reforms that rescued the almost bankrupt nation from economic collapse. He was also commonly referred to as the Chanakya of modern India for his ability to steer tough economic and political legislation through the parliament at a time when he headed a minority government.

Rao's term as Prime Minister was an eventful one in India's history. Besides marking a paradigm shift from the industrializing, mixed economic model of Jawaharlal Nehru to a market driven one, his years as Prime Minister also saw the emergence of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a major right-wing party, as an alternative to the Indian National Congress which had been governing India for most of its post-independence history. Rao's term also saw the destruction of the Babri Mosque in Ayodhya which triggered one of the worst Hindu-Muslim riots in the country since its independence.

Rao's later life was marked by political isolation due to his association with corruption charges. Rao was acquitted on all charges prior to his death in 2004 of a heart attack in New Delhi. He was cremated in Hyderabad.

Early Life

PV's father was P. V. Ranga Rao. He belonged to a wealthy Telugu Brahmin family from a village called Vangara, Bheemadevarpalle sub-district in the Karimnagar district of Andhra Pradesh, India. Narasimha Rao was popularly known as PV. He studied at Fergusson College and at the Universities of Mumbai and Nagpur where he obtained Bachelor's and Master's degrees in law. He could speak 17 languages including Urdu, Marathi, Kannada, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and Oriya with a fluency akin to a native speaker. His mother tongue was Telugu. In addition to eight Indian languages, he spoke English, French, Arabic, Spanish, German, Greek, Latin and Persian. Along with his cousin Pamulaparthi Sadasiva Rao, PV edited a Telugu weekly magazine called Kakatiya Patrika from 1948 to 1955.

Political Career

Narasimha Rao was an active freedom fighter during the Indian Independence movement and joined full time politics after independence as a member of the Indian National Congress. Narasimha Rao served brief stints in the Andhra Pradesh cabinet (1962–1971) and as Chief Minister of the state of Andhra Pradesh (1971–1973). When the Indian National Congress split in 1969 Rao stayed on the side of the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and remained loyal to her during the Emergency period (1975 - 77). He raised to national prominence in 1972 for handling several diverse portfolios, most significantly Home, Defence and Foreign Affairs (1980-1984), in the cabinets of both Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi. In fact it is speculated that he was in the running for the post of India's President along with Zail Singh in 1982.

Rao very nearly retired from politics in 1991. It was the assassination of the Congress President Rajiv Gandhi that made him make a comeback. As the Congress had won the largest number of seats in the 1991 elections, he got the opportunity to head the minority government

as Prime Minister. He was the first person outside the Nehru-Gandhi family to serve as Prime Minister for five continuous years, the first to hail from South India and also the first from the state of Andhra Pradesh. Since Rao had not contested the general elections, he then participated in a by-election in Nandyal to join the parliament. N.T.Rama Rao (then leader of the Chief Opposition party of Telugu Desam) did not want to put a contestant against Rao, because he was the First Prime Minister of India from Andhra Pradesh, and NTR did not want to create an obstacle on his path. By that, Rao won from Nandyal with a victory margin of a record 5 lakh (500,000) votes and his win was recorded in the Guinness Book Of World Records. His cabinet included Sharad Pawar, himself a strong contender for the Prime Minister's post, as defence minister. He also broke convention by appointing a non-political economist and future prime minister, Manmohan Singh as his finance minister.

Economic Reforms

Rao's major achievement generally considered to be the liberalization of the Indian economy. The reforms were adopted to avert impending international default in 1991. The reforms progressed furthest in the areas of opening up to foreign investment, reforming capital markets, deregulating domestic business, and reforming the trade regime. Rao's government's goals were reducing the fiscal deficit, Privatization of the public sector, and increasing investment in infrastructure. Trade reforms and changes in the regulation of foreign direct investment were introduced to open India to foreign trade while stabilizing external loans. Rao's finance minister, Manmohan Singh, an acclaimed economist, played a central role in implementing these reforms.

National security, foreign policy and crisis management

Rao energized the national nuclear security and ballistic missiles program, which ultimately resulted in the 1998 Pokhran nuclear tests. It is speculated that the tests were actually planned in 1995, during Rao's term in office, and that they were dropped under American pressure when the US intelligence got the whiff of it. Another view was that he purposefully leaked the information to gain time to develop and test thermonuclear device which was not yet ready. He increased military spending, and set the Indian Army on course to fight the emerging threat of terrorism and insurgencies, as well as Pakistan and China's nuclear potentials. It was during his term that terrorism in the Indian state of Punjab was finally defeated. Also scenarios of plane hijackings, which occurred during Rao's time ended without the government conceding the terrorists' demands. He also directed negotiations to secure the release of Doraiswamy, an Indian Oil executive, from Kashmiri terrorists who kidnapped him, and Liviu Radu, a Romanian diplomat posted in New Delhi in October 1991, who was kidnapped by Sikh terrorists. Rao also handled the Indian response to the occupation of the Hazratbal holy shrine in Jammu and Kashmir by terrorists in October 1993. He brought the occupation to an end without damage to the shrine. Similarly, he dealt with the kidnapping of some foreign tourists by a terrorist group called Al Faran in Kashmir in 1995 effectively. Although he could not secure the release of the hostages, his policies ensured that the terrorists'

demands were not conceded to, and that the action of the terrorists was condemned internationally, including by Pakistan.

Rao also made diplomatic overtures to Western Europe, the United States, and China. He decided in 1992 to bring into the open India's relations with Israel, which had been kept covertly active since they were first established by Indira Gandhi in 1969, and permitted Israel to open an embassy in New Delhi. He ordered the intelligence community in 1992 to start a systematic drive to draw the international community's attention to alleged Pakistan's sponsorship of terrorism against India and not to be discouraged by US efforts to undermine the exercise. Rao launched the Look East foreign policy, which brought India closer to ASEAN. He decided to maintain a distance from the Dalai Lama in order to avoid aggravating Beijing's suspicions and concerns, and made successful overtures to Tehran. The 'cultivate Iran' policy was pushed through vigorously by him. These policies paid rich dividends for India in March 1994, when Benazir Bhutto's efforts to have a resolution passed by the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva on the human rights situation in Jammu and Kashmir failed, with opposition by China and Iran.

Rao's crisis management after the March 12, 1993 Bombay bombings was highly praised. He personally visited Bombay after the blasts and after seeing evidence of Pakistani involvement in the blasts, ordered the intelligence community to invite the intelligence agencies of the US, UK and other West European countries to send their counter-terrorism experts to Bombay to examine the facts for themselves.

Later Life

In the 1996 general elections Rao's Congress Party was badly defeated and he had to step down as Prime Minister. He retained the leadership of the Congress party until late 1996 after which he was replaced by Sitaram Kesri. According to Congress insiders who spoke with the media, Rao had kept an authoritarian stance on both the party and his government, which led to the departure of numerous prominent and ambitious Congress leaders during his reign. Some of them were: Narayan Dutt Tiwari, Arjun Singh, Madhavrao Scindia, Mamata Banerjee, G.K. Moopanar and P.Chidambaram.

Rao rarely spoke of his personal views and opinions during his 5-year tenure. After his retirement from national politics Rao published a novel called *The Insider*. The book, which follows a man's rise through the ranks of Indian politics, resembled events from Rao's own life. Rao, however denied any connection. Rao suffered a heart attack on 9 December 2004, and was taken to the All India Institute of Medical Sciences where he died 14 days later at the age of 83.

LIBERALISATION, PRIVATISATION AND GLOBALISATION

The concepts of liberalization, privatization and globalization are actually closely related to one another. This LPG phenomenon was first initiated in the Indian Economy in 1990 when the Indian Economy experienced a severe crisis. There was decline in the country's

export earnings, national income and industrial output. The government had to seek aid from IMF to resolve its debt problem. That is when the government decided to introduce the New Industrial Policy (NIP) in 1991 to start liberalizing the Indian economy.

LIBERALISATION

Liberalization means elimination of state control over economic activities. It implies greater autonomy to the business enterprises in decision-making and removal of government interference. It was believed that the market forces of demand and supply would automatically operate to bring about greater efficiency and the economy would recover. This was to be done internally by introducing reforms in the real and financial sectors of the economy and externally by relaxing state control on foreign investments and trade.

With the NIP' 1991 the Indian Government aimed at integrating the country's economy with the world economy, improving the efficiency and productivity of the public sector. For attaining this objective, existing government regulations and restrictions on industry were removed. The major aspects of liberalization in India were;

1. Abolition of licensing: NIP' 1991 abolished licensing for most industries except 6 industries of strategic significance. They include alcohol, cigarettes, industrial explosives, defence products, drugs and pharmaceuticals, hazardous chemicals and certain others reserved for the public sector. This would encourage setting up of new industries and shift focus to productive activities.
2. Liberalization of Foreign Investment: While earlier prior approval was required by foreign companies, now automatic approvals were given for Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) to flow into the country. A list of high-priority and investment-intensive industries were de-licensed and could invite up to 100% FDI including sectors such as hotel and tourism, infrastructure, software development .etc. Use of foreign brand name or trade mark was permitted for sale of goods.
3. Relaxation of Locational Restrictions: There was no requirement anymore for obtaining approval from the Central Government for setting up industries anywhere in the country except those specified under compulsory licensing or in cities with population exceeding 1 million. Polluting industries were required to be located 25 kms away from the city peripheries if the city population was greater than 1 million.¹⁶⁰
4. Liberalization of Foreign Technology imports: In projects where imported capital goods are required, automatic license would be given for foreign technology imports up to 2 million US dollars. No permissions would be required for hiring foreign technicians and foreign testing of indigenously developed technologies.
5. Phased Manufacturing Programmes: Under PMP any enterprise had to progressively substitute imported inputs, components with domestically produced inputs under local content policy. However NIP' 1991 abolished PMP for all industrial enterprises. Foreign

Investment Promotion Board (FIPB) was set up to speed up approval for foreign investment proposals.

6. Public Sector Reforms: Greater autonomy was given to the PSUs (Public Sector Units) through the MOUs (Memorandum of Understanding) restricting interference of the government officials and allowing their managements greater freedom in decision-making.
7. MRTP Act: The Industrial Policy 1991 restructured the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practises Act. Regulations relating to concentration of economic power, pre-entry restrictions for setting up new enterprises, expansion of existing businesses, mergers and acquisitions etc. have been abolished.

PRIVATIZATION

Privatization is closely associated with the phenomena of globalization and liberalization. Privatization is the transfer of control of ownership of economic resources from the public sector to the private sector. It means a decline in the role of the public sector as there is a shift in the property rights from the state to private ownership. The public sector had been experiencing various problems, since planning, such as low efficiency and profitability, mounting losses, excessive political interference, lack of autonomy, labour problems and delays in completion of projects. Hence to remedy this situation with Introduction of NIP' 1991 privatization was also initiated into the Indian economy. Another term for privatization is Disinvestment. The objectives of disinvestment were to raise resources through sale of PSUs to be directed towards social welfare expenditures, raising efficiency of PSUs through increased competition, increasing consumer satisfaction with better quality goods and services, upgrading technology and most importantly removing political interference. The main aspects of privatization in India are as follows;

1. Autonomy to Public sector: Greater autonomy was granted to nine PSUs referred to as 'navaratnas' (ONGC, HPCL, BPCL, VSNL, and BHEL) to take their own decisions.
2. De-reservation of Public Sector: The number of industries reserved for the public sector were reduced in a phased manner from 17 to 8 and then to only 3 including Railways, Atomic energy, Specified minerals. This has opened more areas of investment for the private sector and increased competition for the public sector forcing greater accountability and efficiency.
3. Disinvestment Policies: Till 1999-2000 disinvestment was done basically through sale of minority shares but since then the government has undertaken strategic sale of its equity to the private sector handing over complete management control such as in the case of VSNL, BALCO .etc.

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization essentially means integration of the national economy with the world economy. It implies a free flow of information, ideas, technology, goods and services, capital

and even people across different countries and societies. It increases connectivity between different markets in the form of trade, investments and cultural exchanges.

The concept of globalization has been explained by the IMF (International Monetary Fund) as ‘the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide through increasing volume and variety of cross border transactions in goods and services and of international capital flows and also through the more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology. The phenomenon of globalization caught momentum in India in 1990s with reforms in all the sectors of the economy. The main elements of globalization were;

To open the domestic markets for inflow of foreign goods, India reduced customs duties on imports. The general customs duty on most goods was reduced to only 10% and import licensing has been almost abolished. Tariff barriers have also been slashed significantly to encourage trade volume to rise in keeping with the World trade Organization (WTO) order under (GATT) General Agreement on Tariff and Trade.

The amount of foreign capital in a country is a good indicator of globalization and growth. The FDI policy of the GOI encouraged the inflow of fresh foreign capital by allowing 100 % foreign equity in certain projects under the automatic route. NRIs and OCBs (Overseas Corporate Bodies) may invest up to 100 % capital with reparability in high priority industries. MNCs and TNCs were encouraged to establish themselves in Indian markets and were given a level playing field to compete with Indian enterprises.

Foreign Exchange Regulation Act (FERA) was liberalized in 1993 and later Foreign Exchange Management Act (FEMA) 1999 was passed to enable foreign currency transactions. India signed many agreements with the WTO affirming its commitment to liberalize trade such as TRIPs (Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights), TRIMs (Trade Related Investment Measures) and AOA (Agreement On Agriculture).

IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION:

Advantages of Globalization:

There is a decline in the number of people living below the poverty line in developing countries due to increased investments, trade and rising employment opportunities. There is an improvement in various economic indicators of the LDCs (Less Developed Countries) such as employment, life expectancy, literacy rates, per capita consumption etc. Free flow of capital and technology enables developing countries to speed up the process of industrialization and lay the path for faster economic progress.

Products of superior quality are available in the market due to increased competition, efficiency and productivity of the businesses and this leads to increased consumer satisfaction. Free flow of finance enable the banking and financial institutions in a country to fulfil financial requirements through internet and electronic transfers easily and help businesses to flourish. MNCs bring with them foreign capital, technology, know-how, machines, technical and managerial skills which can be used for the development of the host nation.

Disadvantages of Globalisation:

Domestic companies are unable to withstand competition from efficient MNCs which have flooded Indian markets since their liberalized entry. It may lead to shut down of operations, pink slips and downsizing. Moreover skilled and efficient labour gets absorbed by these MNCs that offer higher pay and incentives leaving unskilled labour for employment in the domestic industries. Thus there may be unemployment and underemployment.

Payment of dividends, royalties and repatriation has in fact led to a rise in the outflow of foreign capital. With increased dependence on foreign technology, development of indigenous technology has taken a backseat and domestic R and D development has suffered.

Globalization poses certain risks for any country in the form of business cycles, fluctuations in international prices, specialization in few exportable and so on. It increases the disparities in the incomes of the rich and poor, developed nations and LDCs. It leads commercial imperialism as the richer nations tend to exploit the resources of the poor nations.

Globalization leads to fusion of cultures and inter-mingling of societies to such an extent that there may be a loss of identities and traditional values. It gives rise to mindless aping of western lifestyles and mannerisms however ill-suited they may be. It leads to overcrowding of cities and puts pressure on the amenities and facilities available in urban areas.

MANMOHAN SINGH

Manmohan Singh (born 26 September 1932) is an Indian economist and politician who served as the Prime Minister of India from 2004 to 2014. The first Sikh in office, Singh was also the first prime minister since Jawaharlal Nehru to be re-elected after completing a full five-year term.

Born in Gah (now in Punjab, Pakistan), Singh's family migrated to India during its partition in 1947. After obtaining his doctorate in economics from Oxford, Singh worked for the United Nations during 1966–69. He subsequently began his bureaucratic career when Lalit Narayan Mishra hired him as an advisor in the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Over the 70s and 80s, Singh held several key posts in the Government of India, such as Chief Economic Advisor (1972–76), Reserve Bank governor (1982–85) and Planning Commission head (1985–87).

In 1991, as India faced a severe economic crisis, newly elected Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao surprisingly inducted the apolitical Singh into his cabinet as Finance Minister. Over the next few years, despite strong opposition, he as a Finance Minister carried out several structural reforms that liberalised India's economy. Although these measures proved successful in averting the crisis, and enhanced Singh's reputation globally as a leading reform-minded economist, the incumbent Congress party fared poorly in the 1996 general election. Subsequently, Singh served as Leader of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha (the upper house of India's Parliament) during the Atal Bihari Vajpayee government of 1998–2004.

In 2004, when the Congress-led United Progressive Alliance (UPA) came to power, its chairperson Sonia Gandhi unexpectedly relinquished the premiership to Manmohan Singh. Singh's first ministry executed several key legislations and projects, including the Rural Health Mission, Unique Identification Authority, Rural Employment Guarantee scheme and Right to Information Act. In 2008, opposition to a historic civil nuclear agreement with the United States nearly caused Singh's government to fall after Left Front parties withdrew their support. Although India's economy grew rapidly under UPA I, its security was threatened by several terrorist incidents (including the 2008 Mumbai attacks) and the continuing Maoist insurgency.

The 2009 general election saw the UPA return with an increased mandate, with Singh retaining the office of Prime Minister. Over the next few years, Singh's second ministry government faced a number of corruption charges—over the organisation of the Commonwealth Games, the 2G-spectrum allocation and the allocation of coal blocks. After his term ended in 2014 he opted out from the race to the office of the Prime Minister of India during 2014 Indian general election. Singh was never a member of the Lok Sabha but continues to serve as a member of the Indian Parliament, representing the state of Assam in the Rajya Sabha for the fifth consecutive term since 1991.

MODULE-III

CHALLENGES WITHIN THE NATION

PARTITION AND ITS SCARS

The Partition of India took place on the midnight of 14th-15th August, 1947 when undivided India which had gained independence from the British, was partitioned into two nations- Pakistan and India. As India's national movement gained ascendancy, it became clear that the chief party the Congress was dominated by Hindus. Many Muslims felt that they would be marginalised under majority Hindu rule. The Muslim League had been founded in Dhaka in 1906. Under its leader, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the party put forth its 'two nation theory' that Hindus and Muslims were really two nations and that the Muslim majority areas of India should be partitioned to form a separate state called Pakistan.

The immediate events leading to Partition remain mired in confusion and controversy. What remains clear is that as the British were departing, they did not really consider the horrific consequences of the act they were about to perpetuate on the sub-continent. Moreover, the Congress too was unwilling to share power with Jinnah and agreed to the partition of the country. Referendums were held in the North West Frontier Province and in Sylhet, (then in the state of Assam) both of which opted to join Pakistan. As a result of these measures, India was partitioned on two fronts- in the East; Bengal was divided to form East Pakistan, while the Muslim majority areas in the north and North West formed West Pakistan, with the state of Punjab being divided into two. Many today blame the British, especially Lord Mountbatten for the Partition of the country. This should however not detract from the divisive role played by many leaders from both communities.

The human and economic fall out of this largely political decision was catastrophic. Millions of people were uprooted and one of the largest migrations in human history took place, especially in the Punjab. There were communal riots and trainloads of refugees were often slaughtered, with both communities equally guilty of atrocities. Thousands of women were raped, murdered or abducted and hundreds of children were separated from their families. A similar but smaller exodus took place in the east preceded by the worst riots this region has ever seen- The Great Calcutta Killings of 1946 that even the apostle of peace, Mahatma Gandhi was unable to stop. The events of Partition have left scars on the psyche of people on both sides of the border that are yet to heal today.

Many today wonder the role of Gandhi in the partition of the country. However, by this time, Gandhi had been reduced to a largely symbolic figure even within the Congress party with the reins of power firmly in the hands of Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Vallabhai Patel. Gandhi was appalled by the communal riots, undertook long fasts to bring some semblance of sanity and saw Pakistan as a betrayal of the idea that independent India would be united and secular.

In 1971, the Bengalis in East Pakistan who felt that they were being discriminated by the West, gained independence under their leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman with military help from India, to form Bangladesh. The brief Indo-Pak war of 1971 saw the Indian side 'victorious' and the creation of a new nation with its capital at Dhaka.

The Partition of India has left bitter memories on both sides, and the wounds are yet to heal. Many people who left homes, property and family behind, have been unable to return as India and Pakistan have remained hostile to each other for over 50 years. The chief cause of this hostility has been the dispute over Kashmir and it has prevented any meaningful dialogue on many outstanding issues from the days of Partition. However, what this political conflict has often obscured is the remarkable cultural affinity of both nations, which perhaps offers the naive hope that someday citizen-to-citizen contact will bring about peace between these two nuclear neighbours.

NAXALBARI-MAOIST MOVEMENTS

The CPM had originally split from the united CPI in 1964 on grounds of differences over revolutionary politics, (equated with armed struggle) reformist parliamentary politics. In practice, however, heading the existing political realities, the CPM participated actively in parliamentary politics, postponing armed struggle to the day when a revolutionary situation prevailed in the country. Consequently, it participated in the 1967 elections and formed a coalition government in West Bengal with the Bangla Congress, with Jyoti Basu, the CPM leader, becoming the home minister. This led to a schism in the party.

A section of the party, consisting largely of its younger cadres and inspired by the Cultural Revolution then going on in China, accused the party leadership of falling prey to reformism and parliamentary politics and, therefore, of betraying the revolution. They argued that the party must instead immediately initiate armed peasant insurrections in rural areas, leading to the formation of liberated areas and the gradual extension of the armed struggle to the entire country. To implement their political line, the rebel CPM leaders launched a peasant uprising in the **small Naxalbari area of northern West Bengal**. The CPM leadership immediately expelled the rebel leaders accusing them of left-wing adventurism, and used the party organization and government machinery to suppress the Naxalbari insurrection. The breakaway CPM leaders came to be known as Naxalites and were soon joined by other similar groups from CPM in the rest of the country. The Naxalite movement drew many young people, especially college and university students, who were dissatisfied with existing politics and angry at the prevailing social condition and were attracted by radical Naxalite slogans.

In 1969, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (ML) was formed under the leadership of Charu Majumdar. Similar parties and groups were formed in Andhra, Orissa, Bihar, U.P., Punjab and Kerala. The CPI(ML) and other Naxalite groups argued that democracy in India was a sham, the Indian state was fascist, agrarian relations in India were still basically feudal, the Indian big bourgeoisie was comprador, India was politically and economically dominated

by U.S., British and Soviet imperialisms, Indian polity and economy were still colonial, the Indian revolution was still in its anti-imperialist, anti-feudal stage, and protracted guerrilla warfare on the Chinese model was the form revolution would take in India. The Naxalite groups got political and ideological support from the Chinese government which, however, frowned upon the CPI (ML) slogan of 'China's Chairman (Mao Ze-Dong) is our Chairman.'

CPI (ML) and other Naxalite groups succeeded in organizing armed peasant bands in some rural areas and in attacking policemen and rival communists as agents of the ruling classes. The government, however, succeeded in suppressing them and limiting their influence to a few pockets in the country. Not able to face state repression, the Naxalites soon split into several splinter groups and factions. But the real reason for their failure lay in their inability to root their radicalism in Indian reality, to grasp the character of Indian society and polity as also the evolving agrarian structure and to widen their social base among the peasants and radical middle class youth. The disavowal of the Cultural Revolution and Maoism of the sixties and early seventies by the post-Mao Chinese leadership in the late seventies contributed further to the collapse of the Naxalite movement as a significant trend in Indian politics.

EMERGENCY IN INDIA-CAUSES AND RESISTANCE

History bares testimony to the fact that great nations face grave crises. In 1933, the United States was struck by the great depression, which exposed the fallacies of the market economy. A few years later the military might of Japan was crushed by the United States during the Second World War. At the start of the last decade of the millennium, the fragilities of Socialism were exposed and it led to the eventual demise of the Soviet Union.

India's strength has always been its vibrant democracy. Ours is perhaps the only country where people from contrastingly different castes, creed, religion and race live together in peace and harmony. The other hallmarks of our country are a strong judicial system and a free press. The imposition of the emergency in 1975 struck at the very core of these ideals, which constitute our democracy. It was perhaps the darkest period in the history of independent India.

The Reasons

On 25th June 1975, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi imposed an emergency in the country. Fundamental Rights stood suspended, censorship was imposed on the press and prominent political leaders were arrested. So what prompted Mrs. Gandhi to take such a drastic step? Could the emergency have been avoided? What role did her son Sanjay and his cronies play during this crucial period? Were there any personal motives? There are just some of the questions that we will try to answer.

In many ways the foundation for the emergency was laid when the Allahabad High Court set aside Indira Gandhi's re-election to the Lok Sabha in 1971 on the grounds of electoral malpractices. This verdict, which came on 12th June, was later challenged in the Supreme Court, which on 24th June 1975, granted a conditional stay to Mrs. Gandhi, thereby allowing

her to remain a member of parliament but disallowed her to take part in parliamentary proceedings. However, this was just the first step. The other, more significant reason for the imposition of emergency was the **“JP movement”**. Many regard Jayaprakash Narayan as “the Gandhi of Independent India”. In his entire political career he never contested an election. After the Allahabad High Court verdict, “JP”, as he was better known, gave the call for a “Total Revolution” and also demanded the resignation of Mrs. Gandhi. In fact on June 25, 1975, he announced a plan of daily demonstrations, not merely in Delhi, but also in every State capital and district headquarters until Indira Gandhi threw in the towel. He also appealed to the Army, the police and the bureaucracy “to refuse to obey Indira” and “abide by the Constitution instead”. His associate Morarji Desai went a step further. In an interview to an Italian journalist he said, “We intend to overthrow her, to force her to resign. For good...Thousands of us will surround her house and prevent her from going out...night and day.” Incidentally, Desai was once Deputy Prime Minister in her government.

Many argue that the emergency was the inevitable outcome of social, economic and political crises resulting in “systematic failure” One of them is Prof. P.N. Dhar, Secretary to the Prime Minister and her chief official advisor during this period. In his book “Indira Gandhi, the emergency and Indian Democracy”, he states that it was largely because of the opposition pressure that she was forced to resign. He says “Even before she could file her appeal, to which she was enticed, a delegation of opposition leaders from the Congress (O), JS, BLD, SP and Akali Dal called on the president and presented a memorandum to him saying that “a grave constitutional crisis had arisen as a result of Mrs. Gandhi continuing to occupy the office of the prime minister despite a clear and categorical judicial verdict.” Apart from Dhar, there were others who supported the Emergency. One of them was prominent writer Khushwant Singh, who at the time was the editor of “The Illustrated Weekly of India”. He says “By May 1975 public protests against Mrs. Gandhi’s government had assumed nationwide dimensions and often turned violent. With my own eyes I saw slogan-chanting processions go down Bombay thoroughfares smashing cars parked on the roadsides and breaking shop-windows as they went along. Leaders of opposition parties watched the country sliding into chaos as bemused spectators hoping that the mounting chaos would force Mrs. Gandhi to resign.”

From the above arguments it is clear that Mrs. Gandhi was a power-hungry woman who imposed the emergency to safeguard her own political and personal interests. And the only beneficiary of this unfortunate period was her son Sanjay Gandhi.

The Man and His Mission

One of the most controversial figures in Indian politics, Sanjay Gandhi has often been accused of being the mastermind behind the atrocities committed during the emergency. It is widely believed that, through his associate Jagmohan, he ordered the demolition of Slums in Delhi’s Turkman Gate area. To make matters worse, both Sanjay and Indira Gandhi developed a Twenty-Point program which advertised the “salient features”.

However, the most controversial agenda was the implementation of a family-planning programme. This programme was a result of Sanjay Gandhi's so-called "vision" to contain population growth in this country. Officially, this exercise was supposed to be a voluntary one for both men and women. However, there were reports that government officials were forcing young unmarried men, the poor and in some cases even political opponents.

That Sanjay had a dictatorial streak in his personality is evident, as he frequently used to order Cabinet ministers and other government officials. In one famous case I. K. Gujral, the then minister for information and broadcasting, was forced to resign after he refused to obey Sanjay Gandhi's orders. Inder Malhotra remarked, "His ways were rude and crude. He had a knack of attracting riff-raff and roughnecks to him. But none of this prevented Congressmen, high and low, from fawning on him and swearing "eternal loyalty" to his mother and her family."

However Khushwant Singh calls him a "lovable goonda". He says "In some ways he epitomised the slogan he had coined: Kaam ziyaada, baatein kum – work more, talk less. He was a young man in a hurry to get things done. He had no patience with tedious democratic processes and red tape, no time for long-winded politicians or bureaucrats. The fact that he had no legitimacy for imposing his fiats on the country besides being the son of the prime minister was of little consequence to him."

The fact that till today his name evokes fear among the public shows the notoriety in his personality. Also from the above the analysis it is evident that he showed utter contempt towards democratic institutions and would go to any extent to subvert them. In fact, it is said that Sanjay Gandhi was "furious" when Indira Gandhi decided to end the Emergency.

However, in spite of all his fallacies there is one contribution that Sanjay Gandhi gave to the nation: the Maruti car. It was envisioned as a cheap, affordable and indigenous car that the middle class could afford. Today it is India's leading automobile company. However, even this car project had its share of controversy. The manner in which the land was acquired was questionable and there were serious doubts that the project might be shelved after the test version of the car failed.

The Impact

In addition to the common man, the judiciary and the media bore the maximum brunt of the excesses of the emergency. The Constitution, which is the most sacred document of any functioning democracy, was subverted in the most ruthless manner possible. Indira Gandhi ensured that all proclamations and ordinances were not subjected to judicial review. She amended the Representation of the People Act and two other laws in such a retrospective manner to ensure that the Supreme Court had no other option but to overturn the Allahabad High Court verdict. As senior advocate Arun Jaitley laments "The judiciary which had already been made pliable by the super sessions in 1973 was the main victim. The Supreme Court by a majority of four to one held that a person could be arrested or detained without legitimate grounds and there was no remedy in the law courts since all Fundamental Rights were

suspended. The attorney-general of India argued for the government that a citizen could be killed illegally and no remedy was available since there were no Fundamental Rights of the citizen anymore.” She misused Article 356 to dismiss the opposition governments in Gujarat and Tamil Nadu.

The fourth estate of democracy i.e. the media was also not spared. Censorship was imposed on newspapers and barring a few, like *The Indian Express*, no other newspaper had the courage to defy the censorship orders. When the Delhi edition appeared on June 28, *The Indian Express* carried a blank first editorial and the *Financial Express* reproduced in large type Rabindranth Tagore’s poem “Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high” concluding with the prayer “Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.”

In fact, Ramnath Goenka, the daring proprietor of the newspaper, explains the ordeal in his own words. “The government, acting under the personal directions of Indira Gandhi, abused its authority and subverted lawful processes to liquidate me and my group of companies economically and make me an object of public ridicule and shame. One of the prime minister’s first acts on 26th June 1975 was to remove her mild-mannered and democratically inclined Information minister I. K. Gujral and replace him with Vidya Charan Shukla, who she thought would better serve her Goebbelsian design.”

This censorship also had its lighter sides. Vinod Mehta, who edited the sleazy girlie magazine *Debonair* from Bombay, was asked to have his articles and pictures cleared before they were sent to the printer. The censor looked over the pages. Porn? Theek hai! Politics no.” Most of it was soft porn. It was quickly cleared!!

For the press, the emergency was a cruel reminder that the State can snatch its freedom arbitrarily. Hence, soon after the emergency ended, the Press Council of India was formed whose main aim was to safeguard the freedom of the press and to maintain and improve the standards of newspapers and news agencies in the country.

The emergency was a 19-month ordeal, which finally came to an end on January 23rd 1977; Indira Gandhi called for fresh elections and the release of all political prisoners. It was a courageous decision, considering the fact that she was under no visible compulsion to do so. It was a decision that would start a period of darkness for herself, her son Sanjay Gandhi and his coterie. However, this period would be short-lived as she staged a spectacular comeback in 1980.

The Aftermath and the Comeback

Soon after the withdrawal of the emergency, general elections were declared in the country. The Congress was reduced to just 153 seats in the Lok Sabha and the Janata Party led by Morarji Desai came to power. It was the first time a non-Congress government that assumed leadership of the country. Both Indira Gandhi and her son Sanjay lost their seats. Thus began the darkest period in Indira Gandhi’s political career.

The government constituted the Shah Commission to probe into the excesses committed during the emergency. It recorded that highhanded and arbitrary actions had been carried out with impunity during the Emergency. In its report the commission recorded “without the awareness of what is right and a desire to act according to what is right, there may be no realisation of what is wrong”. Indira Gandhi herself was arrested on a number of charges including misuse of her official and another case related to deriving illegal benefits in connection with procurement of jeeps for election purposes. The arrest of Indira Gandhi was a dramatic affair to say the least. The officer in-charge at that time, Mr. N.K. Singh in his memoirs “The Plain truth”, records that he and his team had to take her to Badhkal, a tourist resort on the outskirts of Delhi, fearing that there might be a backlash in Delhi. However, this phase in her life would come to an end soon as the courts acquitted her. And in 1978, she re-started her political journey by contesting a by-election from Chikmanglur in Karnataka. Meanwhile, the weaknesses of the Morarji-Desai government were being slowly exposed. The basis of the formation of the Janata Party was only one: to remove Indira Gandhi from power, whatever the cost. It was this very factor that led to its break-up and their subsequent ouster from power. (Emergency: The Darkest Period in Indian Democracy-The Views paper)

SECESSIONISM

Secession in India typically refers to state secession, which is the withdrawal of one or more states from the Union of India. Some have argued for secession as a natural right of revolution. Some state movements seek secession from India itself and the formation of a new nation from one or more states. Their underlying root causes are invariably to be found in political, socio-economic, or religious domains; their nature and scope depending upon the nature of the grievances, motivations and demands of the people. In all, an estimated 30 armed insurgency movements are sweeping across India, reflecting an acute sense of alienation on the part of the people involved. Broadly, these can be divided into movements for political rights (e.g. Kashmir and Khalistan [Punjab]) and Assam, movements for social and economic justice (e.g. Maoist [Naxalite] and north-eastern states), and religious grounds (e.g. Laddakh). These causes overlap at times.

Many separatist movements Exist with thousands of members however with Moderate local support and high voter participation in the democratic elections. The Khalistan movement in Punjab was active in the 1980s and the 1990s is now considered dead within India however majority of Sikhs living out of India support the movement. Smaller-scale insurgency has occurred in North-East India, in the states of Tripura, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Manipur, Assam and Nagaland.

India has introduced several Armed Forces, Special Powers Acts (AFSPA) to put down separatist movements in certain parts of the country. The law was first enforced in Manipur and later enforced in other insurgency-ridden north-eastern states. It was extended to most parts of Indian-occupied Kashmir in 1990 after the outbreak of armed insurgency in 1989. Each Act

gives soldiers immunity in specified regions against prosecution unless the Indian government gives prior sanction for such prosecution. The government maintains that the AFSPA is necessary to restore normalcy in regions like Kashmir and Manipur.

Kashmir

Before the Partition of British India, Jammu and Kashmir was an independent Princely state ruled by Dogra rulers. According to the 2011 census, Islam is practiced by about 68.3% of the state population; while 28.4% follow Hinduism and small minorities follow Sikhism (1.9%), Buddhism (0.9%) and Christianity (0.3%). During the process of Indian independence (and the Partition), regions of British India with Muslim majority populations become part of the Muslim majority state of Pakistan. Hari Singh, the Ruler of Kashmir at that time, chose to retain Kashmir's Independent status - a sentiment apparently shared by the general populace. However, immediately after the Partition of British India the tribesmen from Gilgit revolted against the Hindu Maharaja, allegedly backed and later joined by Pakistan in an attempt to assimilate Kashmir as part of the Pakistani state. The Maharaja of Kashmir asked India for military help for which Nehru, the Prime Minister of India then, laid down a condition that Kashmir has to become part Indian state. When Pakistan's army came deep into Kashmir, the Maharaja agreed to Nehru's condition. Over the course of the conflict, Pakistan gained control over Gilgit and some parts of Kashmir and eventually created a state called Azad Kashmir; India gained control of the rest of Kashmir, creating the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This would eventually result in the ongoing conflict between Pakistan and India over the Kashmir Valley. India has stationed a large number of troops in the state and has been accused of human rights violations in the state through the use of extreme violence against nationalist Kashmiris in order to systematically subdue the populace. Moreover, India's military forces in Jammu and Kashmir operate under emergency powers granted to them by the central government. These powers allow the military to curtail civil liberties, creating further support for the insurgency.

Indian Punjab: Khalistan

The Khalistan movement aimed to create a separate Sikh country. The territorial definition of the proposed country ranges from the Punjab state of India to the greater Punjab region, including the Indian Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Northern Districts of Rajasthan such as Sri Ganganagar and Hanumangarh. The movement was mainly active in the Punjab state of India from the 1970s to the early 1990s.

After the partition of India, the majority of the Sikhs migrated from the Pakistani part to the Indian province of Punjab, which then included the parts of the present-day Haryana and Himachal Pradesh. Following India's independence in 1947, The Punjabi Suba Movement led by the Sikh political party Akali Dal led to the trifurcation of the Punjab state. The remnant Punjab state became Sikh-majority and Punjabi-majority. Subsequently, a section of the Sikh leaders started demanding more autonomy for the states, alleging that the Central government was discriminating against Punjab. Although the Akali Dal explicitly

opposed the demand for an independent Sikh country, the issues raised by it were used as a premise for the creation of a separate country by the proponents of Khalistan.

In June 1984, the Indian Government ordered a military operation, Operation Blue Star to clear Harmandir Sahib, Amritsar and thirty other Gurdwaras (Sikh Place of Worship) of armed terrorists who were desecrating Gurudwaras by using those as sanctuary. The Indian Army used 3,000 armed troops of the 9th Division of the National Security Guards, 175 Parachute Regiment and artillery units, and 700 CRPF Jawans. During this operation, Indian army had around 83+ casualties with 220 injuries, and 200- 250 Sikh militants were killed. The CBI is considered responsible for seizing historical artefacts from Sikh Reference Library, and burning the empty library afterwards. The handling of the operation, damage to the Holy shrine and loss of life on both sides, led to widespread criticism of the Indian Government. The Indian government did this under complete media blockage. However, the eyewitness accounts of survivors revealed the real picture to public. This led to widespread distrust and anger against Indian government and primarily the Indian Prime minister. The Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by her two Sikh bodyguards in retaliation. Following her death, thousands of Sikhs were massacred in the 1984 anti-Sikh riots, termed as genocide by the Sikh groups. The subsequent Punjab insurgency saw several secessionist militant groups becoming active in Punjab, supported by a section of the Sikh Diaspora. Indian security forces suppressed the insurgency in the early 1990s, but Sikh political groups such as the Khalsa Raj Party and SAD (A) continued to pursue an independent Khalistan through non-violent means. Pro-Khalistan organisations such as Dal Khalsa (International) are also active outside India, supported by a section of the Sikh Diaspora.

Assam

The militant organisation United Liberation Front of Assam demands a separate country for the Assamese people. The Government of India had banned the ULFA in 1990 and has officially labelled it as a terrorist group, whereas the US State Department lists it under "Other groups of concern". Military operations against it by the Indian Army that began in 1990 continue until present. In the past two decades some 10,000 people have died in the clash between the rebels and the government. The Assamese secessionists have protested against the illegal migration from the neighbouring regions. Since the mid-20th century, people from present-day Bangladesh (then known as East Pakistan) have been migrating to Assam. In 1961, the Government of Assam passed a legislation making use of Assamese language compulsory; It had to be withdrawn later under pressure from Bengali speaking people in Cachar. In the 1980s the Brahmaputra valley saw a six-year Assam agitation triggered by the discovery of a sudden rise in registered voters on electoral rolls.

The Muslim United Liberation Tigers of Assam (MULTA), established in 1996, advocates a separate country for the Muslims of the region. The United People's Democratic Solidarity (UPDS) demands a sovereign nation for the Karbi people. It was formed in March 1999 with the merger of two militant outfits in Assam's Karbi Anglong district, the Karbi

National Volunteers (KNV) and Karbi People's Front (KPF). The United People's Democratic Solidarity signed a cease-fire agreement for one year with the Union Government on 23 May 2002. However, this led to a split in the UPDS with one faction deciding to continue with its subversive activities while the other commenced negotiations with the Government.

V.P.SINGH

Vishwanath Pratap Singh was an Indian political leader who served as the eighth Prime Minister of India from 1989-90. He holds an important place in the history of Indian politics mainly for trying to improve the lot of India's lower castes during his tenure as the Prime Minister. He worked his way in the Indian politics through his keen sense of judgment and sheer conviction. He served at various significant positions in the cabinet of Indian National Congress throughout the 1970s and 1980s. After he resigned from the post of defence minister and left the Congress Party following Rajiv Gandhi's interference with his decisions, he worked hard to bring together a coalition of the Left parties and the BJP against the Rajiv Gandhi government. He united several small parties and formed a coalition government which won the 1989 elections. But the coalition was soon split by disputes having to do with religious and caste issues - Bhartiya Janta Party withdrew its support, and he was forced to resign from his post. Even though he served for a short span, he is always remembered as a bold politician who took firm decisions and constantly worked towards upliftment of backward classes and Dalits.

Childhood & Early Life

V. P. Singh was born on June 25, 1931 in the Rajput Gahawar (Rathore) zamindar family of Daiya to Raja Bhagwati Prasad Singh. In 1936, he was adopted by Raja Bahadur Ram Gopal Singh; the ruler of Manda. He received his formal education from Colonel Brown Cambridge School, Dehra Dun, and later studied at the Allahabad and Pune (Poona) universities. In 1947-48, he served as the President of the Students Union at Udai Pratap College, Varanasi, and later became the Vice President of Allahabad University Students Union.

Career

In 1969, he joined the Indian National Congress Party and became a Member of the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradesh. In 1971, he won the Lok Sabha elections and became a Member of Parliament. In 1974, he was elected the Union Deputy Minister of Commerce and from November 1976 to March 1977, he served as the Union State Minister of Commerce.

In 1980, he was appointed the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, a post he held until 1982. During his tenure, he worked hard to eradicate the dacoit problem in south-western Uttar Pradesh.

In 1983, he resumed his post as Minister of Commerce in the cabinet. He also held additional charge of the Department of Supply and became the Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha).

In September 1984, he was elected President of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee. Upon the death of Indira Gandhi in October 1984, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi appointed him the Union Finance Minister on December 31, 1984.

In January 1987, he was transferred to the post of minister of defense but he resigned from Gandhi's cabinet later that year, after his investigations of arms-procurement fraud were squelched. Soon afterwards, he resigned from the government altogether and left the Congress Party. After resigning as a Congress cabinet minister, he established an opposition party called 'Jan Morcha'. He was elected to Lok Sabha once again in the tightly contested by-election in Allahabad.

Thereafter he founded the Janata Dal (JD), a merger of small centrist opposition parties - Jan Morcha, Janata Party, Lok Dal, and Congress (S). With the help of Janata Dal, he soon assembled a larger nationwide opposition coalition called the National Front (NF), which contested the general parliamentary elections of November 1989 alongside BJP and the Communist parties.

National Front won the elections and he became the Prime Minister of India on December 2, 1989. After the state legislative elections in March 1990, his governing coalition achieved control of both houses of India's parliament. During his tenure as the Prime Minister, on the recommendation of the **Mandal Commission**, he passed a fixed quota reservation for all jobs in public sector for people falling under the historically disadvantaged "Other Backward classes" (OBC). This resulted in strong objection from non-OBC youths in urban areas of North India.

He was ousted when BJP withdrew support to the National Front government after its leader L.K. Advani was arrested on Singh's orders during a Rath Yatra that supported a construction of a Ram Mandir at Ayodhya. He resigned on November 7, 1990, after receiving a vote of no confidence in the Lok Sabha. Later he toured India giving public lectures and speeches concerning social justice and pursued his artistic interests, especially painting. But after he was diagnosed with cancer in 1998, he stopped making public appearances.

On November 27, 2008, he died after a long struggle with multiple myeloma (bone marrow cancer) and renal failure in Delhi, India. He was cremated on the banks of the River Ganges in Allahabad.

Mandal Commission Report-Anti-Mandal Agitation

Mandal Commission was set up in 1978 by Morarji Desai government to identify the socially or educationally backward classes to consider the question of seat reservations and

quotas for people to redress caste discrimination, and used eleven social, economic, and educational indicators to determine backwardness. It was chaired by B. P. Mandal. The commission submitted the report to the president on December 30, 1980. It recommended 27% reservation quota for OBC resulting in total 49.5% quota in government jobs and public universities. V.P. Singh, the Prime Minister at the time, tried to implement its recommendations in August 1990 which led to protests.

Protests

These protests were against giving government jobs to certain castes on basis of birth rather than merit of the candidate. These protests closed roads, highways, transportation services, government services, schools, and businesses of India. Anti-reservationists protested. Student protests were planned publicly, and in advance. Protest events were photographed for many published articles of newspapers locally and nationally. Protests began during the year when the eleven-year-old Mandal Commission was opened to bring into effect new government employment opportunities, reservation for backwards classes.

Between the failure to effectively control the political cost of the protests escalating enough to close parts of the nation, and an eleven-year-old human rights improvement project, were causes that ultimately led to accepting the resignation of the Janata Dal party's Prime Minister of India, V. P. Singh. Most likely, the protests were comparable to a globally largest, unified national demonstration of a labour union strike combined with a version of a race riot.

Culturally unique features of the protests and riots were bandhs (a version of a strike), hartals (a version of a municipal shut-down), dharnas (a version of swarming). Incidents of destruction of public property, looting, and intimidation for bandhs, hartals and dharnas were published and listed geographically as travel information in newspaper articles. Articles also highlighted politicians and victims of rioting during the protests. Although not advisable, late summer travel by airline and vehicle during the protests was possible without delays, between capitals New Delhi and Chandigarh, and Shimla for example. Police prevented extending the range and duration of the strikes, and some strike activity from even occurring. A national state of emergency was largely not declared to mobilize army units against any one demonstration. The strike helped to give large popularity to Mandal Commission report and fueled the political grouping of the OBC castes, which later helped a lot for the strengthening of regional political parties and stronger parties other than Congress and BJP.

Self immolations

Rajiv Goswami

Rajiv Goswami was the first student to attempt self-immolation while a student at Delhi University in October, 1990 to protest against Prime Minister V.P. Singh's implementation of the Mandal Commission laws for Affirmative Action (reservation) recommendations. His action sparked a series of self-immolations by college students and led to a formidable movement against job reservations for backward castes, as recommended by the Mandal Commission.^[4]

Surinder Singh Chauhan

Surinder Singh Chauhan was the first student to perform self-immolation while an evening student of Deshbandhu College (Delhi University) on September 24, 1990 to protest against implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendation for reservation to candidates based on birth. He left a suicide note stating that "The responsibility for my death lies with those people who consider reservation a vote bank, people like V.P. Paswan, Yadav ...

COMMUNALISM AND VIOLENCE

The 20th Century has come to a close and we are in not only a new century but also a new millennium. It would, therefore, be interesting to take stock of the communal trend and communal violence in India, particularly in the last 69 years since India became free. There is no doubt that communalism is a modern phenomenon and began with the establishment of British rule in India. All historians and social scientists agree with this. Communal politics is closely associated with electoral politics and as the base of electoral politics widened in the 20th Century, communalism and communal violence also intensified. The British introduced electoral reforms in the early 20th Century to counter the nationalist movement but at the same time tried to widen the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims. Separate electorates were a deliberate and mischievous measure. It would not be unrealistic to maintain that had separate electorates not been introduced, part of India would not have been divided. Partition was the greatest tragedy for India and it left permanent scars on the Indian psyche and nourished a communal mindset.

Partition was not basically brought about by religious differences but by differences between the elite of the two communities on a power-sharing arrangement. The Muslim elite led by Jinnah demanded more representation in Parliament than the Muslim population warranted. The Muslims were 25% of the population but Jinnah and his followers insisted that Muslims be given 1/3rd representation in Parliament. Jinnah was apprehensive that if Muslim representation was less, the Congress would change the agreed constitutional arrangement. The Cabinet Mission Plan which was a better solution to the political tangle did not work because of mutual suspicions.

After the formation of Pakistan, it was thought that the communal problem had been resolved and that independent India would not inherit it. The Indian Constitution not only guaranteed religious and political rights for the minorities but also declared India a secular state (though the word 'secular' was not used in the Constitution until 1975). It was also thought by eminent leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru that with the spread of a scientific education, a secular mindset would develop. This proved a simplistic assumption. As democratic politics is nothing if not competitive, communal trends re-emerged in post-independence India. The post-Partition riots continued up to 1949. The Constitution was framed and enforced in 1950 and the first general elections took place in 1952. No major communal disturbances took place until 1961 when the Jabalpur riots shook the country. This was more a result of economic

competition between a Hindu and a Muslim bidi manufacturer than any electoral competition. But since it came so soon after the Partition, it was alleged that Pakistani spies were active in organising the riot and that instructions were being received by local Muslims on a hidden transmitter from Pakistan.

A series of riots broke out particularly in the eastern part of India - Rourkela, Jamshedpur and Ranchi - in 1964, 1965 and 1967, in places where Hindu refugees from the then Eastern Pakistan were being settled. Hindu communal organisations exploited their tales of woe to incite communal passions. The riot in 1967 in Ranchi took place on the question of Urdu. The CPI in Ranchi took out a procession pressing for recognition of Urdu as a second language. The procession was attacked and communal riots broke out.

These were followed by the Ahmedabad riots in 1969 and those in Bhivandi-Jalgaon in 1970. The Ahmedabad riots shook the conscience of the nation. More than 1,000 people perished. The main cause was intense opposition to Indira Gandhi's leftward thrust by the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra Party. The Jan Sangh was at its aggressive best and it was in 1968 that it passed a resolution on Indianisation of Muslims. The gravity of the issue can be gauged from the fact that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan who was then in India for treatment and Jayaprakash Narayan together formed an organisation called "Insani Biradari" (Human Brotherhood) and organised a number of conventions to promote communal harmony. The 1970 Bhivandi-Jalgaon riots were equally cataclysmic and were provoked by the Shiv Sena which was trying to establish itself in Maharashtra.

Communal violence erupted again in 1978 when the Janata Party was in power in the post-Emergency period. The Jan Sangh had merged with other socialist parties to form the Janata Party and took an oath to follow secularism and Gandhian socialism. But soon socialist leaders such as Raj Narain, Madhu Limaye and others raised the dual membership controversy and the Jan Sangh leaders refused to resign from the RSS and the Janata Party Government led by Morarji Desai fell. It was when the dual membership controversy was at its height that communal violence broke out at a number of places such as Jamshedpur, Aligarh and Benaras. But the worst was to follow.

It was during the Eighties that the worst happened in terms of communal violence. A series of riots took place beginning with Moradabad in 1980. The Eighties can be designated the communal decade in the history of post-independence India. Moradabad was followed by Bihar Sharif in 1981 besides Meerut and Baroda. In Moradabad, the unofficial toll was over 1000. In Bihar Sharif, Indira Gandhi could not hold back her tears when she saw a truckload of bodies. The Baroda riots were no less disastrous in terms of loss of life. But Neli in Assam broke all records with 4,000 people dead in communal violence which broke out in 1983. Village after village was wiped out. The main sufferers were the so-called Bangladeshi Muslims.

The Neli riots were followed by two major riots in 1984 - the Bhivandi-Bombay riots of May and the anti-Sikh riots of November after Indira Gandhi was assassinated. More than 4000

Sikhs were killed in Delhi and other parts of India, particularly Uttar Pradesh. In the Bombay-Bhivandi riots the Shiv Sena was mainly involved. Mr. Bal Thackeray provoked these riots with his anti-Muslim outburst to revive the political fortunes of the Shiv Sena which had lost its appeal. It jumped on the Hindutva bandwagon to revive its fortunes. The Meenakshipuram conversion of a few hundred dalits had given a boost to the VHP and the controversy was fully exploited to boost the appeal of Hindutva forces. Indira Gandhi also allegedly tried to use the VHP for enhancing her dwindling appeal among the Hindus.

The Shah Bano controversy in 1985 made waves in India and Muslim fundamentalists and political leaders exploited this judgment about maintenance of a Muslim divorcee. This gave a boost to both Hindu and Muslim communalism. After the Meenakshipuram conversions, the Shah Bano case was the most major communal controversy. Both these controversies became powerful tools for intensifying communalism in the Eighties. This was followed by the Babri Masjid-Ram Janmabhoomi controversy. The Rajiv Gandhi Government gave a boost to it by changing the law for Muslim divorcees, on the one hand, and by opening the doors of the Babri Masjid, on the other. Several riots took place after this - Meerut 1987 and Bhagalpur 1989.

It was in 1990 that Mr. L. K. Advani took out a Rath yatra which turned into a blood yatra and more than 300 small and big riots took place that year. It appeared as if communal chauvinism had gripped the middle classes. The BJP boosted its vote-catching capacity by using this controversy. The final disaster of the 20th Century communal violence occurred in December 1992 when despite assurances to the contrary the BJP, the RSS, the VHP and the Bajrang Dal demolished the Babri Masjid. This was followed by the worst riots of post-independence India - in Mumbai, Surat, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Delhi and other places.

It can be said that communal violence touched its apogee in 1992- 93 and nothing worse could happen thereafter, at least in the 20th Century. Let us hope that in the new millennium religion will not be misused politically and it will become an important resource for peace rather than an instrument for hatred and conflict. (Asghar Ali Engineer)

BABRI MASJID ISSUE

The **Babri Masjid** (*Mosque of Babur*), was a mosque in Ayodhya, India. Located in Faizabad district, it was one of the largest mosques in the Uttar Pradesh state. According to the mosque's inscriptions, it was built in 1528–29 CE (935 AH) by Mir Baqi, on orders of the Mughal emperor Babur (after whom it is named).

The mosque was located on a hill known as Ramkot ("Rama's fort"). According to a section of Hindus, the Mughals destroyed a structure marking the birthplace of Rama (Ram Janmabhoomi) to build the mosque, a claim denied by the Muslims. The political, historical and socio-religious debate over the history of the site and whether a previous temple was demolished or modified to create it, is known as the Ayodhya dispute.

Starting in the 19th century, there were several conflicts and court disputes between Hindus and Muslims over the mosque. On 6 December 1992, the demolition of the Babri

Masjid by militant Hindu nationalist groups triggered riots all over India, leading to around 2,000 deaths.

GUJARAT RIOTS/CAMAGE

The 2002 Gujarat riots, also known as the 2002 Gujarat violence and the Gujarat pogrom, was a three-day period of inter-communal violence in the western Indian state of Gujarat. Following the initial incident there were further outbreaks of violence in Ahmedabad for three weeks; state-wide, there were further outbreaks of communal riots against the minority Muslim population for three months. The burning of a train in Godhra on 27 February 2002, which caused the deaths of 58 Hindu pilgrims' karsevaks returning from Ayodhya, is believed to have triggered the violence.

According to official figures, the riots resulted in the deaths of 790 Muslims and 254 Hindus; 2,500 people were injured non-fatally, and 223 more were reported missing. Other sources estimate that up to 2,500 Muslims died. There were instances of rape, children being burned alive, and widespread looting and destruction of property. The Chief Minister at that time, Narendra Modi, has been accused of initiating and condoning the violence, as have police and government officials who allegedly directed the rioters and gave lists of Muslim-owned properties to them.

In 2012, Modi was cleared of complicity in the violence by a Special Investigation Team (SIT) appointed by the Supreme Court of India. The SIT also rejected claims that the state government had not done enough to prevent the riots. The Muslim community was reported to have reacted with anger and disbelief, although Teesta Setalvad of the Citizen for Peace and Justice stated that the legal process was not yet complete as there existed a right to appeal. In July 2013 allegations were made that the SIT had suppressed evidence. That December, an Indian court upheld the earlier SIT report and rejected a petition seeking Modi's prosecution. In April 2014, the Supreme Court expressed satisfaction over the SIT's investigations in nine cases related to the violence, and rejected as "baseless" a plea contesting the SIT report.

While officially classified as a communalist riot, the events of 2002 have been described as a pogrom by many scholars, with some commentators alleging that the attacks had been planned, were well orchestrated, and that the attack on the train was a "staged trigger" for what was actually premeditated violence. Other independent observers have stated that these events had met the "legal definition of genocide", and called it an instance of state terrorism. Still others have said the incidents were tantamount to ethnic cleansing. Instances of mass violence which occurred include the Naroda Patiya massacre that took place directly alongside a police training camp, the Gulbarg Society massacre where Ehsan Jafri, a former parliamentarian, was among those killed, and several incidents in Vadodara city. Martha Nussbaum has said, "There is by now a broad consensus that the Gujarat violence was a form of ethnic cleansing, that in many ways it was premeditated, and that it was carried out with the complicity of the state government and officers of the law.

INTER STATE WATER DISPUTES

Most rivers of India are plagued with interstate disputes. Almost all the major rivers of the country are inter-state rivers and their waters are shared by two or more than two states. After independence, demand for water had been increasing at an accelerated rate due to rapid growth of population, agricultural development, urbanisation, industrialisation, etc. These developments have led to several inter-state disputes about sharing of water of these rivers.

CAUVERY

The sharing of waters of the Cauvery River has been the source of a serious conflict between the two states of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The genesis of this conflict rests in two agreements in 1892 and 1924 between the erstwhile Madras Presidency and Princely State of Mysore. The 802 kilometres (498 mi) Cauvery River has 44,000 km² basin area in Tamil Nadu and 32,000 km² basin area in Karnataka. The inflow from Karnataka is 425 TMC ft whereas that from Tamil Nadu is 252 TMCft

Based on inflow Karnataka is demanding its due share of water from the river. It states that the pre-independence agreements are invalid and are skewed heavily in the favour of the Madras Presidency, and has demanded a renegotiated settlement based on "equitable sharing of the waters". Tamil Nadu, on the other hand, pleads that it has already developed almost 3,000,000 acres (12,000 km²) of land and as a result has come to depend very heavily on the existing pattern of usage. Any change in this pattern, it says, will adversely affect the livelihood of millions of farmers in the state.

Decades of negotiations between the parties bore no fruit. The Government of India then constituted a tribunal in 1990 to look into the matter. After hearing arguments of all the parties involved for the next 16 years, the tribunal delivered its final verdict on 5 February 2007. In its verdict, the tribunal allocated 419 TMC of water annually to Tamil Nadu and 270 TMC to Karnataka; 30 TMC of Cauvery river water to Kerala and 7 TMC to Pondicherry. Karnataka and Tamil Nadu being the major shareholders, Karnataka was ordered to release 192 TMC of water to Tamil Nadu in a normal year from June to May.

The dispute however, did not end there, as all four states decided to file review petitions seeking clarifications and possible renegotiation of the order.

MULLAPERIYAR

The Mullaperiyar Dam or Mullaiperiyar Dam is a masonry gravity dam on the Periyar River in the Indian state of Kerala. It is located 881 m (2,890 ft) above mean sea level, on the Cardamom Hills of the Western Ghats in Thekkady, Idukki District of Kerala, South India. It was constructed between 1887 and 1895 by John Pennycuik and also reached in an agreement to donate water eastwards to the Madras Presidency area (present-day Tamil Nadu). It has a height of 53.6 m (176 ft) from the foundation, and a length of 365.7 m (1,200 ft). The Periyar National Park in Thekkady is located around the dam's reservoir. The dam is located in Kerala on the river Periyar, but is operated and maintained by Tamil Nadu state.

Although the Periyar River has a total catchment area of 5398 km² with 114 km² in Tamil Nadu, the catchment area of the Mullaperiyar Dam itself lies entirely in Kerala.

The control and safety of the dam and the validity and fairness of the lease agreement have been points of **dispute between Kerala and Tamil Nadu states**. Supreme Court judgment came on 27 February 2006, allowing Tamil Nadu to raise the level of the dam to 152 ft (46 m) after strengthening it. Responding to it, Mullaperiyar dam was declared an 'endangered' scheduled dam by the Kerala Government under the disputed Kerala Irrigation and Water Conservation (Amendment) Act, 2006.

For Tamil Nadu, the Mullaperiyar dam and the diverted Periyar waters act as a lifeline for Theni, Madurai, Sivaganga and Ramnad districts, providing water for irrigation and drinking, and also for generation of power in Lower Periyar Power Station. Tamil Nadu has insisted on exercising its unfettered rights to control the dam and its waters, based on the 1886 lease agreement. Kerala has pointed out the unfairness in the 1886 lease agreement and has challenged its validity. However, safety concerns posed by the 119-year-old dam to the safety of the people of Kerala in the event of a dam collapse have been the focus of disputes from 2009 onwards. Kerala's proposal for decommissioning the dam and constructing a new one has been challenged by Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu has insisted on raising the water level in the dam to 142 feet, pointing out crop failures. One estimate states that "the crop loss to Tamil Nadu, because of the reduction in the height of the dam, between 1980 and 2005 is a whopping 40,000 crores. In the process the farmers of the erstwhile rain shadow areas in Tamil Nadu who had started a thrice yearly cropping pattern had to go back to the bi-annual cropping."

The Kerala Government maintains that this is not true. During the year 1979–80 the gross area cultivated in Periyar command area was 171,307 acres (693.25 km²). After the lowering of the level to 136 ft (41 m), the gross irrigated area increased and in 1994–95 it reached 229,718 acres (929.64 km²). The Tamil Nadu government had increased its withdrawal from the reservoir, with additional facilities to cater to the increased demand from newly irrigated areas.

In 2006, the Supreme Court of India by its decision by a three-member division bench, allowed for the storage level to be raised to 142 feet (43 m) pending completion of the proposed strengthening measures, provision of other additional vents and implementation of other suggestions.

However, the Kerala Government promulgated a new "Dam Safety Act" against increasing the storage level of the dam, which has been challenged by Tamil Nadu on various grounds. The Supreme Court issued notice to Kerala to respond, however did not stay the operation of the Act even as an interim measure. The Court then advised the States to settle the matter amicably, and adjourned hearing in order to enable them to do so. The Supreme Court of India termed the act as not unconstitutional. Meanwhile, the Supreme Court constituted a Constitution bench to hear the case considering its wide ramifications.

The Kerala Government states that it does not object to giving water to Tamil Nadu, their main cause of objection being the dam's safety as it is 116 years old. Increasing the level would add more pressure to be handled by already leaking dam. Tamil Nadu wants the 2006 order of Supreme Court be implemented so as to increase the water level to 142 feet (43 m).

In a 2000 Frontline edition, one author stated thus:

"For every argument raised by Tamil Nadu in support of its claims, there is counter-argument in Kerala that appears equally plausible. Yet, each time the controversy gets embroiled in extraneous issues, two things stand out: One is Kerala's refusal to acknowledge the genuine need of the farmers in the otherwise drought-prone regions of Tamil Nadu for the waters of the Mullaperiyar; the other is Tamil Nadu's refusal to see that it cannot rely on or continue to expect more and more from the resources of another State to satisfy its own requirements to the detriment of the other State. A solution perhaps lies in acknowledging the two truths, but neither government can afford the political repercussions of such a confession".

Tamil Nadu argues that the latter is similar to tax revenues unfairly distributed to underdeveloped states within India, to the detriment of the revenue producing states, i.e., a form of wealth distribution. What we see here is a microcosm of the bigger problem that India faces with China, which is building dams on Brahmaputra. In May 2014, Supreme Court of India declared Kerala Irrigation and Water Conservation (Amendment) Act, 2006 as unconstitutional. The Supreme Court on Wednesday struck down the law passed by the Kerala Assembly on the Mullaperiyar Dam that said that the water level cannot be increased beyond 135 feet. The court has ruled that Tamil Nadu can increase the water level to 142 feet.

The court has said that there is no threat to the safety of the dam. The apex court has set up a three-member committee to look into the restoration work at the dam and also advise safety and security measures.

The Kerala government's Dam safety Act of 2006 has been scrapped by the court. On February 20, 2015 Kerala Government Withdraws a plea seeking clarification on May 5, 2014 Judgement which the apex court had allowed the raising the water storage level of the dam to 142 feet and go before the three-member Mullaperiyar committee. The apex court had also rejected the plea for giving open court hearing and said there was no reason to interfere with the judgement of its five-judge Constitution Bench. In an application, the Tamil Nadu government said Kerala has defied the Supreme Court's judgments in "letter and spirit". Without mincing words, it accused the Kerala government of harassment by denying Tamil Nadu officials free entry to carry out routine periodical maintenance and repairs of the dam. The application wants the Supreme Court to direct Kerala government to allow free access to Tamil Nadu officials to the dam and its appurtenant structures to collect data and change the weekly chart in the Mullakodi rainfall station. It said the court should direct Kerala to allow Tamil Nadu to transport the machinery and materials required for carrying out repairs.

Justice A.S. Anand Committee (The Empowered Committee)

On 18 February 2010, the Supreme Court decided to constitute a five-member empowered committee to study all the issues of Mullaperiyar Dam and seek a report from it within six months. The Bench in its draft order said Tamil Nadu and Kerala would have the option to nominate a member each, who could be either a retired judge or a technical expert. The five-member committee will be headed by former Chief Justice of India A. S. Anand to go into all issues relating to the dam's safety and the storage level. However, the then ruling party of Tamil Nadu, DMK, passed a resolution that it not only oppose the apex court's decision to form the five-member committee, but also said that the state government will not nominate any member to it.

The then Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi said that immediately after the Supreme Court announced its decision to set up a committee, he had written to Congress president asking the Centre to mediate between Kerala and Tamil Nadu on Mullaperiyar issue. However, the then Leader of Opposition i.e., the present Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu J. Jayalalithaa objected to the TN Government move. She said that this would give advantage to Kerala in the issue. Meanwhile, Kerala Water Resources Minister N. K. Premachandran told the state Assembly that the State should have the right of construction, ownership, operation and maintenance of the new dam, while giving water to Tamil Nadu on the basis of a clear cut agreement. He also informed the media that Former Supreme Court Judge Mr. K. T. Thomas will represent Kerala on the expert panel constituted by Supreme Court.

On 8 March 2010, Tamil Nadu told the Supreme Court that it was not interested in adjudicating the dispute with Kerala before the special "empowered" committee appointed by the apex court for settling the inter-State issue. However, Supreme Court refused to accept Tamil Nadu's request to scrap the decision to form the empowered committee. The Supreme Court also criticized the Union Government on its reluctance in funding the empowered committee.

Setting at rest the controversy over the safety of the 116-year-old Mullaperiyar dam, the Empowered Committee, headed by the former Chief Justice of India A.S. Anand, has said it is "structurally and hydrologically safe and Tamil Nadu can raise the water level from 136 to 142 feet after carrying out certain repairs."

In its report submitted to the Supreme Court on 25 April 2012, the committee is understood to have said: "The dam is seismically safe." Last year's earth tremors in that region "did not have any impact on the Mullaperiyar dam and the Idukki reservoir and there was no danger to the safety of the two dams."

Construction of a new dam

Kerala enacted the *Kerala Irrigation and Water Conservation (Amendment) Act, 2006* to ensure safety of all 'endangered' dams in the State, listed in the second schedule to the Act. Section 62A of the Act provides for listing in the schedule, "details of the dams which are endangered on account of their age, degeneration, degradation, structural or other impediments

as are specified". The second schedule to the Act lists Mullaperiyar (dam) constructed in 1895 and fixes 136 feet as its maximum water level. The Act empowers *Kerala Dam Safety Authority* (Authority specified in the Act) to oversee safety of dams in the State and sec 62(e) empowers the Authority to direct the custodian (of a dam) "to suspend the functioning of any dam, to decommission any dam or restrict the functioning of any dam if public safety or threat to human life or property, so require". The Authority can conduct periodical inspection of any dam listed in the schedule.

In pursuance of Kerala's dam safety law declaring Mullaperiyar dam as an endangered dam, in September 2009, the Ministry of Environment and Forests of Government of India granted environmental clearance to Kerala for conducting survey for new dam downstream. Tamil Nadu approached Supreme Court for a stay order against the clearance; however, the plea was rejected. Consequently, the survey was started in October 2009. On 9 September 2009 Govt. of Tamil Nadu stated that there is no need for construction of a new dam by the Kerala Government, as the existing dam after it is strengthened, functions like a new dam.

In May 2014, Supreme Court of India ruled that Water level in the dam can be increased from 136 ft to 142 ft. It also struck down Kerala Irrigation Water Conservation Act and declares it unconstitutional.

DEVELOPMENT PARADIGMS AND SOCIAL ISSUES

Chipko movement

In the 1970s, an organized resistance to the destruction of forests spread throughout India and came to be known as the Chipko movement. The name of the movement comes from the word 'embrace', as the villagers hugged the trees, and prevented the contractors' from felling them.

Not many people know that over the last few centuries many communities in India have helped save nature. One such is the Bishnoi community of Rajasthan. The original 'Chipko movement' was started around 260 years back in the early part of the 18th century in Rajasthan by this community. A large group of them from 84 villages led by a lady called Amrita Devi laid down their lives in an effort to protect the trees from being felled on the orders of the *Maharaja* (King) of Jodhpur. After this incident, the *maharaja* gave a strong royal decree preventing the cutting of trees in all Bishnoi villages.

In the 20th century, it began in the hills where the forests are the main source of livelihood, since agricultural activities cannot be carried out easily. The Chipko movement of 1973 was one of the most famous among these. The first Chipko action took place spontaneously in April 1973 in the village of Mandal in the upper Alakananda valley and over the next five years spread to many districts of the Himalayas in Uttar Pradesh. It was sparked off by the government's decision to allot a plot of forest area in the Alaknanda valley to a sports goods company. This angered the villagers because their similar demand to use wood for

making agricultural tools had been earlier denied. With encouragement from a local NGO (non-governmental organization), DGSS (Dasoli Gram Swarajya Sangh), the women of the area, under the leadership of an activist, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, went into the forest and formed a circle around the trees preventing the men from cutting them down.

The success achieved by this protest led to similar protests in other parts of the country. From their origins as a spontaneous protest against logging abuses in Uttar Pradesh in the Himalayas, supporters of the Chipko movement, mainly village women, have successfully banned the felling of trees in a number of regions and influenced natural resource policy in India. Dhoom Singh Negi, Bachni Devi and many other village women, were the first to save trees by hugging them. They coined the slogan: 'What do the forests bear? Soil, water and pure air'. The success of the Chipko movement in the hills saved thousands of trees from being felled.

Some other persons have also been involved in this movement and have given it proper direction. Mr Sunderlal Bahuguna, a Gandhian activist and philosopher, whose appeal to Mrs Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India, resulted in the green-felling ban. Mr Bahuguna coined the Chipko slogan: 'ecology is permanent economy'. Mr Chandi Prasad Bhatt is another leader of the Chipko movement. He encouraged the development of local industries based on the conservation and sustainable use of forest wealth for local benefit. Mr Ghanasyam Raturi, the Chipko poet, whose songs echo throughout the Himalayas of Uttar Pradesh, wrote a poem describing the method of embracing the trees to save them from felling:

*'Embrace the trees and
Save them from being felled;
The property of our hills,
Save them from being looted.'*

The Chipko protests in Uttar Pradesh achieved a major victory in 1980 with a 15-year ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests of that state by the order of Mrs Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister of India. Since then, the movement has spread to many states in the country. In addition to the 15-year ban in Uttar Pradesh, the movement has stopped felling in the Western Ghats and the Vindhyas and has generated pressure for a natural resource policy that is more sensitive to people's needs and ecological requirements.

NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN

Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) is a social movement consisting of adivasis, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists against a number of large dams being built across the Narmada River, which flows through the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, all in India. Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat is one of the biggest dams on the river and was one of the first focal points of the movement. Their mode of campaign includes court actions, hunger strikes, rallies, and garnering support from notable

film and art personalities. Narmada Bachao Andolan, with its leading spokespersons Medha Patkar and Baba Amte, received the Right Livelihood Award in 1991.

DALIT-ADIVASI STRUGGLES

The human struggle for ownership of a plot of land is perhaps as old as humanity itself, and the situation isn't any different in Kerala; a picturesque, beautiful state in the southern part of India. Cuddled between the Arabian Sea and the lush green mountains of the Western Ghats, Kerala is often extolled for its high literacy rate (95.5 percent), radical land reform policies and the highest human development index in India (0.790 as of March, 2014). Kerala is also glorified as the holy land of tourism or as "God's own country" – a slogan advertised for exploiting tourism potentials in the state. However, if one moves away from the glamorous world of tourism and other extolling factors, and penetrates deeper into the socio-political and economic structures that drive Kerala's society, what one gets to see is the exclusion and marginalisation of the Adivasis (the indigenous communities) and the Dalits (the lowest group in the caste hierarchy), especially when it comes to the issue of land ownership.

Until the late 50s, the centuries old Janmi-Kudiyani (landlord-tenant) landholding system that prevailed in Kerala, accentuated by an oppressive caste system, had pushed the Adivasis and the Dalits into adimai (servitude/slavery), dispossession and displacement, which then compelled them to pawn their dignity and their human rights at the feet of a caste-based society. The Janmi-Kudiyani system offered no laws to protect the kudiyruppu or the kudikidappukaran (cultivating tenant/homesteads) from eviction. The social customs prevalent then gave pre-emptive powers to the Janmis to evict the Kudiyans at will which often led to human rights violations against them. The Kudiyans, who were mere cultivators in the land leased to them for Pattom or Verum Pattom, had in fact no legal protection against such evictions.

Innumerable malpractices like untouchability, inapproachability and unseeability were widely practiced by the Namboothiris (upper caste Kerala Brahmins). Many practices were based on the idea of purity, which gave rise to the widespread practice of theendal (pollution). The Adivasis and Dalits were neither allowed to enter schools and temples nor allowed to use any public services. The women of these ostracized sections of the society were specifically prevented from wearing blouses to cover their chests.

Resistance against an oppressive system

The unjust practices in the caste system led to numerous dissenting voices that sprang from Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, (the three major regions that were later merged to form the Kerala state). The resistance movements against the oppressive system also involved the leadership of several social reformers and political thinkers like Ayyankali, Chittampi Swamikal, Sree Narayana Guru and so on. The Adivasis' and the Dalits' struggles for liberation also arose from various sectors. Agriculture was one of the key areas where, due to

social and political mobilisations many radical reforms took place. The Adivasis in Kerala are one of the most marginalised by land alienation and dispossession, and their persistent struggles to retain land ownership continue to this day.

Social Reforms in Kerala

By the early 20th century, due to the impact of several social reformations, Kerala managed to get rid of untouchability and other malpractices which alienated the Dalits and Adivasis. Some of the prominent movements, like the Vaikom Satyagraha (1924-25) – a systematically organized protest movement in Kerala, undertaken to secure the rights of the downtrodden classes; Shri Narayana guru's teachings and the propagation of his ideology through the formation of the 'Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam' (SNDP) in 1903; Guruvayoor Satyagraha (1931-32) - a movement for temple entry and abolition of untouchability; and the consecutive 'Temple Entry Proclamation' (1936) etc., laid the foundation for the social transformation of Kerala and provided the base for the mass awakening of the marginalised sections of Kerala's society against social evils and injustices.

Ayyankali Movement

The revolt against an oppressive social structure and tyrannical dogmas in Kerala was initiated by none other than a Dalit – the great leader Ayyankali (1863-1941) - in the early 20th century. This brave leader became one of the first in the Dalit history of Kerala to fight against exploitation and social oppression. His historic movement for Dalits' rights to walk on public roads, known as "Villuvandi Yatra" (travel in a bullock cart through public roads) and his use of all public services became an everlasting example for the marginalised sections of Kerala. Even today, the Adivasis and the Dalits who are at the forefront of various land struggles evoke his name for inspiration.

Land Reforms

During the 1950s, there were several efforts in Kerala to get rid of the Janmi-kudiyana land-tenure system and to implement equitable distribution of land. One of the key legislations the state had undertaken to ensure land for the landless was the Kerala Land Reforms Act, implemented in 1970. By this Act, the centuries old Janmi-Kudiyana system was brought to an end. The Act was introduced with some amendments on the fixation of ceiling on land holdings. However, plantations and private forests were exempted from this Act. The Act also gave proprietary rights to cultivating tenants and protected the Kudikidappukars from eviction. This piece of legislation was considered by many to be a revolutionary movement for the landless Adivasis. However, the proper implementation of the Act is another story. According to the Act, the government was to distribute surplus and revenue forest land to Kerala's landless poor. However, till date, the Act has not been fully implemented, resulting in a huge number of landless people in the state.

Adivasi Land Struggles in Kerala

The Adivasis in Kerala, mostly inhabiting the mountains of the Western Ghats, constitute around one percent of the total population, while the Dalits form about 9 percent. Marginalized and oppressed by social and economic factors, the Adivasis have never been the real beneficiaries of the government schemes implemented to reduce landlessness among them. Instead, they have been deprived of their customary rights over their natural resources and traditional knowledge systems, leading to several struggles for land across a timeframe of several decades. Some of the key struggles are listed below:

Adivasi Land Struggles in Kannur

The Adivasi land struggles in Kannur (a district located in the northern part of Kerala) that began in 1999 were led by Adivasi Vimochana Munnani, an Adivasi organisation at the forefront of several land movements in Kerala. The movement was started by 9 landless Adivasi families who occupied 9.25 acres of land in Thiruvonappuram in the Peravoor region of Kannur. They encroached into the land as a result of the Government of Kerala capturing it to implement the Kerala Land Reforms Act, 1970. On December 22, 1999 representatives of Adivasi, Dalit and several other organizations took part in a convention held in Peravoor. During the convention a formal resolution was passed for a land seizure movement whereby, the protestors would attempt to recapture surplus land, reserve forest land, government project lands and lands of large landowners. However, recently, the AVM's orientation towards the revolutionary people's movement in Kerala has come under the scanner of the Home Ministry of India. The Central Government had in fact sent a watch-list to the State Government to closely observe their activities. AVM's name also appeared in that list and now, their activities are being closely monitored by the State Government and the police.

Muthanga Land Struggles

In 2001, the shocking death of 32 Adivasis from starvation forced the Adivasis in Wayanad to renew their struggle for land. One of the reasons cited for the starvation deaths among the Adivasis was the lack of land for cultivation. Resultantly, a new organization - the Adivasi Gothra Maha Sabha (AGMS) was formed. On August 30, 2001 the agitators gathered in the capital city of Thiruvananthapuram and began a campaign with the slogan "Right to live in the land one is born." After several weeks of protest, a seven-point agreement was reached with the then Chief Minister, AK Anthony, who promised to give 5 acres of land to each Adivasi family. Even after 45 days, when the government failed to abide by the agreement, AGMS protestors encroached into the Muthunga Wildlife Sanctuary in Wayanad on January 5, 2003. The government didn't pay any attention to the protesters until February 17, 2003, when a large contingent of police forces entered the forest and began evicting the protesters violently without any warning. In the ensuing battle, several hundred tribals were injured, one Adivasi was killed and a policeman died. Such criminal injustice and brutality by the police had been unheard of in Kerala's recent history. Thus, a mammoth struggle that began with a long

pending demand for the Adivasis' right to land became a short one that lived for only 44 days, brutally suppressed and brought to a halt using police force.

Although the Muthanga land struggle has completed a decade, the AGMS continues to lead many other land struggles across the state. The Adivasis' dream of regaining their land turned out to be a horrid experience, as many of them who took part in the struggle were falsely accused in several cases. For the past eleven years, many of them have been trekking once in every month to Kochi, for the routine hearings in various cases. Acute poverty and joblessness have reduced them to skeletons and have paralysed their morals. Out of the more than 70 accused in many cases, 22 have already died. Meanwhile, the court cases drag on and on without any meaningful end in sight.

Aralam Farm Protest

With the rising demands of the tribals for their rightful land, the Kerala Government signed an agreement with the State Farms Cooperation of India in June, 2004 to use the 3,060 hectares of the Central State Farm in Aralam for the resettlement of the Adivasis. The rehabilitation process was to incorporate the tribals of Kannur and Wayanad districts into the project. However, in 2006, the Left Democratic Front (LDF) came up with the plan of establishing an ecotourism project on the farm to exploit it for tourism purposes. It also decided to exclude the Adivasis from Wayanad district from the rehabilitation agreement. The delay in the process of rehabilitation and the exclusion of the tribals from Wayanad instigated a fresh movement by the Adivasis. Thousands of Adivasis encroached into the farmlands and stated living there, which put the State Government under pressure to start the process of distribution of title deeds. The rehabilitation plan promised each eligible family one acre of land, along with basic facilities like drinking water, roads, transportation, schools and electricity. But even after two years, the promise of basic facilities remained unfulfilled and led to the death of 14 people in the farm. The government's offer to provide employment also saw no progress. Today, the community's primary demand is five acres as alternate land and the inclusion of Adivasi areas in Kerala in the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. But, the Government does not seem to be very keen to alleviate the pains of the struggling Adivasis in the Farm.

Chengara Land Struggle

The agitation at Chengara in Pathanamthitta district began on August 4, 2007, when 300 families from various parts of the state converged on the rubber estate owned by Harrison Malayalam Plantations Ltd. The agitators alleged that the company was in possession of much more land than the actual extent under the government's lease. Their demand was five acres of land for cultivation (later reduced to one acre) and Rs 50,000 as financial assistance per family. During the more than two-year long protest, lack of food, scarcity of water, absence of medical facilities and hostile weather conditions led to the death of 13 people. After 790 grueling days, the agitation was settled during a discussion between the then Chief Minister, V S Achutanandan, Laha Gopalan (leader of the Chengara Land Struggle) and others of the Sadhu Jana Vimochana Samyukta Vedi (SJVSV) – the organization that led the land struggle.

Oommen Chandy, who was then the Leader of the Opposition in the Kerala State Assembly, also participated in the talks. As a part of the settlement, 1,432 out of the 1,738 families that had started living on the rubber plantation were enlisted for receiving financial assistance to build houses. However, the distribution of land amongst the various tribes and castes was uneven. Some received one acre of land, while others received only 25 cents. The SJVSV also alleged that the Chengara Package had been accepted under pressure, as CPI (M) leaders had been intimidating and paying off their activists. Despite bitter allegations of betrayal and conspiracy by the ruling and opposition parties, the Chengara land struggle was a success.

Arippa Bhoosamaram

In 2009, the Kerala Government decided to set aside 21.54 acres of the 90 acre Arrippa Revenue Forest in Kulathupuzha village for the beneficiaries of the Chengara Package. The remaining 68.46 acres was kept aside for institutional development. On December 31, 2012 around 1,300 Adivasis, Dalits and landless poor encroached into the remaining land in Arrippa Forest and began their protest by building shanties and living there. The protestors claimed that a part of the forest was surplus revenue land meant for redistribution among the landless tribals. Under the banner of Adivasi Dalit Munetta Samiti (ADMS), the agitators raised the slogan “We do not want 3 cents of land; all we want is land for cultivation.” Among the protesters were people who had taken part in the historic Chengara land struggle and were given title deeds, but found themselves cheated, when they realized that the land allotted to them was neither fit for cultivation nor was it suitable for habitation. After one and a half year of relentless struggle, a discussion was called by the Chief Minister of Kerala with the representatives of the Adivasis and the Dalits protesting in Arrippa, which ended without reaching any final decisions. The suggestion by the Chief Minister, Oommen Chandy, to give 3 cents of land to each protester was summarily rejected by the representatives. At the moment, the protesters are living in the Arrippa Forest in shanties to press their demand of land for cultivation.

Apart from these large struggles, there were also many small-scale protests across Kerala that continue even today.

Puyamkutty Land Struggle

Some 218 Adivasi families had been residing in the 939 acres of the Uriyampetty forests in Puyamkutty. In order to evacuate the Adivasis from the biodiversity rich forests in the Western Ghats, the State Government made an agreement with them that in place of the forest land, the Adivasis would be given financial assistance and fertile land for agriculture. However, the promised 545 acres of land meant for Adivasi rehabilitation actually is in the possession of Kerala Forest Department, which does not want to let go off the prime land. To get their right due of land and proper rehabilitation packages, the Adivasis came down to the streets of the Kochi District Collectorate and began their protests. The Adivasis have been caught in the infinite loop of bureaucratic procedures, and the inaction of the government has invigorated them into strengthening their protests.

Adivasi Welfare Forum (AWF)

The Adivasi Welfare Forum in Kerala has been undertaking a relay protest strike in Pottanachira for land for the Adivasis. In 2002, protestors encroached into the Jersey Farm in Pottanachira demanding land titles for 24 acres of excess land in the farm. When the LDF government did not pay heed to the agitators, the protest slowly died down. However, the district Panchayat's decision to convert the 24 acres of land into a high-tech farm caused the AWF to renew its protests. On January 25, 2013, when the Deputy Collector came to the farm to collect evidence, the AWF protested by erecting more shanties at the farm site. Currently, while the Adivasis are fighting for land, the villagers and farm employees have begun a counter protest at the farm junction.

Perinchamkutty Land Struggle

On February 10, 2012 a batch of government officials arrived at the Perinchamkutty Adivasi Colony with a mighty police force, and proceeded to mercilessly beat up the residents and to forcefully evacuate them from their huts. 62 Adivasis of all ages and genders were arrested and imprisoned. The government's reasoning for the violent evictions was "illegal encroachment into government land". The Adivasis were released months later, and in protest against the wrongful eviction, they gathered in front of the District Collectorate on October 1, 2012 and began a non-violent, indefinite protest. Under the direction of the Adivasi Bhoomi Avakasa Samyukta Samiti (ABASS), they submitted a list of the landless Adivasis residing in Perinchamkutty. Accordingly, the District Collector of Idukki selected 161 Adivasis for the land distribution scheme and promised to allot an acre of land to each family. However, in the last two years, the government has not met with its promise. So far, 7 people have died in the struggle to reclaim their lands, but the government has still not reached a consensus on rehabilitating these innocent people. Meanwhile, the protesting Adivasis have reiterated their demand for land and have decided to intensify their struggle till they achieve their aim.

Impact of Land Reforms on the Adivasis

Although the Adivasis and Dalits form the backbone of the agricultural economy of Kerala, they have not yet benefitted from the land reforms that the Kerala Government initiated in the 1950s. Various land distribution schemes and programmes that were meant to minimise landlessness among the Adivasis and the Dalits, did not actually relieve them. As far as the landlessness in Kerala is concerned, the Dalits and the Adivasis form around 85 per cent of the landless in the state. The state has been witnessing a steady decline in food production and farming. Since agricultural activity has hit a bottom low the state is largely dependent on the neighbouring states for its food requirements. As such, the Government of Kerala, instead of bringing back the Adivasis and the Dalits to agriculture and farming, has thrown them to the fringes of the society and has reduced them to living in colonies. A close look at the way the state has fared in implementing various reforms and how it has impacted the Adivasis and the Dalits reveals that:

- i. There was a lack of will among the successive governments that came to power in Kerala to properly implement various land legislation policies and to honestly redistribute land among the Adivasis.
- ii. A look at the various legislations initiated shows that there is a huge gap in the introduction of the policies and their actual effective implementation. For example, The Kerala Scheduled Tribes (Restriction on Transfer of Lands and Restoration of Alienated Lands) Act was adopted in 1975, but it was only implemented after 1986, causing a huge delay.
- iii. Adivasi lands have been lost due to encroachments, land grabbing, forest notifications and the formation of private plantation companies.
- iv. Alienation of Adivasis from forest and nature, and restriction on access to forest produce has increased the Adivasis' dependence on other sources of income, and has forced them to migrate to other places for work such as casual labour etc.
- v. Frustration among the Adivasis due to gradual land loss over the years has led to loss of livelihood, hunger, malnutrition and starvation deaths.
- vi. Denial of livelihood and the struggle for sheer survival has led to the formation of several Adivasi struggle groups for land rights across the state and the rise of Adivasi land rights movements.
- vii. Ghettoization of the Adivasi communities through creation of Adivasi and Harijan colonies.

According to CK Janu – one of the prominent Adivasi leaders in Kerala – although the Kerala State Government decided to limit the individual possession of land to 15 acres during the Land Reforms in the 1960s, excluding plantations from the purview of this law effectively led to the ghettoization of the Adivasi communities, as they were either pushed to the reserves or to three cent plot colonies. In spite of several provisions in the law, the State Government has failed to provide enough land to the Adivasis to ensure their survival. Instead, what one gets to witness is the apathy of the state and its indifference to the Adivasis. Even the mainstream society at times looks at the Adivasis and their dissenting voices as a nuisance and a disruption to India's development story.

Manoranjan Mohanty, a well-known Professor of Political Science, says that the present trend of Adivasi awakening is a defining characteristic of contemporary Indian politics. He sees the new awakening as a positive sign of the democratic transformation in India. Yet, a large section of the Indian polity does not treat the Adivasi struggles as a positive phenomenon, but are caught in the whirlpool of mainstream India's development and growth. Thus, caught between the apathy and inaction of the state and a section of the mainstream society that looks at the Adivasis as a nuisance, their struggle for their right to life continues amidst a confused state of affairs. (P.T.George).

Tribal Movements in India after Independence

Unfortunately, even after fifty years of independence, tribals have benefited least from the advent of freedom. Although independence has brought widespread gains for the vast majority of the Indian population, Dalits and Adivasis have often been left out and new problems have arisen for the tribal population. With the tripling of the population since 1947 pressures on land resources, especially demands on forests — have played havoc on the lives of the tribals.

The basic issues behind the tribal movements in India after independence are forest alienation, training and job deprivation due to influx of the outsiders, cultural submergence, and unbalanced development.

After independence, tribal movements may be classified into three groups (i) movement due to exploitation of outsiders (ii) movements due to Economic deprivation (like those of Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and the Mahars in Andhra Pradesh) (iii) movements due to separatist tendencies (like those of the Nagas and Mizos).

The tribal movements may be classified on the basis of their orientation into four types: (i) forest-based movements, (ii) socio-religious movements or social-culture movements (iii) movements seeking political autonomy and formations of States (Nagas, Mizos, Jharkhand) and (iv) agrarian movement, Naxalban movement-1967 and Birsa movement 1968-69. Reformatory movement was found among the Mundas under powerful leadership of Dharli Aba, who preached Hindu ideals of ritual purity, asceticism and criticised the worship of priests.

The Naga revolution began in 1948 and continued upto 1972 when the new elected Government came to power and the Nag insurgency was controlled. The Mizo Government came into formation of Meghalaya State in April 1970.

The Naxalite movement of the tribals in Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh; the agrarian movements of the Gonds and Bhils in Madhya Pradesh and the forest-based movements of Gonds were mainly launched for liberation from oppression and discrimination, backwardness and a Government which was callous to the tribal plight marked by poverty, hunger, unemployment and exploitation.

Jharkhand movement was started which demanded the creation of new state due to forest alienation, job deprivation, and influx of outsiders etc. The Jharkhand Party founded an Oxford educated Christian of the Munda tribe had demanded carving out of a new State, spreading from Palamaner in Bihar to Keonjhar in Orissa and from Surguja in Madhya Pradesh to Manipur in West Bengal, of the Indian Union of which tribal people would be numerically dominant.

Ever since the entry of multinational companies for bauxite mining and processing in 1993, the tribal people of Kashipur and Laxmipur blocks of Rayagada district and Damantpur block

of Koraput district and Thuamul Rampur of Kalahand, district of Orissa have been apprehensive of displacement and loss of livelihood.

Concerned over prospect of having to leave their hearth and home, people started organising themselves. Road blockades, demonstrations were organised in front of Government offices at Kashipar and Rayagada. Survey areas of the companies were denied access to the area. The responses of tribal people were co-ordinated by organisations such as the Prakrutik Sampada Surakya Parishad, the Baphilimali Surakya Samiti and Anchahk Surakhya Samiti. Every village now has a resistance body.

Conflict over the mining of bauxite has taken a violent turn with killing of three innocent tribal people. Since 1993, the police have registered 80 criminal cases against the tribal people and activists. On several occasions, the police resorted to lathi charge. Activists were attacked and offices of the resistance movement were destroyed.

The resistances to the alumina project and the police firing have important implications. Successive Governments, various political parties that have been in power, local elites and local businessmen supported the alumina project. At the same time, the struggle of the people and their determination to make any sacrifice in order to protect their civil and political rights, right to livelihood and habitat clearly demonstrate that people at the grassroots are not going to tolerate the onslaught of market force.

Another movement has been started in Keonjhar district of Orissa against mining in the 90s for the displaced people, particularly tribals. In Keonjhar, the mining activities have led to heavy influx of workers from many parts of the country. The 90s decade saw an increase in migration due to geographical and socio-economic reasons, leading to a threat of cultural invasion. Violence of all type increased. Mining has led to indiscriminate deforestation and displacement of inhabitants.

The movement against mining is popular among the Advisees such as Bhuiyan, Juang, Munda, Santhal, and Kondh. The chief slogan of the movement against mining has been "Our lands, our minerals and our rights". The villagers have been harassed by police and implicated in false cases for organising meetings, public rallies and hunger strikes. A number of villagers had been sent to jail in false cases between 1994 to 1999.

The villager and tribals of Rallagaruvu village in Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh had put up a brave resistance against illegal mining by various companies in the last decades. Kondadora tribe is the biggest tribe in Northern Andhra Pradesh located in hilly terrains of the State. Rallagaruvu is famous for its calcite, firestone and mica reserves and is one of the most sought after places for mining! There have been hundreds of attempts at illegal acquisition of tribal lands. Due to prolonged struggle of the tribals that much of the land still remains free from the clutches of the illegal mining.

Different tribal movement can be said to centre around the problem of their identity. Coming to the North-East, the Bodo and Naga movement are good examples of how ethnic identity takes up political route for raising their interests. In all these separatist movement,

uneven development and modernisation, concentration of gains in some area and their non-dispersal to other, and urban- oriented models of growth are the chief causes.

Rise of tribal consciousness, tribal regionalism, frontier tribalism, etc. gained currency after the movements in North East Frontier areas. Tribal regionalism, political in nature, has been said to be a struggle for identity against alienation from basic sources, viz. land, forests and aspiration for preservation of traditional culture. Of late the movement in Tripura led by TUJS and Bodoland in Assam. Gorkhaland movements have transcended that stage of aspiration limited in culture. The newly emerged elites in these regions prefer to have a share in the power structure.

The regional leaders who improvise or manipulate identity symbols to mobilise group sentiment, could rarely assess the likely responses of the political authorities and the dominant social groups. As the movement proceeds and identity assertions tend to transform the concerned ethnic to a political conflict group, the leadership and the groups have to adopt modern skills and mobilise resources.

In the process, they become participants in modernization and get involved in the democratic power game. In both Gorkhaland and Jharkhand, such democratization has been evident. The Gorkhaland agitation gained momentum on issues such as Indo-Nepal treaty, inclusion of Nepalese language in the Eighth Schedule of Indian Constitution and other sundry economic factors.

The main thrust was on assertion of Indian Nepalese identity through citizenship demand. In the Gorkhaland Accord (1988) enacting the establishment of Gorkha Hill Development Council, both the main issues remained untouched. The identity problem was said to have been solved by putting the word 'Gorkha' in the Council.

It remains to be seen if the grant of Statehood for Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh ameliorates the conditions for India's Advisees. However, it is imperative that all Advise districts receive special attention from the Central Government in terms of investment in schools, participatory forest management and preservation, non-polluting industries and opportunities for the Advise communities and preserve their rich heritage. Advisees must have special access to educational, cultural and economic opportunities so as reverse the effects of colonisation and earlier injustice experienced by the Advise communities.

At the same time, the country can learn much from the beauty of Advise social practices, their culture of sharing and respect for all their deep humility and love of nature and most of all their deep devotion to social equality and civic harmony.(Puja Mondal)

MINORITY RIGHTS ISSUES

India is a multi-lingual and a multi-religious country. Indian society is pluralistic in character from the religious and other points of view. Since a very long time people belonging to various religious communities has been living together in this country. Though the majority

of the people living in this land are Hindus [82.41%], people belonging to other religious communities such as Muslims [11.67%], Christians [2.32%], Sikhs [2%], Buddhists [0.77%], Jains [0.41%] and others [0.43%] are also living along with the Hindus by enjoying on par similar rights and opportunities. By virtue of their numerical strength, the Hindus constitute the majority while the rest of the religious communities come under what is known as “religious minorities”.

Regarding the concept of “minority” in the Indian context, it can be said that the term has not been properly defined anywhere in the Indian Constitution. But “minority status” has been conferred on many groups.

- i. According to the Article 29 of the Constitution, any group living within the jurisdiction of India is entitled to preserve and promote its own language, script or literature, and culture.
- ii. Article 30 states that a minority group “whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institution of their choice. ”

Problems of Religious Minorities Racial, religious, ethnic, linguistic and other minorities are subject to some or the other problems everywhere. The two main problems which they normally face are: (i) the problem of prejudice and discrimination, and (ii) the problem of preserving their distinct social and cultural life.

1. Problem of Prejudice and Discrimination:

In the Indian context, discrimination especially in providing opportunities to people of different religious communities is, not at all in practice. The Preamble of the Constitution itself declares that all people irrespective of their caste, class, colour, creed, sex, region or religion will be provided with equal rights and opportunities.

Articles 15(1) and 15(2) prohibit discrimination on grounds of religion. Article 25 promises the right to profess, propagate and practise religion. It is clear that there is no legal bar on any religious community in India to make use of the opportunities [educational, economic, etc.] extended to the people. It is true that some religious communities [for example, Muslims] have not been able to avail themselves of the opportunities on par with other communities. This situation does not reflect any discrimination. It only reveals that such communities have been lagging behind in the competitive race, mainly because of the lack of educational qualification.

As far as prejudices are concerned, prejudices and stereotyped thinking are common features of a complex society. India is not an exception to this. Commonly used statements such as – “Hindus are cowards and Muslims are rowdies; Sikhs are dullards and Christians are converters “, etc. – reflect the prevalent religious prejudices. Such prejudices further widen the social distance among the religious communities. This problem still persists in India. Except in some sensitive areas this problem of prejudice is not disturbing the routine life of different communities, including that of the minorities.

2. Problem of Preserving Distinct Social and Cultural Life:

India is one among the very few nations which have given equal freedom to all the religious communities to pursue and practise their religion. Article 25 of the Constitution provides for such a right. Added to this, Article 30 (1) states all minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. They are given the right to preserve their socio-cultural characteristics. It has set up a “Minorities Commission” to help the minorities in seeking justice. No minority community can have a grievance against any government particularly in this matter.

Some of the Problems of Minorities in India:

In spite of the provisions of the constitutional equality, religious minorities in India, often experience some problems among which the following may be noted.

1. Problem of Providing Protection:

Need for security and protection is very often felt by the minorities. Especially in times of communal violence, caste conflicts, observance of festivals and religious functions on a mass scale, minority groups often seek police protection. Government in power also finds it difficult to provide such a protection to all the members of the minorities. It is highly expensive also. State governments which fail to provide such protection are always criticised.

For example,

- (i) The Rajiv Gandhi Government was severely criticised for its failure to give protection to the Sikh community in the Union Territory of Delhi on the eve of the communal violence that broke out there soon after the assassination of Indira Gandhi in 1984.
- (ii) The Gujarat State Government was criticised for its inability to provide protection to the Muslim minorities in the recent [Feb. Mar. – 2002] communal violence that burst out.
- (iii) Similarly, the Government of Jammu-Kashmir’s inefficiency in providing adequate security to the Hindu and Sikh minorities in that State against the atrocities of Muslim extremists is also widely condemned.

2. Problem of Communal Tensions and Riots:

Communal tensions and riots have been incessantly increasing since independence. Whenever the communal tensions and riots take place for whatever reason, minority interests get threatened; fears and anxieties become widespread. It becomes a tough task for the government in power to restore the confidence in them.

3. Problem of Lack of Representation in Civil Service and Politics:

Though the Constitution provides for equality and equal opportunities to all its citizens including the religious minorities, the biggest minority community, that is, Muslims in particular, have not availed themselves of these facilities. There is a feeling among them that they are neglected. However, such a feeling does not seem to exist among the other religious

minority communities such as the Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists, for they seem to be economically and educationally better than the majority community.

4. Problem of Separatism:

Some of the demands put forward by some religious communities in some areas are not acceptable to others. This has widened the gap between them and others, Examples: The separatist tendency present among some Muslim extremists in Kashmir and their demand for the establishment of Independent Kashmir is not acceptable to others. Such a demand is regarded as anti-national. Similarly, some of the Christian extremists in Nagaland and Mizoram are demanding separate statehood for their provinces. Both these demands are supportive of “separatism” and hence cannot be accepted. Supporters of such demands have been causing lot of disturbances and creating law and order problems in the respective states.

5. Failure to Stick on Strictly to Secularism:

India has declared itself as a “secular” country. The very spirit of our Constitution is secular. Almost all political parties including the Muslim League claim themselves to be secular. But in actual practice, no party is honest in its commitment to secularism, purely religious issues are often politicised by these parties. Similarly, secular issues and purely law and order problems are given religious colours. These parties are always waiting for an opportunity to politicalise communal issues and take political advantage out of it. Hence, the credibility of these parties in their commitment to secularism is lost. This has created suspicion and feeling of insecurity in the minds of minorities.

6. Problem Relating to the Introduction of Common Civil Code:

Another major hurdle that we find in the relation between the majority and the minority is relating to the failure of Governments which have assumed power so far, in the introduction of a common civil code. It is argued that social equality is possible only when a common civil code is enforced throughout the nation. Some communities, particularly the Muslims oppose it. They argue that the imposition of a common civil code, as it is opposed to the “Shariat” will take away their religious freedom. This issue has become controversial today. It has further widened the gap between the religious communities.

It is true that communal disturbances, religious conflicts, group clashes are taking place frequently in India. In spite of these disturbances the nation has maintained its secular character for the past 55 years. Further, the government has been making special efforts to safeguard the interests of the religious minorities. (Pranav Dua)

Anti-Globalization Movement

The anti-globalization movement, or counter-globalisation movement, is a social movement critical of globalization. The movement is also commonly referred to as the global justice movement, alter-globalization movement, anti-globalist movement, anti-corporate globalization movement, or movement against neoliberal globalization.

Participants base their criticisms on a number of related ideas. What is shared is that participants oppose large, multinational corporations having unregulated political power, exercised through trade agreements and deregulated financial markets. Specifically, corporations are accused of seeking to maximize profit at the expense of work safety conditions and standards, labor hiring and compensation standards, environmental conservation principles, and the integrity of national legislative authority, independence and sovereignty. As of January 2012, some commentators have characterized changes in the global economy as "turbo-capitalism" (Edward Luttwak), "market fundamentalism" (George Soros), "casino capitalism" (Susan Strange), and as "McWorld" (Benjamin Barber).

Many anti-globalization activists call for forms of global integration that better provide democratic representation, advancement of human rights, fair trade and sustainable development and therefore feel the term "anti-globalization" is misleading

The anti-globalization movement developed in the late twentieth century. It emerged with the aim of combating the globalization of corporate economic activity and all exploitation of developing nations that could result from such activity. Those in the anti-globalization movement generally try to promote awareness for human rights NGOs, advocate socialist or social democratic alternatives to capitalism, and seek to protect the public interest and the world's ecosystem from what they believe to be the damaging effects of globalization.

Anti-globalization is a stance which directly opposes the negative aspects of globalization. The corresponding movement is called the anti-globalization movement. The movement is more a grass-root-level movement, and has the support of some intellectual elite. To a large extent, the term "anti-globalization" has been regarded as a misnomer, a tag meant to bring discredit to the globalization movement.

Though most supporters of anti-globalization movement support close ties between various peoples, cultures and societies, they are particularly opposed to capitalist globalization. Hence, the anti-globalization movement is also known as the anti-capitalist or anti-corporate movement, or also alternative globalization.

The anti-globalization movement is heterogeneous in nature. It includes diverse and at times even opposing perceptions of the globalization process, the visions, strategies, and tactics. Supporters of and participants in the movement also call their efforts as a movement aimed at global justice, the fair trade movement, and movement for global justice and solidarity movement. Slogans such as "globalize justice" and "globalize liberation" are used as by lines. Protests also include slogans like "People and planet before profits", "The Earth is not for sale!" or "Teamsters and Turtles, Together at Last!"

A majority of the movement's participants are associated with movements linked to indigenous people, human rights, environment movements, and even non-capitalist political movements such as socialism and communism. Activists have not directly opposed capitalism or the emergence of international markets. They have taken objection to the non-transparent and undemocratic mechanisms of capitalism and the negative repercussions of unregulated

capitalism. They are especially opposed to “abuse of globalization” and are also against international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organization, and agreements and treaties that promote free trade. It is felt that these organizations and institutions promote neoliberalism without taking into consideration ethical standards.

Activists often oppose business alliances like the World Economic Forum (WEF), the Trans Atlantic Business Dialogue (TABD) and the Asia Pacific Economic Forum (APEC), and the governments which promote such agreements or institutions. It should be mentioned here that a number of nationalist movements, such as the French National Front are also against globalization, though they are not part of the anti-globalization movement, as such, and they are usually rejected by anti-globalization activists.

Many issues taken up by anti-globalization activities are those about which there is fear of loss of self-determination. This is because they believe that the global financial institutions and agreements undermine local decision-making methods. They perceive several governments and free trade institutions as agents acting for the good of transnational (or multi-national) corporations such as Microsoft, Monsanto, and others.

These corporations are seen as having privileges that many individuals are denied—free movement across borders and access to, and utilization of desired natural and human resources. Even after exploiting and permanently damaging the natural capital and biodiversity of a nation, they are not taken to task. Such corporations impose a kind of “global monoculture” on the world. An important aim of the anti-globalization movement is to end the legal status of “corporate personhood” and the dissolution, or dramatic reform of the World Bank, IMF, and WTO.

There are various issues and causes championed by the movement. These include labour rights, environmentalist, feminism, freedom of migration, preservation of the culture of indigenous peoples, biodiversity, cultural diversity, food safety, organic farming, opposition to the green revolution and genetic engineering, and ending or reforming capitalism.

Though, the movement has emphasized upon the construction of grassroots alternatives to (capitalist) globalization. Its most commonly used and visible mode of organizing remains mass decentralized campaigns of direct action and civil disobedience. This organizational effort comes under the umbrella of the Peoples’ Global Action network, which tries to bring together diverse causes into one global struggle.

There have been several incidents of anti-globalization movements that have caught the imagination of the world. One of the first international anti-globalization protests was organized in dozens of cities around the world on 18 June 1999. This was done in London, UK, and in Eugene, Oregon, where the protests turned into a mini-riot where local anarchists drove cops out of a small park.

There was another incident, known as N30, which took place in Seattle on 30 November 1999. Protesters blocked the entrance of delegates to WTO meetings. They

succeeded in forcing the cancellation of the opening ceremonies. Two large protest marches, one permitted and another unpermitted, were organized. Seattle riot police arrested more than 600 protesters, and dozens were injured in the ensuing riots. Martial law was declared and curfew imposed.

One of the bloodiest protests took place in Western Europe. This was the protest against the Genoa Group of Eight Summit, which took place between 18 July and 22 July 2001. This resulted in the death of at least three demonstrators, the hospitalization of several hundred demonstrators after police attacks and torture. Hundreds were arrested and charged with some form of “criminal association” under Italy’s anti-mafia and anti-terrorist laws. The authorities have looked into the incident, and investigations against several police personnel were initiated.

In 2003, the anti-globalization movement took on a new dimension with the widespread global opposition to the war in Iraq. On February 15, approximately 10 million or more anti-globalization protesters participated in global pre-war protests against war on Iraq. This global protest did not stop the invasion itself and the US-led coalition continued with its attack on Iraq.

However, supporters believe it showed the world the discrepancy between the claim that the invasion defended and promoted democracy, and the fact that the leaders of many formally democratic countries which joined the coalition were acting against the wishes of the majorities of their populations in supporting the war.

The anti-globalization movement has come in for severe criticism from politicians, right-wing organizations, mainstream economists, and other supporters of capitalist globalization. A common criticism levelled against the movement is that the anti-globalization movement does not have clear-cut goals. It is felt that the views of different protesters are often in opposition to each other. Though many supporters of the movement agree with this contention, they argue that, as long as they have a common enemy, they should march together—even if they do not share exactly the same political vision.

Another criticism levelled against the movement is that a major cause of poverty in the third world countries is the trade barriers put up by rich nations. The WTO is an organization set up to work toward removing those trade barriers. It is argued that free trade should be encouraged rather than criticized.

Further, the opposition of the anti- globalization movement to free trade is also aimed at protecting the interests of Western labour (whose wages and conditions are protected by trade barriers) rather than the interests of the developing world. This actually goes against the stand of the movement that it aims to improve the conditions of ordinary farmers and workers everywhere.

Anti-globalization activists counter these claims by stating that free trade policies create an environment for workers in which workers in different countries are tempted, and even forced to “betray” other workers by undercutting standards on wages and work conditions. The

anti-globalization movement supports a strategy of cooperation for mutual benefit, and encourages fair trade, which aims to provide third-world farmers with better terms of trade.

Though the movement takes up issues which are widely recognized as serious problems, such as violations of human rights, genocide and global warming, it rarely proposes detailed solutions, or it proposes solutions that have been tried and shown to be faulty in the past.

Some have also criticized the movements claim to be non-violent, as activists and protestors sometimes use violent tactics. Even enforced blockade of events and public thoroughways are seen as violent actions. Protesters, however, state that blockades are a time-honoured technique of civil disobedience. Moreover, the organizations they are protesting against are themselves guilty of crimes.

Finally, the motivations and the motives of the organizers of the protests are questioned. It is felt that the key organizers are really communists who aim to start a revolution. The anti-globalization members counter this argument by stating that the power structure of the organization is horizontal.

Moreover, globalization has made violent revolution a distinct possibility, a clear sign that the current system is seriously flawed. It is imperative that the situation has to be dealt with, and the anti-globalization movement is doing this fairly effectively.

World Social Forum:

The World Social Forum (WSF) is an annual meeting held by members of the alternative globalization movement to coordinate world campaigns, share and refine organizing strategies, and informs each other about movements from around the world and around many different issues.

The first WSF was organized by various associations and organizations, like the French Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC). The WSF had been sponsored, in part, by the Porto Alegre government and the Brazilian Worker's Party. It was held from 25 January to 30 January 2001, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, and was attended by about 12,000 people from around the world. It was here that the WSF's Charter of Principles was adopted to provide a framework for the forum.

The second WSF held in Porto Alegre from 31 January to 5 February 2002, was attended by over 12,000 official delegates representing people from 123 countries. The third WSF was again held in Porto Alegre, in January 2003. The fourth WSF was held in Mumbai, India, from 16-21 January 2004. It was attended by more than 75,000 participants. A notable aspect of this forum was cultural diversity. The fifth World Social Forum for 2005 was held in Porto Alegre, Brazil between 26-31 January.

The WSF has helped in organizing a number of regional social forums, including the European Social Forum, the Asian Social Forum and the European Education Forum. All regional social forums adhere to the Charter of Principles drawn up by the World Social

Forum. The Asian Social Forum in Hyderabad in January 2003 was a demonstration of India's commitment to the WSF process. A preparatory meeting at Bhopal in April 2002 framed the Bhopal Declaration.

The WSF is firmly committed to the belief that Another World is Possible. It provides a platform for discussions on alternatives to the dominant neo-liberal processes, for Exchanging experiences and for strengthening alliances among mass organizations, peoples' movements and civil society organizations.

The World Social Forum is a world process. All the meetings that are held as part of this process have an international dimension. The alternatives proposed at the World Social Forum stand in opposition to a process of globalization. It has been felt that the process of globalization is commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions.

These generally serve the interests of those corporations; this is done with the involvement of national governments. The principles on which the WSF is based are resigned to ensure that globalization will prevail as a new stage in world history. This will respect universal human rights, and those of all citizens—men and women—of all nations and the environment and will rest on democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality, and the sovereignty of peoples.

Amnesty International:

A British lawyer, Peter Beneson, founded Amnesty International (AI) in 1961. Originally, it was launched as an appeal which aimed at obtaining an amnesty for prisoners of conscience all over the world. Today, AI is an international organization, a movement that has spread across the world. The movement envisages a world wherein every individual enjoys all the human rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights documents.

Amnesty International is a worldwide movement working for the protection of human rights. It has an organization that is independent of all governments and is neutral in terms of political, religious, and ideological affiliations. It strives to get the release of individuals who have been arrested for their convictions, the colour of their skin, their ethnic origin or their faith. Such prisoners are called the "prisoners of conscience".(Pooja Mondal)

MODULE-IV

DEMOCRATIC CULTURE IN INDIA

INDIAN DEMOCRACY IN PRACTICE-ELECTIONS

Democracy

In a democratic country people themselves select and elect a representative as their leader. Democracy can be defined as the government of the people, by the people and for the people. It is a political system where people are supreme and freedom of choice is its core. The term 'democracy' originated from the Greek term 'd mokratía' which means "rule of the people". There are two types of democracies in the world. One is direct democracy, in which the eligible citizens directly and actively participate in the political decision-making. Second is indirect democracy, in which the sovereign power remains with the eligible citizens and the elected representatives exercise the political power; this type of democracy is also known as democratic republic or the representative democracy.

Requirements for a Democracy

A society and a system can be called democratic only when the political and socio-economic aspirations of people can be fulfilled. This is classified into two broad categories -

- (i) political conditions, achievement of which could lead to political democracy and
- (ii) social and economic conditions which could lead to social democracy. To achieve the political conditions, it is necessary to adopt a Constitution which vests powers in the people. The Constitution should protect the fundamental and human rights, and universal adult franchise should be followed to elect a representative. A democratic system also has to make sure that the social development along with democratic values should reflect the social security, welfare and status of the people. Economic development should be made for the betterment of the deprived and the poor sections of the society.

India - A Democracy

India is the largest democracy in the world. It was declared secular and democratic when its Constitution came into force on 26 January 1950. The democratic India believes in the principles of equality, liberty, justice and fraternity. The people from any caste, creed, sex, religion, and region have an equal right to vote and choose their representatives. The parliamentary form of government in India is based on the pattern of the British. In India, there is a federal form of government which means there is a government at the centre and at the state. The government at the centre is responsible to the parliament, and the state governments are responsible towards their respective legislative assemblies. The government at the centre and the state are democratically elected and follow the patterns of the two houses of the Parliament - Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. The government at the centre and the state together elect the President of the country who is also the Head of the State.

Elections in India

For the Parliament of India, the elections are held after every five years and the Prime Minister is selected thereafter. As per the Constitution of India, all the states and union territories participate in the elections to elect the government. The elected members of the Lok Sabha, the Lower House of the Parliament, together elect the Prime Minister. These members of the Lok Sabha are directly elected by universal adult suffrage except for two members who are elected by the President of India. The members of the Upper House of the Parliament, Rajya Sabha are elected by the members of the legislative assemblies of all states and union territories of India. There are many national as well as regional parties in the country which take part in the elections to form a government.

The First Elections in Democratic India

Democracy took a step forward when the democratic India voted, chose and elected their first government. These elections turned out to be one of the biggest experiments of democracy in the world. The elections were conducted on the basis of universal adult franchise. The people of the country had no prior experience of such elections and even bigger challenge was to guess their response to the chance of allowing them to choose their government. The procedure of the elections was spread for about four months i.e. from 25 October 1951 to 21 February 1952. More than 14 national and 63 regional parties and many independent candidates contested the elections. The Indian National Congress stood victorious in the elections by bagging majority of seats.

Factors Affecting Democracy in India

Although India is the largest democracy in the world, there are certain factors which affect it. Factors such as corruption, women's issues, caste issues, political strategies etc. affect politics at the national and the state level in the country. Illiteracy is a major factor which can affect the smooth functioning of democracy in the country. Education plays an important role among the people to choose their representative. The ignorant illiterate class could be manipulated by the candidates or the political parties. Poverty too affects the successful running of the democracy. It is been more than six decades since India gained independence, but still the votes are purchased from the people, especially the poor. The country is not able to control the use of the money and the muscle power in the election processes. Manipulation of people's verdict by the political parties is still practiced. Such factors need to be curbed and taken care of so as to conduct fair elections.

Challenges Faced by Indian Democracy

India functions as a responsible democracy since independence. The elections are held periodically in the country to elect the representatives, from the Panchayats to the President. The major challenge faced by the democracy is the heterogeneous composition of the country as the Indian society is divided on the basis of the caste, and religion, etc. People in India still vote in favour of caste, community or religion. Criminalisation of politics and political violence also create hindrance in the smooth functioning of the democracy. There have been instances

and allegations in the recent past that some people in the political fraternity do not believe in the democratic practices and values. Political and communal violence has gained serious proportions in the country. These challenges can be overcome by taking adequate corrective measures.

Role of the Citizens

The role of the citizens of India is most important for its democracy. For its successful working, the participation of the people is a must. The citizens of India have to proactively perform their role in the governance of the country and should respect the law and order of the nation. For a successful working of democracy, it is the right as well as the duty of every Indian to choose and elect the appropriate representative for the country. Also, every Indian has to realise that he should equally participate in the democracy. To vote wisely, it is important for every voter to carefully listen and understand the views and aims of the representatives or the political parties. They also have to respect the laws and reject violence. Expressing their opinion is as important as listening to the views of the others. The proactive participation of people is important and necessary to check how the country is being governed.

Future of Indian Democracy

India has practiced democracy since it attained independence. Although it faces a lot of challenges, still the country succeeds in functioning and running a smooth democracy. As it is the largest democracy in the world it is likely to face challenges in the future as well. There is a threat from the ugly forces which support divisions on the lines of religion, caste, region, etc. to the democracy. The present political unrest in some parts of the country is likely to put democracy into jeopardy. It is necessary on the parts of the political leaders of the country to stand united against the anti-national forces and keep the democracy of the country maintained. Imparting education to the masses and making the citizens of the country aware of their rights and duties is essential for achieving this purpose. For democracy to survive in a vast country like India, it is necessary that all the citizens of the country should stand united and play their respective roles towards the progress of the nation.

RTI (Right to Information)

Right to Information (RTI) is an Act of the Parliament of India "to provide for setting out the practical regime of right to information for citizens" and replaces the erstwhile Freedom of information Act, 2002. Under the provisions of the Act, any citizen of India may request information from a "public authority" (a body of Government or "instrumentality of State") which is required to reply expeditiously or within thirty days. The Act also requires every public authority to computerise their records for wide dissemination and to proactively certain categories of information so that the citizens need minimum recourse to request for information formally.

This law was passed by Parliament on 15 June 2005 and came fully into force on 12 October 2005. The first application was given to a Pune police station. Information disclosure

in India was restricted by the Official Secrets Act 1923 and various other special laws, which the new RTI Act relaxes. It codifies a fundamental right of citizens.

FOOD SAFETY BILL

India has many laws regulating the food safety and other activities of food industry. The requirement of food regulation may be based on several factors such as whether a country adopts international norms developed by the CAC of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations (UN) and the World Health Organization (WHO); good agricultural and manufacturing practices; or a country may also has its own suite of food regulations. Each country regulates food differently and has its own food regulatory framework.

The introduction of integrated food law provides the much required 'one law-one regulator' platform for raising the food safety standards of India to match global standards. Its speedy and effective implementation is quickly warranted to put India onto the global food map. This would require an enabling implementation environment focused on creation of transparency, awareness creation, capacity building, product traceability, developing right infrastructure and extensive R&D capacity so as to match the dynamically changing requirements of food safety and standards. The initiative would also require a wide spread awareness and promotion campaign focused on changing the mindset of food producers so as to encourage adherence to food safety standards.

Integrated Food Law in India

Until the recent past, the Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1955 (PFA) was the main legislation concerning food safety and protection of consumer health. In addition, there were a number of other standards and acts administered by different governmental agencies. India has plethora of laws regulating the food safety and other activities of food industry. The requirement of food regulation may be based on several factors such as whether a country adopts international norms developed by the CAC of the FAO of the United Nations and the WHO; good agricultural and manufacturing practices; or a country may also have its own suite of food regulations. In order to give a boost to the food industry the need of the hour is to harmonize not only the various food laws but also the agencies. According to apex industrial bodies there should be only one national food safety code, which should cover all aspects of Indian food safety under a unified system. Realizing the importance of introducing an integrated, contemporary and comprehensive law, the Food Safety and Standards Act (FSSA), 2006, that overrides all earlier food laws.

This integrated law provides safe and wholesome food to the consumer creates an enabling-environment for value addition to primary agricultural produce and encourage innovation and creativity for rapid development of food processing industries in an integrated manner thus ensuring a high degree of objectivity and transparency. The law intends to ensure

better consumer safety through the introduction of food safety management systems based on science and transparency.

Main Features of the Law Include

- Single reference point for all issues related to food safety and standards
- Harmonization with international standards such as CODEX and, hence, responsive to international trade requirements
- Responsive to dynamic issues such as genetically modified food
- Clear procedures for food recall.
- Shift from a regulatory regime to self compliance through food safety management systems
- In addition, the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India (FSSAI) was set up in 2008 to lay down scientific standards and ensure availability of safe food for human consumption.

This Act covers all articles of food or drink for human consumption except drugs, tobacco, alcoholic beverages and natural agricultural/ horticulture/ marine produce. Measures to regulate the natural agricultural/ horticultural/ marine produce need to be notified separately. It will specifically repeal eight laws.

- The Prevention of Food Adulteration Act, 1954
- The Fruit Products Order, 1955
- The Meat Food Products Order, 1973
- The Vegetable Oil Products (Control) Order, 1947
- The Edible Oils Packaging (Regulation) Order, 1998
- The Solvent Extracted Oil, De oiled Meal, and Edible Flour (Control) Order, 1967
- The Milk and Milk Products Order, 1992
- Essential Commodities Act, 1955 relating to food

Duties and functions of the authority

This Act established as new national regulatory body, the Food Safety and Standards Authority of India, to develop science based standards for food and to regulate and monitor the manufacture, processing, storage, distribution, sale and import of food so as to ensure the availability of safe and wholesome food for human consumption. All food imports will therefore be subject to the provisions of the Act and any rules and regulations made under the Act.

FSSAI has been mandated by the FSS act, 2006 for performing the following functions

1. Framing of regulations to lay down the standards and guidelines in relation to articles of food and specifying appropriate system of enforcing various standards thus notified.

2. Laying down mechanisms and guidelines for accreditation bodies engaged in certification of food safety management system for food businesses
3. Laying down procedure and guidelines for accreditation of laboratories and notification of the accredited laboratories.
4. To provide scientific advice and technical support to central government and state government in the matters of framing the policy and rules in areas which have a direct or indirect bearing of food safety and nutrition
5. Collect and collate data regarding food consumption, incidence and prevalence of biological risk contaminants in food, residues of various, contaminants in foods products, identification of emerging risks and introduction of rapid alert system
6. Creating an information network across the country so that the public, consumers, panchayats (village parliaments), etc. receive rapid, reliable and objective information about food safety and issues of concern
7. Provide training programmes for persons who are involved in or intend to get involved in food business
8. Contribute to the development of international technical standards for food, sanitary and phyto-sanitary standards
9. Promote general awareness about food safety and food standards
10. Bakery manufacturer needs to follow up with food authority for labelling, adulterants, additives and their permissible levels, etc.

New changes in integrated food law

One of the primary changes that FSSA would bring about is imposing the responsibility of food safety on the manufacturer for the first time (under the PFA regime, it was the Food Inspector responsible for examination and prosecution). With the introduction of the supply chain concept under the FSSA, the focus will not be on inspection, but on each person in the chain-sourcing, manufacturing, storing, distributing- assessed by Food Safety Officers (FSOs). FSSA prohibits the manufacture, import, storage, sale or distribution of any such article of food which is unsafe, i.e. food whose nature, substance or quality is injurious to health. There are specific responsibilities laid down under the FSSA for the Food Business Operators (FBO) for ensuring the safety of food articles. FSSA extends its jurisdiction to all persons by whom food business is carried on or owned under the definition of FBOs. The FBOs are strictly liable for any article of food which is unsafe under the FSSA. The FSSA also provides for food recall procedures whereby an FBO is required to immediately inform the competent authorities and co-operate with them, if the food which he has placed in the market is unsafe for the consumers. FSSAI has recently notified the draft Regulations on Food Recall Procedure to provide guidance to the FBOs for carrying out food recall for food that does not adhere to the food safety standards. It is also aimed to establish an effective and efficient follow-up action/post-recall report system.

The FSSA has also provided for appointment of a Designated Officer (rank of a Sub Divisional Officer) by the Commissioner of Food Safety to be in charge of food safety administration for a specific district whose duties shall include issuing or cancelling licenses of FBOs, serving 'improvement notices', prohibiting sale of food articles violating prescribed standards, receiving reports and samples of food articles from FSOs and getting them analysed, sanction or launch prosecutions and get investigated any complaint against any contravention of the Act or against the FSOs. Other major reforms in the pipeline to ensure safe food articles by FBOs are mandatory compliance with Good Agricultural Practices (GAP) for big retailers, organic food certification, stricter labelling and claims regulations covering the entire range of health foods, such as health drinks, packaged food products as well as nutraceuticals including dietary supplements, etc.

Implementation challenges

Introduction of the FSSA could be instrumental in boosting both domestic and international consumer confidence, and making India match the international standards of food safety. However, its effective implementation is fraught with numerous challenges such as:

1. Poor general awareness towards the hazards associated with unsafe food practices and the best practices to be followed
2. Lack of basic supporting infrastructure such as testing labs
3. Insufficient technical expertise and skilled manpower for implementation of legislation at the grass root level
4. Exclusion of primary producers from the purview of the law thus putting the onus of preventing food hazards on the manufacturers/processors
5. Problems in traceability of product especially in the upstream processors of the food chain – from the farm gate to the processing unit
6. Creating an enabling environment

Key Challenges for Speedy and Effective Implementation of Food Safety and Standard Act 2006

In a vast and diverse country such as India, the efforts to harmonize food safety regulations to match international standards are bound to face implementation challenges. It is thus imperative to create an enabling environment so that a brilliant strategy does not fail at the grass roots level. Some of the key enablers for speedy and effective implementation include

1. Transparency and inclusive development of framework

During the initial phases of the implementation of the FSSA, a high degree of transparency needs to be maintained in the process of framing rules and regulations. Involvement of industry and other stakeholders during the preparation, evaluation and revision of food law is essential for comprehensive review and examination of the issues that could hamper the implementation on field.

2 Awareness creation

Effective awareness creation programs need to be carried out by the Governmental agencies for smooth transition from the current food safety laws to the proposed system, specifically by keeping the small and medium enterprises abreast of the salient features of the law and practical issues that are likely to be faced by the manufacturers and their solutions.

3 Capacity building

Massive efforts are required for capacity building in order to successfully implement the proposed FSSA at the grass root level. Well evolved training programs need to be conducted for the state, district and block level enforcement agencies. The programs would have to equip the implementing officers with knowledge on international standards of food safety and quality thus enabling regulators to make judicious decisions relating to food contamination.

4. Infrastructure creation

One of the critical links in the successful implementation of FSSA is food testing laboratories. Under the new law the manufacturers need to get their products tested every month and keep a certificate. Hence, building up a sufficient number of accredited laboratories is of paramount importance.

5. Building research & development capacity

There is also a need to build a strong R&D base in areas of food safety, quality control, food toxicity and related scientific risk assessment systems.

6. Certification of raw material

One of the major sources of contamination in food systems occurs during the primary production stage - which is kept out of the ambit of the FSSA. Successful and holistic implementation of food safety system would require an extensive campaign that encourages implementation of GAP at the farm level. Further, organized manufacturers should be encouraged to take pro-active steps to ensure that GAP is adhered to their suppliers, and a traceability system including geographic application put in place at the back-end thus reducing the risk of food contamination.

RIGHT TO EDUCATION

'The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act' or '*Right to Education Act* also known as RTE', is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted on 4 August 2009, which describes the modalities of the importance of free and compulsory education for children between 6 and 14 in India under Article 21A of the Indian Constitution. India became one of 135 countries to make education a fundamental right of every child when the act came into force on 1 April 2010. The title of the RTE Act incorporates the words 'free and compulsory'. 'Free education' means that no child, other than a child who has been admitted by his or her parents to a school which is not supported by the appropriate Government, shall be liable to

pay any kind of fee or charges or expenses which may prevent him or her from pursuing and completing elementary education. 'Compulsory education' casts an obligation on the appropriate Government and local authorities to provide and ensure admission, attendance and completion of elementary education by all children in the 6-14 age group. With this, India has moved forward to a rights based framework that casts a legal obligation on the Central and State Governments to implement this fundamental child right as enshrined in the Article 21A of the Constitution, in accordance with the provisions of the RTE Act.

DEMOCRATIC EXPRESSIONS IN ART, LITERATURE AND FILMS

MALLIKA SARABHAI

(Born 9 May 1954)

Mallika Sarabhai, a multifaceted personality, is a noted Kuchipudi and Bharatnatyam dancer. She has immensely contributed to the fields of acting, writing and publishing. She is a social activist and has participated in many socio-developmental projects initiated by the United Nations. Mallika Sarabhai has also received the "French Palme D'or", the highest civilian award of France.

Life

Born to famous dancer Mrinalini Sarabhai and reputed space scientist Vikram Sarabhai, Mallika is a woman of many dimensions and talents. She is a noted dancer, film maker, TV anchor and social activist. Mallika Sarabhai, an alumnus of IIM Ahmedabad, was trained by R. Acharyelu in Kuchipudi. As a young dancer, Mallika won many international awards for her classical dance including the "French Palme D'or", the highest civilian award of France. In 1977, she took over the reins of Darpana, the arts academy founded by her parents.

Theater and Dances

Mallika Sarabhai's theatre works reflect the challenges of the society and sends a strong message. Her natural charm with conviction creates a unique style of presentation. Following are some of the works performed by her:

Unheard Voices

"Unheard Voices" is a physical, musical theatre piece. It is based on Harsh Mander's book "Unheard Voices". The story is about the lives of marginalized faces - the beggars, children at the Traffic Signal and "chhotu", the little child at roadside restaurant. These are stores of struggle and courage.

India

Then, Now, Forever: This revolves around the multiple lifestyles of the people of India. It attempts to show the resemblance between the life of the tribal of Mizoram and their lifestyles with the bollywood. The show takes the audience from the temples of southern India to the forests of the Dangs and the minds of today's creators.

Actor

Mallika Sarabhai started her acting career at the age of fifteen and has worked in more than 30 films. In 1984, she played the character of Draupadi in "The Mahabharata", directed by renowned director Peter Brook. The movie was launched in French and English. Some of her critically acclaimed films include "Lovesongs: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow", Peter Brook's "The Mahabharata", "Kahkasha", "A Thousand Flowers" and "Katha".

In 1982, she founded the "Darpana for Development" concentrating on the development of performance as a language for change. She also formed "JANAVAK", the voice of the people, to archive and preserve the folk and tribal culture of India.

Deeply excited by the possibility of continuing the work as an activist on TV, in 2001 she launched Darpana Communications. She has also produced over 2500 hours of broadcast programming in Gujarati dealing, with social issues like gender bias, communal hatred, the environment, corruption, violence etc.

Publisher

Mallika Sarabhai never tried to confine herself into a single character. After being recognized as a reputed dancer and film actor, she has also made herself count in the world of publications. In 1979, Mallika Sarabhai published India's first design magazine, called Inside Outside. Following are some of the acclaimed books published by Mallika Sarabahi and Mapin Publishing Private Limited.

- India's Daughters
- Cultural Guide to Ahmedabad
- Spectacular India
- Jute Handlooms of India
- Sufism And Beyond
- Romance of Golconda Diamonds
- From Mustard Fields to Disco Lights
- Parvati: Goddess of Love
- Documenting Chandigarh
- Image & Imagination:5 Indian Artists
- Performing Arts of Kerala
- Understanding Kuchipudi (Co-Author)
- Krishna as Shrinathji: Miniature Paintings From Nathdwara

Social Thinker

In an effort to serve the society, Mallika Sarabhai took up many developmental projects including the "The Acting Healthy Project" (2008). The project supported by ArtVenture took crucial learning on how to avoid maternal deaths and infant deaths amongst the very deprived

communities. Besides, she has also played an active role in the UNICEF Peer Educators Project, UNICEF Anandshala Project in 2005- 2007 FATEHPURA Model village project and UNICEF Rural Health Project.

Controversy

In 2001, she was criticized by the extreme right-wing political parties after she filed a Public Interest Litigation in the Supreme Court of India. In the PIL, she had accused the BJP-led state government of supporting the genocide against the Muslims in Gujarat.

MAHASWETA DEVI

(14 January 1926 – 28 July 2016)

Mahasweta Devi is an eminent Indian Bengali writer, who has been studying and writing incessantly about the life and struggles faced by the tribal communities in the states like Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh.

Mahasweta Devi is a reputed Indian writer who was born in the year 1926 into a middle class Bengali family at Dacca, which is located in present day Bangladesh. She received her education from the prestigious Shantiniketan set up by great Indian philosopher and thinker, Rabindranath Tagore that went on to become a part of the Visva Bharti University later on. Mahasweta Devi graduated from the University of Calcutta and this was followed by an MA degree in English from the Visva Bharti University.

Read on to know more about the biography of Mahasweta Devi. Since her entire family had shifted to India by now, Devi began teaching at the Bijoygarh College in 1964. In those times, this particular college was a forum operating for elite female students. This phase was also utilized by Mahasweta Devi to work as a journalist and a creative writer. Of late, Mahasweta Devi is known to have been studying the life history of rural tribal communities in the Indian state of West Bengal and also women and dalits.

Mahasweta Devi is a social activist who has wholly involved herself to work for the struggles of the tribal people in states like Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. In the fiction themed on Bengal which Devi writes, she often narrates the brutal oppression faced by the tribal people at the hands of the powerful upper caste persons comprising landlords, money lenders and government officials in this belt.

During the 2006 Frankfurt Book Fair when India happened to be the first country to have been invited to this fair for a second time, Mahasweta Devi made a very touching inaugural speech which moved many among the listeners to tears. Inspired by the famous Raj Kapoor song, she said: "This is truly the age where the Joota (shoe) is Japani (Japanese), Patloon (pants) is Englistani (British), the Topi (hat) is Roosi (Russian) But the Dil (heart) is always Hindustani (Indian)"

TARASANKAR BANDYOPADHYAY

Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay (23 July 1898– 14 September 1971) was one of the leading Bengali novelists. He wrote 65 novels, 53-story-books, 12 plays, 4 essay-books, 4 autobiographies and 2 travel stories. He was awarded Rabindra Puraskar, Sahitya Akademi Award, Jnanpith Award, and Padma Bhushan.

Biography

Bandyopadhyay was born at his ancestral home at Labhpur village in Birbhum district, Bengal Province, British India (now Paschim Banga, India) to Haridas Bandyopadhyay and Prabhavati Devi. He passed the Matriculation examination from Labhpur Jadab Lal H. E. School in 1916 and was later admitted first to St. Xavier's College, Calcutta and then to South Suburban College (now Asutosh College). While studying in intermediate at St. Xavier's College, he joined the non-co-operation movement. He could not complete his university course due to ill health and political activism.

He was arrested in 1930 for actively supporting the Indian independence movement, but released later that year. After that he decided to devote himself to literature.[3] In 1932, he met Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan for the first time. His first novel *Chaitali Ghurni* was published on the same year.

In 1940, he rented a house at Bagbazar and brought his family to Calcutta. In 1941, he moved to Baranagar. In 1942, he presided over the Birbhum District Literature Conference and became the president of the Anti-Fascist Writers and Artists Association in Bengal. In 1944, he presided over the Kanpur Bengali Literature Conference arranged by the non-resident Bengalis living there. In 1947, he inaugurated Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan held in Calcutta; presided over the Silver Jubilee Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan in Bombay; and received Sarat Memorial Medal from the University of Calcutta. In 1948, he moved to his own house at Tala Park, Calcutta.

In 1952, he was nominated to be a member of the legislative assembly. In 1954, he took Diksha from his mother. In 1955, he was awarded the Rabindra Puraskar by the Government of West Bengal. In 1956, he received the Sahitya Akademi Award. In 1957, he visited China at an invitation from the Chinese Government. In the next year he visited Soviet Union to join the preparatory committee of the Afro-Asian Writers' Association and later went to Tashkent as the leader of the Indian Writers delegation at the Afro-Asian Writers' Association.

In 1959, he received the Jagattarini Gold Medal from the University of Calcutta, and presided over All India Writer's Conference in Madras. In 1960, he retired from the West Bengal Legislative Assembly but was nominated to the Parliament by the President of India. In 1962, he received Padma Shri; but the death of his son-in-law broke his heart and to keep himself diverted he took to painting and making wooden toys. In 1963, he received Sisirkumar Award. In 1966, he retired from the Parliament and presided over Nagpur Bengali Literature Conference. In 1966, he won the Jnanpith Award and in 1969, he received Padma Bhushan and

was honoured with the title of Doctor of Literature by the University of Calcutta and the Jadavpur University. In 1969, he was given the fellowship of Sahitya Akademi, and became the president of Vangiya Sahitya Parishad. In 1971, he gave the Nripendrachandra Memorial Lecture at Visva-Bharati University and D. L. Roy Memorial Lecture at the University of Calcutta.

Bandyopadhyay died at his Calcutta residence early in the morning on 14 September 1971. His last rites were performed at the Nimtala Cremation Ground, North Calcutta.

Literary career

The realism in Literature is well substituted when the writers indulge in introducing romance in it. Tarasankar Bandyopadhyay is grouped with those writers of the third decades of the twentieth centuries who broke the poetic tradition in novels but took to writing prose with the world around them adding romance to human relationship breaking the indifference of the so-called conservative people of the society who dare to call a spade a spade. Tarasankar's novels, so to say, do not look back to the realism in rejection, but accepted it in a new way allowing the reader to breathe the truth of human relationship restricted so far by the conservative and hypocrisy of the then society.

He learned to see the world from various angles. He seldom rose above the matter soil and his Birbhum exists only in time and place. He had never been a worshipper of eternity. Tarasankar's chief contribution to Bengal literature is that he dared writing unbiased. He wrote what he believed. He wrote what he observed.

His novels are rich in material and potentials. He preferred sensation to thought. He was ceaselessly productive and his novels are long, seemed unending and characters belonged to the various classes of people from zaminder down to pauper. Tarasankar experimented in his novels with the relationships, even so called illegal, of either sexes. He proved that sexual relation between man and women sometimes dominate to such an extent that it can take an upperhand over the prevailing laws and instructions of society. His novel 'Radha' can be set for an example in this context.

His historical novel *Ganna Begum* is an attempt worth mentioning for its traditional values. Tarasankar ventured into all walks of Bengali life and its experience with the happenings of socio-political milieu. Tarasankar will be remembered for his potential to work with the vast panorama of life where life is observed with care and the judgment is offered to the reader and long ones, then any other author. He is a *region* novelist, his country being the same Birbhum.

Awards

In 1957, he led the Indian delegation of writers at the Asian Writers' Conference in Tashkent. For his novel *Arogya Niketan*, he received the Rabindra Puraskar in 1955 and the Sahitya Akademi Award in 1956. In 1966, he received the Jnanpith Award for his novel *Ganadebata*. He was honoured with the Padma Shri in 1962 and the Padma Bhushan in

1969. He also received the Sharat Smriti Puraskar and the Jagattarini Gold Medal from the Calcutta University. In 1970, he was elected the president of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. He was a member of the West Bengal Vidhan Parishad between 1952–60 and the Rajya Sabha between 1960–66.

SATYAJIT RAY (2 May 1921 – 23 April 1992)

Satyajit Ray was an Indian Bengali filmmaker, widely regarded as one of the greatest filmmakers of the 20th century. Ray was born in the city of Calcutta into a Bengali family prominent in the world of arts and literature. Starting his career as a commercial artist, Ray was drawn into independent filmmaking after meeting French filmmaker Jean Renoir and viewing Vittorio De Sica's Italian neorealist film *Bicycle Thieves* (1948) during a visit to London.

Ray directed 36 films, including feature films, documentaries and shorts. He was also a fiction writer, publisher, illustrator, calligrapher, music composer, graphic designer and film critic. He authored several short stories and novels, primarily aimed at children and adolescents. Feluda, the sleuth, and Professor Shonku, the scientist in his science fiction stories, are popular fictional characters created by him. He was awarded an honorary degree by Oxford University.

Ray's first film, *Pather Panchali* (1955), won eleven international prizes, including the inaugural Best Human Document award at the 1956 Cannes Film Festival. This film, along with *Aparajito* (1956), and *Apur Sansar* (*The World of Apu*) (1959) form *The Apu Trilogy*. Ray did the scripting, casting, scoring, and editing, and designed his own credit titles and publicity material. Ray received many major awards in his career, including 32 Indian National Film Awards, a number of awards at international film festivals and award ceremonies, and an Academy Honorary Award in 1992. The Government of India honored him with the Bharat Ratna in 1992.

RITWIK GHATAK

Ritwik Ghatak (4 November 1925 – 6 February 1976) was a Bengali filmmaker and script writer. Along with prominent contemporary Bengali filmmakers Satyajit Ray and Mrinal Sen, his cinema is primarily remembered for its meticulous depiction of social reality. Although their roles were often adversarial, they were ardent admirers of each other's work and, in doing so; the three directors charted the independent trajectory of parallel cinema, as a counterpoint to the mainstream fare of Hindi cinema in India. Ghatak received many awards in his career, including National Film Award's Rajat Kamal Award for Best Story in 1974 for his *Jukti Takko Aar Gappo* and Best Director's Award from Bangladesh Cine Journalist's Association for *Titash Ekti Nadir Naam*. The Government of India honoured him with the Padma Shri for Arts in 1970.

Early life

Ritwik Ghatak was born in Dhaka in East Bengal (now Bangladesh). Ghatak's father Suresh Chandra Ghatak was a district magistrate and a poet and playwright; his mother's name

was Indubala Devi. He and his twin sister Prateeti, were the youngest of nine children. The other children were Manish, Sudhish, Tapati, Sampreeti, Brototi, Ashish Chandra and Lokesh Chandra. He and his family moved to Calcutta (now Kolkata) just before millions of other refugees from East Bengal began to flood into the city, fleeing the catastrophic Bengal famine of 1943 and the partition of Bengal in 1947. Identification with this tide of refugees was to define his practice, providing an over-riding metaphor for cultural dismemberment and exile that unified his subsequent creative work. The 1971 Bangladesh Liberation War, which led to more refugees fleeing to India, was to have a similar impact on his work.

Creative career

In 1948, Ghatak wrote his first play *Kalo sayar* (The Dark Lake) and participated in a revival of the landmark play Nabanna. In 1951, Ghatak joined the Indian People's Theatre Association (IPTA). He wrote, directed and acted in plays and translated Bertolt Brecht and Gogol into Bengali. In the early 1970s, he wrote and directed his last play *Jwala* (The Burning). The music director was Darbar Bhaduri, who was called by Ghatak 'Dada' or 'Guru.' Ghatak was greatly inspired by Darbar Bhaduri. In Rajshahi, Bangladesh—his homeland Ritwik had lived next door to Bhaduri's house.

Ghatak entered the film industry with Nimai Ghosh's *Chinnamul* (1950) as actor and assistant director. *Chinnamul* was followed in two years by Ghatak's first completed film *Nagarik* (1952), both major breakthroughs for the Indian cinema. Ghatak's early work sought theatrical and literary precedent in bringing together a documentary realism, a stylised performance often drawn from the folk theatre, and a Brechtian use of the filmic apparatus.

Ghatak's first commercial release was *Ajantrik* (1958), a comedy-drama film with science fiction themes. It was one of the earliest Indian films to portray an inanimate object, in this case an automobile, as a character in the story.

Ghatak's greatest commercial success as a script writer was for *Madhumati* (1958), one of the earliest films to deal with the theme of reincarnation. It was a Hindi film directed by another Bengali filmmaker Bimal Roy. It earned Ghatak his first award nomination, for the Filmfare Best Story Award.

Ritwik Ghatak directed eight full-length films. His best-known films, *Meghe Dhaka Tara* (The Cloud-Capped Star) (1960), *Komal Gandhar* (E-Flat) (1961), and *Subarnarekha* (*Golden Lining*) (1962), a trilogy based in Calcutta and addressing the condition of refugee-hood, proved controversial and the commercial failure of *Komal Gandhar* (E-Flat) and *Subarnarekha* prevented him from making features through the remainder of the 1960s. In all three, he used a basic and at times starkly realistic storyline, upon which he inscribed a range of mythic references, especially of the 'Mother Deliverer', through a dense overlay of visual and aural registers.

Ghatak moved briefly to Pune in 1966, where he taught at the Film and Television Institute of India (FTII). During his year at FTII, he was involved in the making of two student films: *Fear* and *Rendezvous*.

Ghatak returned to filmmaking in the 1970s, when a Bangladeshi producer financed the 1973 epic *Titash Ekti Nadir Naam* (A River Called Titas). Making films became difficult because of his poor health due to extreme alcoholism and consequent diseases. His last film was the autobiographical *Jukti Takko Aar Gappo* (*Reason, Debate And Story*) (1974), in which he portrayed Neelkantha (Nilkanth) the lead character. He also had a number of incomplete feature and short films in his credit.

Bagalar Banga Darshan

Bagalar Banga Darshan (1964) is an incomplete Bengali film created by legendary filmmaker Ritwik Ghatak. The film was shot for one week only and later it was abandoned and the film remained incomplete. Recently Ritwik Memorial Trust has collected the available reels of the film, and after their work of re-editing they published four reels of the film which has 6 songs which were recorded before the shooting. Ritwik Ghatak not only was the director of the film, he also wrote the story and the screenplay. The plot of the story was inspired by a film of an Italian director Blasetti.

GIRISH KASARAVALLI

Girish Kasaravalli (born 3 December 1950) is an Indian film director, in the Kannada cinema, and one of the pioneers of the Parallel Cinema. Known internationally for his works, Kasaravalli has garnered fourteen National Film Awards, including four Best Feature Films; *Ghatashraddha* (1977), *Tabarana Kathe* (1986), *Thaayi Saheba* (1997) and *Dweepa* (2002). In 2011, he was awarded Padma Shri, the fourth highest civilian award by Government of India.

A gold medalist from the Film and Television Institute of India, Pune, The film he made to fulfill his diploma, *Avashesh*, was awarded the Best Student Film and the National Film Award for Best Short Fiction Film for that year. He has received thirteen National Film Awards.

Early life

Girish Kasaravalli was born in Kesalur, a village in the Tirthahalli taluk in Shimoga district on 3 December 1950 to Ganesh Rao, an agriculturist, as well as a freedom fighter, and Lakshmidēvi, a homemaker, one of 10 children (five brothers and four sisters). He had his primary education in Kesalur and middle school education in Kammaradi. Hailing from a family of book lovers, he was initiated to reading from a young age by his father. His father was a patron of Yakshagana, a folk system of dance native to Karnataka. He was attracted to the touring talkies which visited his village once in a while to screen popular Kannada films. This was his first exposure to the world of cinema. Another relative who supported his love for creative arts was his maternal uncle K.V. Subbanna, a Magsaysay award winner who founded Neenasam, a critically acclaimed and popular drama company.

He shifted to Shimoga where he graduated from Sahyadri College. College was transformative for Kasaravalli as poets G S Shivarudrappa and Sa Shi Marulaiah were his Kannada teachers. He then enrolled for the B.Pharm course in the College of Pharmacy, Manipal. The college was a common place for many cultural activities and kept

Kasaravalli's creative interests alive. After completing his degree, he went to Hyderabad for training. But, due to his pre-occupations in cinema and art, he found it difficult to manage his profession and interest together. He decided to quit the career in Pharmacy and join the Film and Television Institute of India (FTII), Pune.

Career

Kasaravalli graduated from FTII Pune in 1975, with a specialisation in film direction. The world of Kurosawa, Ray, Ozu, Fellini and Antonioni inspired him, and his conviction in neo-realist cinema deepened. In an interview many years later, he recollected how he was inspired by these filmmakers, especially Ozu. While in his final year, he was chosen to be the assistant director for B. V. Karanth for the film *Chomana Dudi*. He passed out of the FTII with a gold medal to his credit. His student film *Avasesh* won the President's Silver Lotus award for the best experimental short film of the year.

His first film as an independent director was *Ghatashraddha* in 1977; it won him the Golden Lotus and a few international awards. This film was followed by many more masterpieces. For a short while, he served as the principal of a film institute in Bangalore. He has worked as associate director for T. S. Nagabharana's *Grahana* movie during 1981[9]. He won his second Golden Lotus for *Tabarana Kathe* in 1987. Considered as one of the best edited films in India, it deals with the futile efforts of a retired government servant to earn his pension. In 1997, he came up with another masterpiece, *Thaayi Sahebaw* which won him his third Golden Lotus award. *Thaayi Saheba* is considered to be the most mature work of the director, dealing with the transition in the Indian society from the pre- to the post-independence periods.

The narrative structure was unique, and it had a powerful way of depicting a social situation. He repeated his success with *Dweepa* in 2002 starring late actress Soundarya. It won his fourth Golden Lotus award. *Dweepa* was different from his earlier films: It used music extensively and was visually stunning. Apart from these four films winning Golden Lotus awards, Kasaravalli directed *Akramana* in 1979, *Mooru darigalu* in 1981, *Bannada Vesha* in 1988, *Mane* in 1990, *Kraurya* in 1996, *Hasina* in 2004 and *Naayi Neralu* in 2006.

Naayi Neralu dealt with a very intense and bizarre concept of reincarnation, based on the novel with the same name by S.L. Bhyrappa. Kasaravalli has given a different interpretation of the subject. It won the Best Film award at KARA film festival, Karachi thus making it the first ever Kannada film to win the top honour in any international festival.

In 2008 he directed *Gulabi Talkies* based on a short story of the same name by Vaidehi. It was shown in many international film festivals, winning awards and accolades. In 2010, he made *Kanasemba Kudureyaneri* (Riding the Stallion of Dreams) which, too, won him many international awards. He has finished his *Koormavatara* (The Tortoise, an Incarnation) which won the National film award for the best Kannada film of 2011.

SYLLABUS

HIS6B12 HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY INDIA

Module I: India: The Republic

Salient Features of Indian Constitution

Patel and Integration Process

Nehruvian era -- Concept of development – Mixed economy -- Large scale industrialization – Big Dams- Green Revolution – principle of unity in diversity – India in the era of cold war.

Module II: Changes in the Indian Economy

Indira Gandhi – Nationalisation of banks – central PSUs

Rajiv Gandhi – Technological Innovations

Narasimha Rao– Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation (LPG)– Manmohan Singh

Module III: Challenges within the Nation

Partition and its scars

Naxalbari – Maoist movements

Emergency in India- Causes and Resistance

Secessionism – Kashmir – Punjab – Assam

V. P. Singh and Mandal Commission Report- Anti Mandal Agitation

Communalism and Violence– Delhi Riots- Babri Masjid issue – Gujarat carnage

Inter-state water disputes – Cauveri – Mullapperiyar

Development paradigms and social issues -Chipko movement – Narmada Bachao

Andolan – Dalit, Adivasi struggles – Minority rights issues

Anti-globalisation movements

Module IV: Democratic Culture in India

Indian democracy in practice – elections – RTI – food safety bill – right to education –

Democratic expressions in art, literature, films – Mallika Sarabha – Mahasweta Devi –

Tarasankar Bandyopadhyaya—Satyajit Rai – Ritwik Ghattak –Girish Kasaravalli

Maps

1. Major Dams and river Projects built in Post Independent India- Bhakra- Nangal dam, Hirakud dam, Damodar Valley Project area, Tilaiya Dam, Maithon Dam, Panchet dam, Nagarjunasagar dam, Sardar Sarovar dam, Tehri dam

2. Major Stages of environmental Movements- Garhwal Himalayas, Silent Valley, Singhbhum, Plachimada, Baliyapal

3. Major Stages of Struggles against MNCs on Land Acquisition, Environmental and Pollution Issues- Bhopal, Kasaragod, Gobindpur, Plachimada, Sivaganga, Vidarbha

4. Major Stages of Communal Violence: Hyderabad, Moradabad, Mandi, Nellie, Delhi, Bhagalpur, Kashmir, Bombay, Babri Masjid, Godhra, Ahmadabad, Naroda, Marad, Kandhmal, Muzaffarnagar

BOOKS FOR STUDY

Module I

1. Bipan Chandra et. al., India since Independence
2. Ramachandra Guha, India after Gandhi: The History of World's largest democracy
3. S. Anand, Thought and Vision of Jawaharlal Nehru
4. Aparna Bharadwaj, Nehru's Vision to Empower Indian Economy
5. Anil Kumar Thakur and Debes Mukhopadhyay, Economic Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru
6. Vandana Shiva, Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India
7. Vandana Shiva, The Violence of Green Revolution

Module II

1. Bipan Chandra et. al., India Since Independence
2. Ramachandra Guha, India after Gandhi: The History of World's largest democracy
3. T T Ram Mohan, Privatisation in India: Challenging the Economic Orthodoxy
4. Ramanuj Ganguli, Globalisation in India: New Frontiers and Emerging Challenges

Module III

1. Bipan Chandra et. al., India since Independence
2. Bipan Chandra, In the Name of Democracy: JP Movement and the Emergency
3. K. N. Panikkar, Communal Threat, secular Challenge
4. K N Panikkar, Before the Night Falls: Forebodings of Fascism in India
5. K N Panikkar, The Concerned India's Guide to Communalism
6. Ramachandra Guha, India after Gandhi: The History of World's largest democracy
7. Ramachandra Guha, The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya
8. Ramachandra Guha & Madhav Gadgil, This Fissured Land
9. Vandana Shiva, Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Survival in India
10. Vandana Shiva, The Violence of Green Revolution
11. Uma Chakravarti and Nandita Haksar, The Delhi Riots: Three Days in the life of a Nation
12. P. Sainath, Everybody loves a Good Drought: Stories from India's poorest districts
13. Gail Omvedt, Dalit Visions
14. Ashis Nandy et al., Creating a Nationality: Ramajanmabhumi Movement and the Fear of the Self
15. Amartya Sen, The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity

Module II

1. Bipan Chandra et. al., India since Independence
2. Ramachandra Guha, India after Gandhi: The History of World's largest democracy
3. Amartya Sen, The Argumentative Indian: Writings on Indian History, Culture and Identity.